Translating Resurrection

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Translating Resurrection

The Debate between William Tyndale and George Joye in Its Historical and Theological Context

By

Gergely M. Juhász



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To Elisabeth

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"Finis laudat opus." Following the tradition of many medieval copyists, these were the concluding words of John Coke's only known published work at the end of his career as Secretary to the Merchants Adventurer at the English House in Antwerp in 1550. Upon the completion of this book I share his feelings. This work presents the results of twelve years of doctoral research at the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven. That such an unusually long research project could be conducted and completed fills me with heartfelt gratitude towards many people.

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Plantin-Moretus Museum, the Public Library of Antwerp, the City Archives of Antwerp, the Library and Archives of the University of Antwerp, the Archives of OCMW Antwerp, the Library of the Université Catholique de Louvain, the University Library Ghent, the Library of the University of Amsterdam, the National Library of the Netherlands (Koninklijke Bibliotheek), the National Library of France (Bibliothèque François Mitterrand), the Württembergische Landesbibliothek (Stuttgart), Trinity College Library (Dublin), the University Library of the Pázmány Péter Catholic University (Hungary), the University Library of the Károli Gáspár University of the Hungarian Reformed Church (Budapest), the University Library of Eötvös Loránd University (Budapest) and the Hungarian National Széchényi Library (Budapest). I would also like to thank Blan MacDonagh of the Löhe Memorial Library (North Adelaide, Australia) for scanning and sending two articles from their journal, which would otherwise have been inaccessible.

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Finally my words of thanks go to my family and friends for their love, friendship and support. In particular I would like to express my deepest and loving gratitude to my wife, Elisabeth, to whom this book is dedicated.

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ABBREVIATIONS[1]

Common Abbreviations

°	born
d.	died
E	Erasmus' Greek text or Erasmus' Latin translation
ed.	edited (by) or editor
fl.	flourished
J_{1534}	Joye's 1534 Antwerp New Testament edition [Joye]
J_{1535}	Joye's 1535 Antwerp New Testament edition [Joye]
ms (mss)	manuscript(s)
n.	note (footnote or endnote)
no.	number
NT	New Testament or Novum Testamentum
OT	Old Testament
T_{1526}	Tyndale's 1526 Worms New Testament edition [Tyndale]
T_{1534}	Tyndale's 1534 Antwerp New Testament edition [Tyndale]
T_{1535}	Tyndale's 1535 Antwerp New Testament edition [Tyndale]
TG_{1534}	Tyndale's 1534 Genesis translation [Tyndale]
TP_{1530}	Tyndale's 1530 Pentateuch transalation [Tyndale]
trans.	translated (by) or translator or translation
UP	University Press (for sake of brevity, the name of the place of the university has been omitted if it coincided with the place of the publication. The word order may also vary. e.g. Cambridge: UP = Cambridge: Cambridge University Press UP Pennsylvania = University of Pennsylvania Press The Catholic UP of America = The Catholic University of America Press
Vg	Vulgate

[1] References in square brackets (e.g. [Joye]) contain the name of the author or editor under whose name the book is listed in the Bibliography. Names in regular type indicate books listed among the Primary Sources (p. 453), those in SMALL CAPITAL LETTERS indicate works listed among the Secondary Sources (p. 478). References starting with IS indicate Internet Sources (p. 523).

Bibliographical Abbreviations

A&M	*Actes and Monuments* [Foxe]
Allen	*Epistolæ Erasmi*, ed. Allen [Erasmus]
ANL	Annua Nuntia Lovaniensia
ARg	Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte
ASD	Opera omnia Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami (Amsterdam, 1969–) [Erasmus]
ASV	The American Standard Version [*Bible—English Versions*]
BBE	The Bible in Basic English [*Bible—English Versions*]
BC	Butterworth and Chester [Butterworth and Chester]
BDF	Blass, Debruner & Funk, *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament* [Blass]
BETL	Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium
BFM	Bibliothèque François Mitterand (Paris)
BL	(The) British Library
Bug.	Bugenhagiana. Quellen zur Lebensgeschichte des D. Joh. Bugenhagen
BSIH	Brill's Studies in Intellectual History
BW	Briefwechsel
BZNW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche
CR	Corpus Reformatorum
CTQ	Concordia Theological Quarterly
CWE	Collected Works of Erasmus (Toronto, 1974–) [Erasmus]
CWTM	The Complete Works of St. Thomas More [More]
DBY	The English Darby Bible [*Bible—English Versions*]
DH	Heinrich Denzinger & Peter Hünermann, *Enchiridion symbolorum* [Denzinger]
DNTB	Dictionary of New Testament Background [Evans]
DS	Heinrich Denzinger & Adolfus Schönmetzer, *Enchiridion symbolorum* [Denzinger]
EHR	The English Historical Review
EstB	Estudios Bíblicos
ETL	Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses
ExpT	The Expository Times
FrHist	French History
FsöTh	Forschungen zur systematischen und ökumenischen Theologie
HHS	Harvard Historical Studies
HTR	Harvard Theological Review

HTS	Harvard Theological Studies
HZSW	Huldreich Zwinglis Sämtliche Werke [Zwingli]
ITC	International Theological Commission
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature
JEH	Journal of Ecclesiastical History
JHI	Journal of the History of Ideas
JQR	The Jewish Quarterly Review
JSNT	Journal for the Study of the New Testament
JSOT	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament
JWCI	Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes
L&P	Letters and Papers [Primary Sources: *Letters and Papers*]
LB	Erasmus opera omnia, ed. Jean Leclerc, Leiden, 1703–06 [Erasmus]
LTJ	Lutheran Theological Journal
MBDS	Martin Bucers Deutsche Schriften
MBOO	Martini Buceri Opera omnia
MRTS	Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies
MS	Monograph Series
NAB	The New American Bible [*Bible—English Versions*]
NAS	The New American Standard Bible, 1977 [*Bible—English Versions*]
NAU	The New American Standard Bible, 1995 [*Bible—English Versions*]
NCMH	New Cambridge Modern History [Elton]
NIV	The New International Version [*Bible—English Versions*]
NJB	The New Jerusalem Bible [*Bible—English Versions*]
NJBC	The New Jerome Biblical Commentary [Brown]
NK	Nijhoff-Kronenberg
NKJ	The New King James Bible [*Bible—English Versions*]
N&Q	Notes and Queries
NRSV	The New Revised Standard Version [*Bible—English Versions*]
NRT	Nouvelle Revue Théologique
NT	Novum Testamentum or New Testament
NTS	New Testament Studies
OHS	Oxford Historical Society
PBR	The Patristic and Byzantine Review
PG	Patrologia Graeca [Migne]
PL	Patrologia Latina [Migne]
PMM	Plantin-Moretus Museum (Antwerp)
PRO	Public Record Office
PRSch	Pils-Ruderer-Schaeffrodt, *Martin Bucer. Bibligoraphie* (2005) [Pils]

PTS	Patristische Texte und Studien
PUF	Presses Universitaires de France
QDGR	Quellen und Darstellungen aus der Geschichte des Reformationsjahrhunderts
RB	Revue biblique
RHE	Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique
RQ	Renaissance Quarterly
RST	Reformationsgeschichtliche Studien und Texte
RSV	The Revised Standard Version [*Bible—English Versions*]
SC	Sources chrétiennes
SCES	Sixteenth Century Essays and Studies
SCJ	Sixteenth Century Journal
SHA	Societé d'histoire et d'archéologie
SHCT	Studies in the History of Christian Traditions
SJT	The Scottish Journal of Theology
SMRT	Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought
SNT	Supplements to Novum Testamentum
SNTS	Society for New Testament Studies
StAndrews	St Andrews Studies in Reformation History
StaS	Studien des apologetischen Seminars
STC	Short Title Catalogue [Pollard & Redgrave]
THR	Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance
TT	Tyndale's Testament [Arblaster]
TUGaL	Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur
V&R	Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht
VT	Vetus Testamentum
WA	D. Martin Luthers Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe (Weimar, 1883–) [Luther] *WA BW* refers to the volumes of Luther's correspondence (*Briefwechsel*).
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament

CHAPTER ONE

THE TYNDALE–JOYE DEBATE IN THE LITERATURE

A Tumultuous World

It was a cold Saturday in late winter, the feast of the Conversion of Saint Augustine, the second-to-last day of the month of February, the vigil of the third Sunday of the Lenten season in the year of our Lord 1535. After the warm summer of 1534, winter arrived early, with violent storms, winds, and floods in Antwerp during November and the first snow already falling at the end of the month; winter lasted an unusually long time that year.[1] On that cold winter's day a slim little book of barely forty-four small octavo pages emerged in Antwerp from the printing press of Catherine van Ruremund, widow of the late printer Christoffel van Ruremund from Endhoven.[2] The widow knew that the book was not going to be her best-selling publication, although it could certainly count on some interest, being clandestine, controversial, and scandalous. Such ingredients always spice up even the dullest stories and make even the worst books sell more easily, she knew. She also realized that the publication was not without risk; her own husband had lost his life while imprisoned in the Tower of London for the printing, smuggling, and sale of heretical books.[3] But the author had been employed by the firm for some time, and as a widowed

[1] E. Van der Linden, *Chronique des événements météorologiques en Belgique jusqu'en 1834*, (Académie royale de Belgique. Classes des sciences. Mémoires, II, 6), Brussels, 1924, p. 121; *Archieven van de Commissie van Openbare Onderstand* (today OCMW), Antwerp, *Accounts of the Hospital of St. Elizabeth 1426–1602*, VII/17; Antwerp, Stadsarchief, *Fonds Privilegiekamer*, *Stadsordonancien* 914/191^{v} as cited by Herman Van der Wee, *The Growth of the Antwerp Market and the European Economy*, vol. I *Statistics*, The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1963, p. 557. Similarly severe weather was recorded in England during the winter of 1534/35: "A great frost, lasting from November till February. The river Thames frozen some miles below Gravesend; goods carried by land accross Kent and Essex to London." (Edward Joseph Lowe, *Natural Phenomena and Chronology of the Seasons Being an Account of Remarkable Frosts, Droughts, Thunderstorms, Gales, Floods, Earthquakes, etc. Also Diseases, Cattle Plagues, Famines, etc. Which Have Occured in the British Isles since A.D. 220, Chronologically Arranged*, London: Bell & Daldy, 1870, p. 18.)

[2] Christoffel van Ruremund often referred to himself by his place of origin, Endhoven; hence, he, and later his widow, are frequently mentioned as *van Endhoven*.

[3] A placard from as early as 1529 bans "Nova Testamenta impressa per Adrianum van Berghen, Christophorum van Ruremunde et Ioannem Zeel" (J.M. De Bujanda (ed.), *Index*

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woman in the patriarchal mercantile world of printers and publishers, she knew that she still could make good use of the cheap labour of the immigrant refugee in the future, provided that the books on which he worked continued to sell as well as they had been selling.

The book had, indeed, remained mostly unnoticed—partly because the scandal that brought about the book died down due to the flight of the author from Antwerp and the imprisonment, and eventually the execution, of his opponent, and partly because contemporaries were occupied with affairs of much greater importance.

The world was at a turning point and history was in the making. On Monday 18 January, only forty days prior to the appearance of the Antwerp pamphlet, the city of Lima in the 'West Indies' was founded by the illiterate Spanish conquistador Francisco Pizzaro (*c.*1475–1541).[4] In eleven days' time, on Wednesday 10 March, the ship of the reverend bishop of Panama, Fray Tomás de Berlanga O.P. (*c.*1487–1551), would accidentally be set adrift on the sea and discover a strange set of islands off the coast of Peru. In his account to Emperor Charles V (1500–58), the bishop reports on the extraordinary flora; the unusually tame fauna, which showed no fear at all at the sight of humans; and the numerous *galapagos* (giant turtles) he and his men encountered on the islands.[5] And in two months' time, in the spring of 1535, the French navigator Jacques Cartier (1491–1557), the originator of the name of the present-day country of Canada, would discover the Iroquois city of Stadacona (now Quebec City) and the Huron city of Hochelaga, near the present-day city of Montreal (a name also originating from

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de L'Université de Louvain, (Index des livres interdits 2), Sherbrooke and Geneva: Université de Sherbrooke, 1986, n. 15).

[4] John Logan Allen, E. Julius Dasch & Barry Gough, *Explorers From Ancient Times to the Space Age*, vol. III, New York: Macmillan Library Reference, 1998, pp. 12–15. Antonio de Alcedo & Aaron Arrowsmith, *The Geographical and Historical Dictionary of America and the West Indies Containing an Entire Translation of the Spanish Work of Colonel Don Antonio de Alcedo, with Large Additions and Compilations from Modern Voyages and Travels and from Original and Authentic Information* (London: James Carpenter, Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown, White, Cochrane and Co. and Murray, Parker, Oxford; and Deighton, Cambridge, 1812, vol. 2, p. 378) gives the date of 6 January 1535.

[5] *Colección de Documentos Inéditos relativos al Descubrimiento, Conquista y Organizacion de las Antiguas Posesiones Españolas de América y Oceania*, vol. XLI/II, Madrid: Manuel G. Hernandez, 1884, pp. 540–41; José Antonio del Busto, *El descubrimiento de las islas Galápagos por el obispo Fray Tomás de Berlanga*, in *Boletín del Instituto Riva-Agüero* 12 (1982), pp. 85–91; Alfredo Luna Tobar, *Historia política internacional de la Islas Galápagos*, (Biblioteca del Pensamiento Interncionalista del Ecuador), Quito: Abya Yala, 1997, pp. 35, 343–44.

Cartier, who named a mountain in the vicinity *Mont Realis*).[6] Of course, these pieces of news would reach the ever-busy harbour of Antwerp only after months of delay, but similar reports about new discoveries in the Indies had been occupying public attention for decades.[7]

This public attention was also concerned with other, less promising reports received from all corners of the world. From the East a continuously growing power was sending alarming signals to its contemporaries. The fall of Belgrade (1521), the Battle of Mohács (1526), the invasion of Hungary, the Siege of Vienna (1529), and the penetration into Styria (1532) left little doubt about the plans of Suleiman I (1494–1566)—the scourge of God, as his contemporaries saw him.[8] In 1534 he conquered Tunis and marched into Persia. The following year he took Baghdad. The expansion of the Ottoman Empire in Europe as well as in Africa and in Asia threatened not only the profitability of the trade with the East or the possibility of conducting such a business at all, but menaced the very existence and survival of Christian Europe, a Christian Europe that at this crucial moment was weakening itself through political and religious divisions and wars.

On the European Continent the spread of the 'New Belief' brought about tremendous changes not only in religious principles and praxis, but also in the fabric of society. 'Luther's sect,' as it was called by contemporaries, not only fractured the Western Church but was internally

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[6] On the life and voyages of Cartier, see: Charles Bourel de La Roncière, *Jacques Cartier et la découverte de la nouvelle-France*, (Les grandes figures coloniales 2), Paris: Plon, 1931; Marius Barbeau, *The Language of Canada in the Voyages of Jacques Cartier (1534–1538)*, in *National Museum of Canada Bulletin* 173 (1959), pp. 108–229; Jacques Chabannes, *Jacques Cartier*, (Meneurs d'hommes 7), Paris: Table Ronde, 1960; Yves Jacob, *Jacques Cartier: de Saint-Malo au Saint-Laurent*, Paris: Maritimes et d'Outre-Mer, 1984; Michel Mollat and Fernand Braudel, *Le monde de Jacques Cartier: l'aventure au XVIe siècle*, Paris: Berger-Levrault, 1984.

[7] The first account of the 'New World' in English was the anonymous compilation *Of the newe landes and of ye people founde by the messengers of the kynge of portyngale named Emanuel: Of the. x. dyuers nacyons crystened. Of pope Iohn and his landes, and of the costely keyes and wonders molodyes that in that lande is*, printed in Antwerp by 'Iohn of Doesborowe' around 1511. It was republished in 1885: Edward Arber (ed.), *The First Three English Books on America, (?1511)–1555 A.D.: Being Chiefly Translations, Compilations, &c. by Richard Eden from the Writings, Maps, &c. of Pietro Martire . . . Sebastian Münster . . . Sebastian Cabot . . . with Extracts, &c. from the Works of other Spanish, Italian, and German Writers of the Time*, Birmingham: s.n., 1885.

[8] For the European reaction to the expansion of the Ottoman Empire, see: C.A. Patrides, *'The Bloody and Cruell Turke.' The Background of a Renaissance Commonplace*, in *Studies in the Renaissance* 10 (1963), pp. 126–35; Harry Clark, *The Publication of the Koran in Latin. A Reformation Dilemma*, in *SCJ* 15 (1984), pp. 3–12; Gerald Maclean, *Looking East. English Writing and the Ottoman Empire Before 1800*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.

divided into factions and parties hostile to one another. And these diverse religious upheavals (collectively known as 'the Reformation') had their political consequences, too. The followers of the 'New Learning' were determined to challenge and change the prevailing religious and political order. Luther's stand against papal authority led, albeit against Luther's own will, to the Peasants' War in Germany in 1524–25, which left more than 100,000 dead according to contemporary estimates.[9] When the peasants' revolt spread into Alsace, true panic broke out: the Parlement of Paris believed that 14,000 Lutheran peasants intended to descend on France.[10] For their contemporaries, this provided proof that the new doctrine endangered the social order.[11] In Münster, the Anabaptists seized control of the city on 5 January 1534 and introduced their violent rule.[12] On Easter Sunday, however, the Anabaptist Jan Matthys and his thirty followers were slain during a sortie against the troops of the expelled Bishop Franz von Waldeck (1491–1553). Matthys was followed by Jan Beukels from Leiden (*c.*1509–36), whose name has been immortalized by the Dutch proverb *zich met een Jan(tje) van Leiden van iets afmaken* because he justified his arbitrary and cruel actions (including the beheading of one of his sixteen wives by his own hand in the marketplace) with divine instructions received in visions.[13] He carried on with the Anabaptist rule in the New Jerusalem, as they regarded Münster, until Saint John the Baptist's Feast in 1535, when Bishop von Waldeck's troops finally took the city and restored order. But the Anabaptists' seemingly destabilizing and horrific movement was not confined to the city of Münster. The Antwerp

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[9] E.g. "There were slain within the time of three months above an hundred thousand persons. And what followed further thereof? Great dearth of victual, great hunger and penury?" Thomas Cranmer, *Miscellaneous Writings and Letters of Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, Martyr, 1556*, ed. John Edmund Cox for the Parker Society, Cambridge: UP, 1844, pp. 199–200. On the Peasants' War, see: Adolf Waas, *Der Bauernkrieg. Die Bauern im Kampf um Gerechtigkeit 1300 bis 1525*, Wiesbaden: Panorama, 1995; Peter Blickle, *Der deutsche Bauernkrieg von 1525*, (Wege der Forschung 460), Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1985; Leo Sievers, *Revolution in Deutschland. Geschichte der Bauernkriege*, Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1978.

[10] Will Grayburn Moore, *La Réforme allemande et la littérature française. Recherches sur la notoriété de Luther en France*, (Publications de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Strasbourg), Strasbourg: l'Université, 1930, pp. 247–52.

[11] David Nicholls, *Heresy and Protestantism, 1520–1542. Questions of Perception and Communication*, in *FrHist* 10 (1996), p. 186.

[12] For the Anabaptist movement, see *infra* on p. 276.

[13] Elton, G.R., The New Cambridge Modern History, vol. II The Reformation 1520–59, Cambridge: UP, 1958. Reprint: (Blackwell Classic Histories of Europe), Cambridge: Blackwell, 2000. p. 128 [abbrev. NCMH].

pamphlets that recount the events in Münster were on the street within a few weeks' time, both in English and in Dutch. By that time Antwerp had banned several individual adherents of the Anabaptist movement, and on 25 February 1534 all Anabaptists were banned from the town. Nonetheless, a year later the *Schout* (royal bailiff) would charge several individuals with Anabaptism, and on 17 February 1535, just ten days prior to the publication of the Antwerp pamphlet, Ieronymus Pael, "droogscheerder, van Keulen," was executed in Antwerp. His execution would be followed by others in March 1535 and January 1536. In Amsterdam, only a week before the publication of the widow's booklet, twelve Anabaptists, men and women, were detained after having stripped off their clothes—as a sign, they said, that they proclaimed the naked truth of the New Eden—and run naked through the streets crying, "Woe! Woe! The Wrath of God!"[14] They were beheaded.

The political conflicts on the European Continent, often a result of the split in Christianity, were no less distressing. In 1519 Spain invaded Navarre, a fief of France. This gave a pretext for Francis I of France (1494–1547) to enter into war with the Habsburg Emperor Charles V.[15] After a series of defeats on the Italian peninsula, the French king was imprisoned in Madrid (1525) and forced to yield his Italian territories. But a year later, in 1526, he formed the League of Cognac with Venice, Florence, and the Papacy against Charles V. The Emperor gained the upper hand once again and conquered Florence, sacked Rome (1527), and imprisoned Pope Clement VII. Unfortunately, the Treaty of Cambrai (1529), which was supposed to put an end to the Italian wars, was short-lived. Francis I marched into Italy in 1535. In response, Charles V invaded Provence, and thus began the series of "Great Italian Wars," which lasted until 1559.

Denmark was entangled in the *Grevens Fejde* (Count's Feud, 1534–36). The rule of the Protestant pretender Christian of Gottorp (1503–59), proclaimed first as regent (1533) and then as King Christian III (1534), was contested by the count Christopher of Oldenburg (*c.*1504–66), who supported the imprisoned reconverted Catholic King Christian II (1481–1559).[16]

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[14] *NCMH*, vol. II, p. 127. George Huntston Williams, *The Radical Reformation*, Philadelphia: Westminster, 1962, p. 359.

[15] See Paul Arblaster, Cat. 20 in Gergely Juhász & Guido Latré (eds.), *Tyndale's Testament*, Turnhout: Brepols, 2002 [abbrev. *TT*], p. 75.

[16] After his earlier interest in humanism and reform Catholicism, Christian II converted to Lutheranism in 1524 and became a good friend of Luther. He sponsored the translation of the NT into Danish. In 1533, he reconverted to Catholicism to obtain the support of Charles V in reclaiming his throne. According to Lausten, this was not a

The Swedish King Gustav Vasa (1496–1560)—the Swedish 'Moses,' as he liked to see himself—who owed his throne to a revolt leading to the imprisonment of Christian II (1523) and the dissolution of the Kalmar Union (1524), was keen to keep his recently acquired royal title (and the confiscated revenues of the monasteries). He entered the conflict on the side of Christian III and massacred, ravished, and ruined his way across a great deal of Denmark. Christian III would introduce royal absolutism, establish Lutheranism as the state religion, and confiscate all Catholic property to pay off his war debt.

The Polish-Lithuanian King Sigismund I the Old (Polish Zygmunt I Stary, Lithuanian Žygimantas II Senasis), a relative of and ally to the Habsburgs and the Hungarian and Bohemian royal dynasties, was engaged in wars on the eastern side of his territories.[17] With his army led by the Grand Crown Hetman Jan Armor Tarnowski (1488–1561), Sigismund subdued (1521) and dissolved (1525) the Prussian Order of Teutonic Knights and successfully defended Poland in 1531 from the invading Moldavian forces of the belligerent voivode Petru Rareş (*c.*1487–1546) at Obertyn. Tarnowski with his 7000-strong force defeated the Muscovites at Starodub in January 1535—just a month before the publication of the Antwerp pamphlet—in the Fifth Muscovite-Lithuanian War. In response, the Russians defeated the 40,000-strong Lithuanian forces at Sebezh and destroyed the environs of Vitebesk on the Vitba River.

In Hungary the chaos was complete. After the disastrous defeat of the Hungarian army and the death of the young king Louis II (Lajos, 1506–26) at Mohács, the country, first partly occupied and then temporarily abandoned by the Turks, was divided between two pretenders to the throne: Archduke Ferdinand of Habsburg (1503–64), the younger brother of Emperor Charles V and a brother-in-law of the late king, ruled the north-

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genuine reconversion, and Christian remained Lutheran in his conviction and maintained his correspondence with Luther until the latter's death. See: Arblaster, Cat. 22 in *TT*, p. 78; Martin Schwarz Lausten, *Christian 2. Mellem paven og Luther. Tro og politik omkring "den røde konge" i eksilet og i fangenskabet (1523–1559)*, (Kirkehistoriske Studier III,3), Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag, 1995, pp. 463–67. See also: Wayne te Brake, *Shaping History. Ordinary People in European Politics (1500–1700)*, Berkeley, Los Angeles & London: UP California, 1998; Victor E. Thoren & John Robert Christianson, *The Lord of Uraniborg. A Biography of Tycho Brahe*, Cambridge: UP, 1991; Ole Peter Grell, *Scandinavia*, in Andrew Pettegree (ed.), *The Reformation World*, London & New York: Routledge, 2000, pp. 258–60; Janus Møller Jensen, *Denmark and the Crusades 1400–1650*, Ph.D. thesis, University of Southern Denmark, 2005.

[17] R. Dyboski, O. Halecki, J.H. Penson & W.F. Reddaway (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Poland. From the Origins to Sobieski (1696)*, Cambridge: UP, 1950, pp. 310–15.

west of the country, while John Zápolya (János Zápolyai or Szapolyai, 1487–1540), Hungary's most prominent aristocrat and voivode of Transylvania, established his power in the east.[18] Such a division at such a crucial moment in history disheartened their contemporaries deeply: while awaiting his own execution as a prisoner in the Tower of London, Sir Thomas More composed *A Dialogue of Comfort in Tribulation*, which gives a vision of a Hungary on the verge of its collapse in 1526–27. Suleiman's campaign in 1529 and the disintegration of Hungarian society would lead to the disintegration and tripartite division of the country, which would endure more than a century and a half, establishing Muslim rule in the heart of Central Europe. That this could happen was clearly, in contemporary eyes, the punishment of God.[19]

Besides these disturbing pieces of news from the East and all over the Continent, the English, the potential readership of the widow's book, were preoccupied with matters of grave significance happening closer to home. Six weeks prior to the appearance of the book, on Friday 15 January, Henry VIII (°1491, reigned 1509–47) declared himself the head of the English church.[20] Since his appeal in 1527 for an annulment of his marriage to Catherine of Aragon (1485–1536), the aunt of Emperor Charles V, after twenty-four years in wedlock, Henry's marital escapades had been the laughing stock of Europe. John Coke, head of the English House in Antwerp, would remorsefully inform Cromwell about the "sondry obprobius wordes" and mocking pictures by "naughty" Flemish and Spanish merchants about "his moost noble grace, & moost gracious quene his bedfelowe" at the famous Easter market at 'Barrow' (Bergen-op-Zoom).[21] And the English merchant Robert Flegge would notify Cromwell on 5 September 1535 about a "slanderous sermon" of a certain Black Friar in Antwerp

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[18] Eugen von Gyalókay, *Die Schlacht bei Mohács (29. August 1526)*, Berlin: de Gruyter, 1926; Géza Perjés, *The Fall of the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary: Mohács 1526—Buda 1541*, trans. Maria D. Fenyo, (Atlantic Studies on Society in Change 56, War and Society in East Central Europe 26), Boulder: Social Science Monographs, Highland Lakes: Atlantic Research and Publications, Columbia UP, 1989; Tóta, Péter Benedek, *Hungary Overrun. A Source of Fortitude and Comfort*, in *Moreana*, 40 (2003), pp. 17–40.

[19] Patrides, *'The Bloody and Cruell Turke'*, pp. 126–35; Clark, *The Publication of the Koran in Latin*, pp. 3–12; Sándor Őze, *'Bűneiért bünteti Isten a magyar népet.' Egy 16. századi bibliai párhuzam elemzése a nyomtatott egyházi irodalom alapján*, Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 1991.

[20] Arblaster, Cat. 17 in *TT*, pp. 71–73; Gergely Juhász & Gilbert Tournoy, Cat 18. in *TT*, pp. 73–74.

[21] PRO, *Acta inter Angliam et Belgium (1531–1546)* Cotton Library MSS, Galba B.x. fo. 43. Published in *L&P* VI, p. 518.

on the previous Sunday, 29 August, the feast of the Decollation of St John the Baptist. The Dominican preacher, to illustrate the gospel for the day, Flegge reported, compared Henry and Anne Boleyn (*c.*1501/7–36) to Herod and the daughter of Herodias.[22] But in England, too, the King's plans to divorce Catherine and marry Anne Boleyn, one of Catherine's former ladies-in-waiting, were openly criticized. Elisabeth Barton (*c.*1506–34), the 'Holy Maid of Kent,' claimed to have received prophecies from God about Henry's death if he were to leave his lawful wife for Anne. By spreading rumours about Elisabeth having sexual relationships with her priests, Henry undermined her reputation in order to be able to arrest and eventually execute her by hanging in 1534 at the Tyburn gallows in Westminster. But she was only the first to die as a consequence of Henry's pursuit of a male heir. In 1534, Parliament passed the Act of Supremacy declaring the English monarch the head of the English Church, and England officially broke with Rome. In the summer of the following year, the very year of the publication of the widow's pamphlet, some fifty-odd priests and lay brothers, including two prominent figures of the English Catholic Church, would be executed in England for failing to acknowledge the King's claim: on Tuesday 22 June, John Fisher, bishop of Rochester, and a fortnight later, on Tuesday 6 July, the former Lord Chancellor Thomas More would both be beheaded for not taking the Oath of Succession, as it meant the abjuration of the Pope. A year and two months after the execution of More, on Monday 6 September, William Tyndale, the 'father of the English Bible' and More's former antagonist, would be put to death in the Flemish town of Vilvoorde, just north of Brussels.[23] But the deaths of Elisabeth Barton, More, Fisher, Tyndale, and many others could not secure Henry a viable male heir. And, sadly, neither Catherine of Aragon nor Anne Boleyn would live to see the summer of 1536.[24]

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[22] Flegge reports also that he succeeded in compelling the friar to appear on the same pulpit the following Sunday in order to recant and apologize for his words insulting the King and Queen of England. Cotton Library MSS, Galba B.x., fo. 62.

[23] More accurately, Vilvoorde was a town in the Duchy of Brabant and not in the County of Flanders, but the designation 'Flanders' is often used indiscriminately to indicate the whole of the Southern Low Countries (or sometimes even the whole of the Low Countries). On the date of Tyndale's execution, see: Arblaster, Cat. 119 in *TT*, pp. 176–77.

[24] Tyndale did not die on Henry's orders. While in his *The obedie[n]ce of a Christen man*, Tyndale supported Henry's claim over the power of the Pope, nonetheless he criticized Henry's divorce in *The practyse of Prelates*. And even if there is evidence that Cromwell tried to intervene on behalf of Tyndale during the imprisonment of the latter, Henry probably rejoiced in the death of the 'arch heretic' Tyndale. In his *Answer to Luther* Henry wrote that Luther "fell in deuyce with one or two leude persons, borne in this our realme, for

Henry's attempts to forge alliances with the Germans turned out to be unsuccessful. While in Germany in 1531, the Augustinian monk Robert Barnes was sought out by an unknown agent of Henry's in order to secure Luther's opinion on the 'King's great matter.'[25] Although his efforts were ineffective because Luther, whom Henry had been fighting on the theological battlefield, was unwilling to support the divorce, in 1534 Barnes was commissioned again to lead the theological negotiations with Philipp Melanchthon (1497–1560). At the time of the publication of the widow's pamphlet, he was just on his way to Wittenberg, where he arrived a fortnight later.[26] On his journey back to England in April 1535, he passed through Antwerp and might even have had the chance to pick up or read a copy of the pamphlet, which at one point mentioned him by name.[27] Barnes' stay in England did not prove to last long, as he set sail on 25 July 1535 to embark on yet another mission to forge diplomatic ties with Johann Friederich I (1505–54), Elector of Saxony (1532–47), and to conclude theological agreements with the Lutheran party.[28] Neither the political negotiations nor the theological ones, the latter eventually resulting, among other things, in the 1536 Wittenberg Articles, achieved the intended union.

In October 1535, while Tyndale was still imprisoned and Barnes was negotiating with the Saxon Elector on behalf of Henry, the Flemish merchant Jacobus van Meteren (1510–55), father of the later historian and Consul of the Merchants of the Low Countries in London Emanuel van Meteren (1535–1612), financed the Antwerp publication of the first complete English Bible in print, gathered and edited by Myles Coverdale largely from the translations of Tyndale.[29] The other backer of the Coverdale

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the translatyng of the Newe testament in to Englysshe, as well with many corruptions of that holy text, as certayne prefaces, and other pestylent gloses in the margentes, for the aduancement and settyng forthe of his abhomynable heresyes, entendynge to abuse the gode myndes and deuotion, that you oure derely beloued people beare, towarde the holy scrypture & to enfect you with the deedly corruption and contagious odour of his pestylent errours" (Henry VIII, *A copy of the letters, wherin the most redouted & mighty prince our souerayne lorde kyng Henry the eyght [...] made answere vnto a certayne letter of Martyn Luther*, London: Richard Pynson, [1526/27], sig. A5^{r}).

[25] Korey D. Maas, *The Reformation and Robert Barnes. History, Theology and Polemic in Early Modern England*, (Studies in Modern British Religious History 23), Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2010, p. 23. On Barnes see *infra* in n. 265 on p. 344.

[26] Maas, *The Reformation and Robert Barnes*, p. 28.

[27] See *infra* on p. 344.

[28] John Stephenson, *Wittenberg and Canterbury*, in *CTQ* 48 (1984), pp. 166–67.

[29] On the Antwerp origins of the Coverdale Bible, see: Guido Latré, *The 1535 Coverdale Bible and its Antwerp Origins*, in Orlaith O'Sullivan (ed.), *The Bible as Book. The*

Bible was Jacobus van Meteren's nephew, Leonard Ortels (d. 1539), father of Abraham Ortelius (1527–98), the famous Humanist geographer and cartographer.[30] They were both arrested in the same year on suspicion of possessing heretical books.[31] The English Bible, however, could not be stopped, and it was reprinted within a few months in England with royal privilege.

Henry's efforts to establish and extend his authority were not confined to matters of religion and matrimony. In 1535 he annexed Wales, and his troops under the command of Sir William Skeffington (1465–1535), Lord Deputy of Ireland, bombarded Maynooth and retook Dublin from the insurgents of the 22-year-old Thomas FitzGerald (Tomás an tSíoda, 1513–37), 10th Earl of Kildare. To finance the wars and Henry's excessive lifestyle, Thomas Cromwell was authorized by Parliament to draw up an inventory in preparation for the dissolution of the monasteries.[32] The measures were met with some resistance (especially after a failed crop in 1534, the year in which the break with Rome became definite,

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Reformation, London & New Castle: BL & Oak Knoll Press in association with The Scriptorium: Center for Christian Antiquities, 2000, pp. 89–102.

[30] For Ortelius, see: M.P. Génard, *La généalogie du geographe Abraham Ortelius*, in *Bulletin de la Société Royale de Géographie d'Anvers*, 1880–1881, pp. 5–40; Henri Emmanuel Wauwermans, art. *Abraham Ortels ou Wortels, dit Ortelius, géographe et antiquaire*, in *Biographie nationale de Belgique*, vol. XVI, Académie Royale des Sciences, des Lettres et des Beaux-Arts, Bruxelles: H. Thiry-Van Buggenhoudt, 1901, cols. 291–332; Jan Denuce, *Oud-Nederlandsche Kaartmakers in Betrekking met Plantijn*, (Uitgaven der Antwerpsche Bibliophilen 28), Antwerp, 1913; C. Koeman, *The History of Abraham Ortelius and His 'Theatrum Orbis Terrarum'*, Lausanne, 1964; R. Boumans, *The Religious Views of Abraham Ortelius*, in *JWCI* 7 (1954), pp. 374–77; Iain Buchanan, *Dürer and Abraham Ortelius*, in *The Burlington Magazine* 124 (1982), pp. 734–41; Marcel van den Broecke, *Abraham Ortelius, grondlegger van de moderne kartografie*, in *Kartografisch Tijdschrift* 24 (1998), pp. 4–8; Marcel van den Broecke, *Ortelius as a Scientist, Collector and Merchant*, in *Journal of the International Map Collector's Society* 77 (1999), pp. 21–31; Paul Binding, *Imagined Corners. Exploring the World's First Atlas*, London: Headline Book, 2003; Marcel van den Broecke, *Ortelius' Theatrum Orbis Terrarum (1570–1641). Characteristics and Development of a Sample of on Verso Texts*, (Netherlands Geographical Studies 380), The Hague: Koninklijk Nederlands Aardrijkskundig Genootschap, 2009.

[31] Wauwermans, art. *Abraham Ortelius*, col. 293.

[32] In 1535 the *Valor Ecclesasticus* was prepared, a thorough document identifying the benefices paying first fruits to the Pope, which Henry claimed as head of the Church in England. On the dissolution of the monasteries, see: David Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England*, vol. 3, Cambridge: UP, 1959, pp. 195–417; Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars. Traditional Religion in England, 1400–1580*, New Haven: Yale UP, 1992; Christopher Haigh, *The Last Days of the Lancashire Monasteries and the Pilgrimage of Grace*, Manchester: Chetham Society, 1969; Christopher Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance in Tudor Lancashire*, London: Cambridge UP, 1975; Christopher Haigh, *English Reformations. Religion, Politics, and Society under the Tudors*, Oxford: Clarendon, 1993.

and another bad harvest the following year), but Henry was determined to carry out his plans.[33] The closure of religious houses, convents, and abbeys, together with their schools, hospices, and charitable institutions, would result in England undergoing a tremendous social transformation. Overnight the country would lose more than 800 libraries, hospitals, and schools; 8000 religious men and women would be expelled from their homes; and many more individuals who used to work in or for the monasteries would become unemployed. Furthermore, the sick would be left unattended, and the poor and destitute would have no place to turn for alms, food, or clothing. The suppression of the monasteries undoubtedly played a significant role in the social instability of late Tudor England caused by the masses of "sturdy beggars."[34] Due to the dissolution, Britain also became deprived of female teachers, and for the next half-century girls would receive little education unless their family could afford to pay private tutors, could send them abroad, or were willing to risk persecution and stiff penalties by supporting unlicensed schools. Centres of pilgrimages, where no other source of income was readily available for the locals, became devastated and impoverished.

The whole known world was in turmoil. Its inhabitants had more on their minds than taking notice of the publication of the van Ruremund Press. The widow's pamphlet was received with hardly any interest at the time. The generations that followed essentially ignored the booklet, too. The fact that the Proclamation of 8 July 1546 listed the author among those writers whose works were forbidden did not help boost the recognition and the availability of the book either.[35] Only one copy is known to have survived, and it is located in Cambridge University Library.[36]

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[33] For example, the Lincolnshire Rising and the 'Pilgrimage of Grace.' See: Haigh, *The Last Days of the Lancashire Monasteries and the Pilgrimage of Grace*; Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance in Tudor Lancashire*; Richard Rex, *Henry VIII and the English Reformation*, London: Macmillan, 1993; Ethan H. Shagam, *Popular Politics and the English Reformation*, Cambridge: UP, 2003, pp. 89–130; Robert E. Scully, *The Unmaking of a Saint. Thomas Becket and the English Reformation*, in *The Catholic Historical Review* 86 (2000), pp. 579–602, esp. 587–89; W.G. Hoskins, *The Age of Plunder. The England of Henry VIII, 1500–1547*, London, 1976; Peter Marshall, *Religious Identities in Henry VIII's England*, (StAndrews), Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006, *passim*, esp. pp. 216–48; Hugh Loughran, *Henry VIII and the Pilgrimage of Grace (1537)*, in *Catholic Insight* 5 (1997), pp. 24–26.

[34] Arthur F. Kinney, *Rogues, Vagabonds & Sturdy Beggars. A New Gallery of Tudor and Early Stuart Rogue Literature Exposing the Lives, Times, and Cozening Tricks of The Elizabethan Underworld*, Barre: Imprint Society, 1973.

[35] Paul L. Hughes & James Francis Larkin (eds.), *Tudor Royal Proclamations*, vol. 1 *The Early Tudors (1485–1553)*, New Haven and London: Yale UP, 1964, no. 272.

[36] Shelfmark: Syn.8.53.75.

The Pamphlet and Its Author: The Debate on the Doom of the Dead between George Joye and William Tyndale

Having briefly described the worrisome and daunting world in which the book saw the light of day, it is time to reveal the title and the author of the widow's pamphlet. The book is entitled *An Apologye made by George Ioye to satisfye (if it maye be) w. Tindale: to pourge & defende himself ageinst so many sclaunderouse lyes fayned vpon him in Tindals vncheritable and vnsober Pystle so well worthye to be prefixed for the Reader to induce him into the vnderstaning of hys new Testament diligently corrected & printed in the yeare of oure lorde. M. CCCCC. and xxxiiij. in Nouember*. The author, as the title reveals, is a certain George Joye (*c.*1495–1553), an English Protestant writer and Bible translator, a refugee at the time, living and working in Antwerp.[37] The occasion for the publication was his debate with another English Protestant Bible translator, William Tyndale (*c.*1494–1536), also living at the time in Antwerp.[38] Their debate is the subject matter of this present work, for which Joye's book (further referred to as: *Apologye*) will form one of the key sources.

William Tyndale

William Tyndale (also called Hutchins) is undoubtedly the better known of the parties. Therefore, his life will only be reviewed succinctly for the sake of introduction. He was born in Gloucestershire around 1494, was educated in Oxford where he was ordained as a priest, and may also have studied in Cambridge. His disappointing university experience, the ignorance and malice of his provincial fellow clergymen, and Luther's works prompted him to answer Erasmus' call for the preparation of a fresh

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[37] On Joye's life, see: Charles C. Butterworth & Allan G. Chester, *George Joye (1495?–1553). A Chapter in the History of the English Bible and the English Reformation*, Philadelphia: UP of Pennsylvania, 1962 [abbrev. BC, *George Joye*]; Helen L. Parish, art. *George Joye* in IS ODNB; IS *ASC Renhold.*

[38] For accounts of Tyndale's life, see Andrew J. Brown, *William Tyndale on Priests and Preachers. With New Light on His Early Career*, London: Inscriptor Imprints, 1996; Robert Demaus, *William Tyndale. A Biography. A Contribution to the Early History of the English Bible*, London: Religious Tract Society, 1871; reprinted and revised by Richard Lovett, Amsterdam: J.C. Giben, 1971; James Frederic Mozley, *William Tyndale*, London & New York: SPCK/Macmillan, 1937; reprinted 1971; David Daniell, *William Tyndale. A Biography*, New Haven & London: Yale UP, 1994; Gergely Juhász & Guido Latré (eds.), *Tyndale's Testament*, Turnhout: Brepols, 2002.

translation of the New Testament (NT) for the common people.[39] He turned to Cuthbert Tunstall (1474–1559), the newly appointed bishop of London, for patronage. The bishop, who read Greek and Hebrew himself and who was friends with Erasmus (with whom he worked on the Greek NT), was reluctant to finance or give permission to the endeavour of Tyndale, who had been charged previously with heresy.[40] During his year

[39] Despite the *ad nauseam* repeated claim that the Church forbade the translation or the reading of the Scriptures in the vernacular, translating (let alone reading) *per se* was not forbidden at all. In fact, the Continent knew a wealth of vernacular Bible translations from the early Middle Ages on, the Bible had already been translated into Old English in the 8th century, and the Bible was translated into Anglo-Norman in the 11th century. Erasmus' call for vernacular translations for the "ploughboy," which inspired Tyndale so profoundly, was, in fact, pushing at an open door, at least where the Continent was concerned. In Germany, for example, the Mentel Bible, a High German version, had already been put out in 1466, before Luther was even born. There were altogether at least eighteen complete printed Low and High German editions of the Bible, ninety editions of the Gospels and the Sunday readings, and some fourteen German Psalters before Luther's NT was published (Juhász, Cat. 57 in *TT*, pp. 116–17). Some Provincial Councils, such as that at Toulouse in 1229, did locally regulate the dissemination and translation of the Bible where it was being used to attack the established religious and social order. This happened with the translations of John Wycliffe (*c.*1320–84), John Purvey (*c.*1353–1428), and Nicholas of Hereford (active 1370–1417) too (1380–84, 1396), and consequently episcopal approval was required by the Constitutions adopted by the Provincial Council at Oxford in 1408 for any *new, unauthorized* translations of the Bible. In practice it did come down to no *new* translation being made after that date, until Tyndale's Cologne publication. (The text of the Constitution has been published: Alfred W. Pollard, *Records of the English Bible. The Documents Relating to the Translation and Publication of the Bible in English, 1525–1611*, Henry Frowde, London: Oxford UP, 1911, pp. 79–80.) Thomas More attests to having seen acceptable English translations in manuscript form (Thomas More, *A dyaloge of syr Thomas More knyghte [. . .] touchyng the pestylent sect of Luther and Tyndale*, London: John Rastell, June 1529, III, 14, fos. 88–90). These, according to the majority of scholars, were probably Wycliffite manuscripts. For further information, see: Ian C. Levy (ed.), *A Companion to John Wyclif, Late Medieval Theologian*, (Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition 4), Leiden: Brill, 2006; G.W.H. Lampe (ed.), *The Cambridge History of the Bible. The West from the Fathers to the Reformation*, vol. 2, Cambridge & New York: Cambridge UP, 1969.

[40] In contrast to Tyndale, More, or Fisher, Tunstall was more of a pragmatist than an idealist and avoided conflict at all cost. He was the counsellor of Catherine of Aragon during the divorce, but he tried to dissuade her from appealing to Rome. Although he was not content with Henry's break with Rome, he accepted Henry's claim to be head of the Church and took the Oath of Succession. He banned Tyndale's *New Testament* and Simon Fish's *Supplication for the Beggers*, but he took no harsh steps against heretics and was renowned for being lenient in order to encourage recantation. During the reign of Edward VI, Tunstall was criticized by fellow bishop Stephen Gardiner (1483–1555) for his indulgent compliance with changes in religious and civil matters that they both despised. Eventually he voted against the King's policy and was imprisoned, but when he was re-established in his bishopric under Mary I, he was reluctant to persecute Protestants. At the age of eighty-five, when Elizabeth I came to power, however, Tunstall refused to take the Oath of Supremacy, and he was imprisoned again, where he died within a few weeks. On Tunstall, see: Charles Sturge, *Cuthbert Tunstal. Churchman, Scholar, Statesman, Administrator*,

in London, Tyndale made new friends among the merchant community and the clerical colleagues sympathetic to Luther's ideas and humanistic views. One of them, a wealthy merchant named Humphrey Monmouth, of the Company of Drapers, promised him financial backing. Around 1524 Tyndale emigrated to the Continent at Monmouth's expense.

Tyndale supposedly went to Hamburg and met Luther in Wittenberg, though there is no undisputed contemporary evidence to corroborate this.[41] The first trace of him on the Continent is in Cologne, where he started the printing of his unlicensed translation of the NT.[42] His plans were discovered, and he had to flee to Worms, where he completed the publication of his English NT in 1526. Copies of this translation were smuggled into England, but some were seized, condemned, and burned publicly. Meanwhile, Tyndale moved to Antwerp, a major centre of book printing and trade, as well as the commercial capital of Northern Europe at that time, where a large community of English merchants lived.[43] The city's autonomy, its special arrangements for the merchant adventurers, its liberal attitude on religious matters, and the opportunity to smuggle books easily into England hidden among other, perfectly orthodox books or among other goods on some of the many ships sailing to and fro between the city's booming harbour and England, were probably also influential in Tyndale's choice of place of refuge.[44]

London: Longmans Green, 1938; D.G. Newcombe, art. *Cuthbert Tunstal* in IS ODNB; art. *Cuthbert Tunstall* in IS *CE*.

[41] The matriculation-register of the University of Wittenberg contains an entry "Guillelmus Daltici Ex Anglia 27 Maij 1524." This has been suggested to refer to Tyndale. See: Preserved Smith, *Englishmen at Wittenberg in the Sixteenth Century*, in *EHR* 36 (1921), pp. 422–33.

[42] Richard Rex has correctly pointed out that the common opinion, which ascribes the abortive Cologne printing to Peter Quentell, the leading Catholic printer and publisher of the decade, is mistaken. (Richard Rex, *The English Campaign against Luther in the 1520s. The Alexander Prize Essay*, in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th Ser., 39 (1989), p. 103). Relying on secondary literature, I also followed this erroneous attribution in a former publication. (Juhász, Cat. 93 in *TT*, p. 149). With this note I would like to correct my earlier position. See also *infra* on p. 249.

[43] The community of and around the English Merchant Adventurers was the largest foreign 'natio' in Antwerp. See Oskar de Smedt, *De Engelse Natie te Antwerpen in de 16de Eeuw (1496–1582)*, 2 vols., Antwerp: De Sikkel, 1954.

[44] On the role of Antwerp in the early Reformation period, see: Paul Arblaster, *'Totius Mundi Emporium' Antwerp as a Centre for Vernacular Bible Translations, 1523–1545*, in Arie-Jan Gelderblom, Jan L. de Jong & Marc Van Vaeck (eds.), *The Low Countries as a Crossroads of Religious Beliefs*, Leiden: Brill, 2004, pp. 9–31; Guido Latré, *The First English Bibles in Print (Antwerp, 1526–38)*, in *TSJ* 19 (August 2001), pp. 35–37; Gergely Juhász, *Antwerpen szerepe a nyugat-európai korareformációs bibliafordítások történetében*, in Péter Losonczi

In Antwerp, Tyndale set forth the work of Bible translation by publishing in English the five books of Moses as well as that of Jonah, all from the Hebrew text with the aid of Luther's German translation. Besides his translations, Tyndale wrote several religious tracts during his Antwerp years. In *The obedie[n]ce of a Christen man* published (with the fictitious address "At Marlborow in the land of Hesse by me Hans luft") by Merten de Keyser in Antwerp on 2 October 1528, Tyndale expounds upon the mutual duty of the authority and its subjects towards each other.[45] This mutual duty is founded on the obedience every Christian person owes to God. To understand God's will one has to read and obey the Bible.[46] Tyndale's *Parable of the Wicked Mammon*, published by the same printer and with the same fictitious colophon earlier in the same year, was the first to bear his name. The work was a treatise on justification by faith, but it also included a translation of a sermon by Luther on Lk. 16:1–13 (the parable of the unjust steward)—hence its commonly used title.[47] Tyndale believed that justifying faith must be a 'feeling faith,' and the works must derive from love. In *The practyse of Prelates*, published anonymously in 1530 by Merten de Keyser (and again with a misleading address as printed at 'Marboch'), Tyndale treats the problem of "Whether the Kinges grace maye be separated from hys quene, be cause she was his brothers wife." He answers the question in the negative, but the subject gives him the opportunity to express his low esteem of the English clergy, especially Cardinal Wolsey (*c.*1474–1530), whom he suspects to be behind the divorce.[48] His *A pathway into the holy scripture* is a short guide to instruct his readership how to understand the Bible (1530). He also composed two commentaries, one on the First Letter of John (1531) and the other on the Sermon on the Mount (1533).[49] In 1531, Tyndale engaged in a literary battle with Thomas More by replying to the latter's *A dyaloge of syr Thomas More knyghte [...] touchyng the*

& Géza Xeravits (eds.), *Vita és párbeszéd. A monoteista hagyomány történeti perspektívában*, Budapest: Goldziher Intézet-L'Harmattan, 2004, pp. 87–118; *TT*.

[45] William Tyndale, *The obedie[n]ce of a Christen man and how Christen rulers ought to governe/ where in also (yf thou marke diligently) thou shalt fynde eyes to perceave the crafty conveyaunce of all iugglers*, At Marlborow in the lande of Hesse: Hans luft [*vere* Antwerp: Merten de Keyser], 2 October 1528. A modern spelling edition was prepared by David Daniell, published in the Penguin Classics series in 2000. A critical edition is being prepared by Amanda Piesse and Paul Arblaster and is to be published in Manchester by UP.

[46] For more information, see Arblaster, Cat. 98 in *TT*, pp. 155–56.

[47] William Tyndale, *The parable of the wicked mammon*, Malborowe in the londe off Hesse: Hans luft [*vere* Antwerp: Merten de Keyser], 8 May 1528.

[48] On Tyndale's *The practyse of Prelates* see: Arblaster, Cat. 107 in *TT*, pp. 163–64.

[49] See Juhász, Cat. 96 in *TT*, pp. 153–55.

pestylent sect of Luther and Tyndale (London: John Rastell, June 1529). In his *An answere vnto Sir Thomas Mores dialoge*, from the press of Symon Cock in 1531, Tyndale defends his methods of biblical interpretation and his choice of words in the translation.[50] After his clarification, he refutes More's arguments chapter by chapter. Tyndale's *Answer* was matched by More's voluminous *The confutacyon of Tyndales answere*, but Tyndale left it unreciprocated.[51] In April 1535 he was betrayed and arrested. He was charged with Lutheran heresy and was imprisoned at Vilvoorde. After more than a year in prison, Tyndale was strangled and his body burned, probably on 6 September 1536.

Although many of his theological stances were not followed by the Church of England (or any other later Protestant offshoot), there is no denomination among English Protestantism that would not claim its origin in one way or another in Tyndale's efforts.[52] Today, his legacy largely remains in his translations. They testify to Tyndale's extraordinary linguistic talents: smooth, eloquent, rhythmic, and uncomplicated, his phrases sound well even half a millennium later. They influenced every single subsequent English Bible translation, and his effect on the development of the English language is inestimable.

George Joye

While William Tyndale needs little introduction, his opponent in the debate is much less celebrated. George Joye was born around 1495 to a well-off intellectual family at 'Salpho Bury' (Bedfordshire, about six kilometres northeast of Bedford), the only mentioned Renhold manor in the Domesday Book.[53] Until the dissolution of the monasteries, the

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[50] William Tyndale, *An answere vnto Sir Thomas Mores dialoge made by Uvillyam Tindale*, Antwerp: Symon Cock, 1531. Modern critical edition: William Tyndale, *An Answere vnto Sir Thomas Mores Dialoge*, eds. Anne M. O'Donnell & Jared Wicks, (The Independent Works of William Tyndale 3), Washington (DC): Catholic UP of America, 2000. [hereafter: O'Donnell].

[51] Thomas More, *The confutacyon of Tyndales answere*, London: William Rastell, 1532–33. On the debate between Tyndale and More, see: Arblaster, Cats. 108–10 in *TT*, pp. 164–67.

[52] For more information on how Tyndale's memory has changed in the past, see: Gergely Juhász & Paul Arblaster, *Can Translating the Bible Be Bad for Your Health? William Tyndale and the Falsification of Memory*, in Johan Leemans & Jürgen Mettepenningen (eds.), *More Than a Memory. The Discourse of Martyrdom and the Construction of Christian Identity in the History of Christianity*, (ANL 51), Leuven, Paris, and Dudley: Peeters, 2005, pp. 315–40.

[53] William Page (ed.), *The Victoria History of the County of Bedford*, vol. I, p. 380; vol. III, p. 216.

manor together with the tithe of entire Renhold was held by the Prior of Newnham Abbey, the most ancient religious foundation in Bedfordshire.[54] The wealth, loyalty to the King, and piety of the Joye family is exemplified by the foundation of 'Joye's Charity' in the Parish of St Paul's, Bedford, in 1503, established by the testament of the lawyer William Joye of Bedford, George Joye's grandfather.[55] George's father, John Joye (d. 1521), was a yeoman of Renhold. Henry Joye, the brother of George, became attorney in the Common Plea to the Newnham Priory, Bedford.[56] The mansion remained in the hands of the Joye family. In 1581, 'Buryssteede' or Salphobury was recorded to be occupied by William Joye of Renhold.[57]

George Joye was educated at Cambridge. Around 1508 he entered Christ's College, where he graduated as a Bachelor of Arts in 1513 or 1514. The following year, on 3 March 1515, "Georgius Ioye de Rownhall" was ordained subdeacon at the Augustinian Priory of Newnham, Bedford, and three weeks later he was ordained priest at the Benedictine Abbey of Humberston, Lincolnshire.[58] In early 1517 he obtained the degree of Master of Arts and was "inceptor in arte."[59] He lost his father in 1521. On 27 April of the same year he was elected Fellow of Peterhouse. His name "Geo. Joye" appears on the mutilated list of "Artium professores" of

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[54] Page, *The Victoria History of the County of Bedford*, vol. III, p. 216.

[55] "Joye's Charity" provided for a priest to sing daily mass for the souls of Henry VII (°1457, reigned 1485–1509) and his wife, Elisabeth of York (1466–1503), whose marriage on 18 January 1486 ended the Wars of the Roses and was responsible for the creation of the Tudor Rose (the joining of the white rose of York and the red rose of Lancaster). IS *ASC Renhold*.

[56] IS *ASC Renhold*.

[57] James Frederic Mozley, *George Joye, or Gee*, in *N&Q* 185 (1943), pp. 252–53.

[58] The Register of the bishop of Lincoln is quoted by BC, *George Joye*, p. 17. Butterworth and Chester state that he was ordained *for* Humberston Abbey. This is unlikely, as he was in all probability a diocesan priest. They also present Joye as subject to the Augustinian prior Ashwell of Newnham Priory, which is almost as unlikely (p. 38). Cf. Thomas M. Parker's review in *EHR* 79 (1964), pp. 838–39. When Newnham Abbey was suppressed, some of the estates were bought by John Drake, who was at the time steward of the abbey. (See: Louis Stoughton Drake, *The Drake Family in England and America 1360–1895 and the Descendants of Thomas Drake of Weymouth, MA 1635–1691*, Boston: private edition, 1896.) The stones of the abbey were probably used for other buildings, *inter alia* for the Willington Dovecote & Stables, a stone dovecote containing nesting boxes for over 1500 pigeons (IS *Willington Dovecote*). The dovecote was finished in 1541 and Joye still might have seen it, no doubt feeling somewhat contented about Ashwell's priory ending as a stable and nesting boxes for doves. The abbey's hall church still exists as St Paul's in Bedford. On Newnham Abbey, see: *Houses of Austin canons. The priory of Newnham*, in Page, *The Victoria History of the County of Bedford*: vol. I, pp. 377–81.

[59] BC, *George Joye*, p. 19.

Peterhouse in 1522.[60] He kept this position at Cambridge for more than ten years (until he eventually fled to the Continent in 1528). Three years later, in 1525, Joye became Bachelor of Divinity. It is during his Cambridge years that Joye encountered the Reformation. Luther and the 'New Learning' were undoubtedly the topic of many a conversation among students and professors. Several of those who were present in Cambridge in those years became prominent figures of the Reform later; Joye knew quite a few personally.[61] And even if Foxe's romantic image of these students and scholars convening secretly on a regular basis in the White Horse Inn (or 'Little Germany,' as the opponents of reform called the inn, according to Foxe) is unsubstantiated, the mutual personal influence of these individuals on one another certainly played a decisive element in fomenting the Reformation in England. It did not take long before the religious authorities were notified that adherents of Luther were present in Cambridge. In 1526 Barnes was apprehended and tried for heresy. Around the same time, the premises of the university were searched, but the President of Queen's College, Thomas Farman, was tipped off, and most of the books were hidden in time. Some persons were examined, Joye among them. His copy of Chrysostom's exegetical sermons on Genesis in Oecolampadius' (1482–1531) translation was discovered, but Stephen Gardiner 'spoke for him,' and apparently no action was taken against them.[62] In 1527, however,

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[60] *L&P Addenda*, vol. I/1, no. 357. Butterworth and Chester suggest that the list might have been drawn up for the visit of Henry VIII to Cambridge that year. BC, *George Joye*, p. 19.

[61] Just a few who were present in Cambridge while Joye was there: George Stafford (Pembroke College, fellow in 1515), Nicholas Ridley (*c.*1500–55, Pembroke College, fellow *c.*1524), Thomas Arthur (Pembroke College, BD in 1523), Thomas Bilney (*c.*1491–1531, Trinity Hall, BD in 1524), John Rogers (Pembroke College, BA in 1526), Edward Foxe (*c.*1496–1538, a personal friend of Joye, King's College), John Frith (1503–33, King's College), Richard Bayfield (Benet Hall, d. 1531), Matthew Parker (1504–75, Benet Hall, BA in 1525, fellow in 1527), Richard Taverner (1505–75, Benet Hall), Thomas Cranmer (1489–1556, Jesus College, reaccepted fellow in 1523), John Bale (1495–1563, Jesus College, BD in 1529), Stephen Gardiner (1497–1555, Trinity Hall, JCD in 1521), Hugh Latimer (*c.*1485/90–1555, fellow of Clare College, BD in 1521), Robert Barnes (1495–1540, DD in 1523), Simon Smith (Gonville Hall, MA). Having assumed his vows as Augustinian friar, Myles Coverdale (*c.*1488–1568) was also living in the Cambridge priory where Robert Barnes was the prior. Many of them read Greek, and almost all of them became involved in one way or another in the translation and dissemination of the Scriptures. The presence of such an illustrious company at Cambridge is probably the reason behind Tyndale's alleged stay there. For further information, see: BC, *George Joye*, pp. 23–31; Arthur Tilley, *Greek Studies in Early Sixteenth-Century England*, in *EHR*, vol. 53, No. 211 (July 1938), pp. 438–56; Marcus Lawrence Loane, *Masters of the English Reformation*, London: Church Society, 1954; and the corresponding ODNB entries.

[62] George Joye, *The refutation of the byshop of Winchesters derke declaration*, London, 1546, fo. lxxxi^{v}. The incriminating book was: Joannes Chrysostom, *Divi Ioannis Chrysostomi/ archiepiscopi Constantinopolitani/ in totum Geneseos librum homiliæ sexagintasex, à Ioanne*

John Ashwell, Augustinian Prior of Newnham Priory at Bedford, denounced Joye as a heretic to John Longland, bishop of Lincoln (1521–47), Chancellor of Oxford, and confessor to King Henry VIII. The authorities had to act to stop the further spread of heresy in Cambridge. The three chief instigators—Thomas Bilney, Thomas Arthur, and Joye—were summoned before Cardinal Wolsey at Westminster in November 1527.[63] As he was in the countryside when the Cardinal's letters arrived, Joye arrived somewhat late, when the two others were already being questioned. Unaware of the precise charges against him, he was helped again by Gardiner, who showed him Longland's and Ashwell's letters.[64] Having waited for several days in Wolsey's antechamber to be received by the Cardinal, and having seen the interrogation of Bilney and Arthur, Joye deemed it safer to flee to the Continent.[65] He possibly went first to Strasbourg, but by 1529 at the latest he must have moved to Antwerp, for reasons similar to Tyndale's.[66]

In Antwerp, Joye found an ever-increasing community of English Protestants who sought refuge there.[67] A number of them, such as Myles Coverdale, were employed in the printing business. Printing was at that time a major enterprise, and Antwerp had a more than respectable share of the market. Antwerp printers were working for the English market even

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Oecolampadio hoc anno uersæ. Habes præterea textum Geneseos/ iuxta septuaginta interpretes æditionem qua authores prisci ferme omnes usi sunt eodem interprete, Basileae: Apvd Andream Cratandrvm, Anno 1523. Mense Septembri.

[63] On their trials, see: John F. Davis, *The Trials of Thomas Bylney and the English Reformation*, in *The Historical Journal* 24 (1981), pp. 775–90.

[64] Joye, *The refutation of the byshop of Winchesters derke declaration*, fo. lxxxi^{v}.

[65] Joye himself gives the points of accusation by Ashwell, as well as an account of his summons to London and how he decided to emigrate to the Continent, in his *The letters which Iohan Ashwel Priour of Newnham Abbey besids Bedforde, sente secretely to the Bishope of Lyncolne/ in the yeare of our lorde M.D.xxvij. Where in the sayde priour accuseth George Ioye that tyme beinge felawe of Peter college in Cambridge, of fower opinio[n]s: with the answer of the sayed George vn to the same opinions*, Straszburge [*vere* Antwerp: Merten de Keyser], 10. daye of June [1531].

[66] For a discussion on Joye's presence in Strasbourg, see: BC, *George Joye*, pp. 47–50. Strasbourg at the time was not only the home for mainstream Reformers (e.g. Martin Bucer, Matthäus Zell and Wolfgang Capito) but was also a safe haven for various refugees of the Radical reformation (e.g. Melchior Hoffman, Caspar Schwenckfeld and Clemens Ziegler). Eventually these "Anabaptists" and other "sectarians" were expelled from the city (see *infra* on pp. 208 and 277).

[67] Eventually William Tyndale, Robert Barnes, Myles Coverdale, George Constantine (*c.*1500–*c.*1561), Simon Smith, Simon Fish (d. 1531), William Roye (d. 1531), Jerome Barlow (d. 1568), and John Rogers all went to Antwerp, although they were not necessarily all there at the same time.

before 1500.[68] During the first four decades of the 16th century, the city had some sixty-odd printers active who were issuing high-quality works at relatively low cost in Latin, Greek, Dutch, English, French, Italian, Spanish, Danish, and German.[69] As this type of work required accuracy, patience, and, not unimportantly, considerable intellectual and linguistic abilities, the cheap labour of well-trained illegal English immigrant clerics seeking some source of income was readily exploited. Their precarious position reassured the printer that they were not going to turn him in to the authorities for the lucrative black market publications. Furthermore, their new writings and translations could satisfy the demand for such clandestine books. Joye, too, seems to have earned his living by proofreading, translating, and writing for various Antwerp printers. During his first period of exile he wrote defences against his accusers, composed prayer books, and translated a considerable portion of the Old Testament (OT). His first publication was a primer, a popular devotional book containing prayers and guidance for piety.[70] Though not the first English primer, Joye's was certainly "the first Protestant devotional manual" ever published in the English language.[71] No copy has survived, but based on its

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[68] Maria Elizabeth Kronenberg, *Notes on English Printing in the Low Countries (Early Sixteenth Century)*, in *The Library*, s4-IX (1928), p. 140; E. Gorden Duff, *Fifteenth Century English Books. A Bibliography of Books and Documents Printed in England and of Books for the English Market Printed Abroad.* Oxford: UP for the Bibliographical Society, 1917.

[69] Cf. Frederick C. Avis, *England's Use of Antwerp Printers*, Gutenberg-Jahrbuch 1973, p. 234. Avis mistakenly mentions Hebrew and leaves out Dutch in his list of languages. Daniell followed Avis' mistaken list (Daniell, *William Tyndale*, p. 169).

[70] The name 'primer' was originally used to denote the *Book of Hours of the Blessed Virgin Mary* in the 14th century. Later, other prayers were added. "Compiled from materials used in church and monastery, the Primer was intended specially for the laity, to guide the devout layman in his private daily devotions or to help him bear his part in the services of the Church" (Charles C. Butterworth, *The English Primers (1529–1545). Their Publication and Connection with the English Bible and the Reformation in England*, Philadelphia: UP Pennsylvania, 1953, p. 2).

[71] William A. Clebsch, *England's Earliest Protestants 1520–1535*, (Yale Publications in Religion 11), New Haven: Yale UP, 1964, reprinted: Westport: Greenwood, 1980. See also Christopher Haigh, *The English Reformation Revised*, Cambridge: UP, 1987, p. 208. Earlier primers according the Salisbury (*Sarum*) rite had been circulating in English in manuscript form. Henry Littlehales edited two such manuscripts for the Early English Text Society (Original Series 105 and 109): *The Prymer, or Prayer-Book of the Lay People in the Middle Ages, dating about 1400 A.D.*, London, 1891, and *The Prymer or Lay Folks Prayer Book*, London, 1895–97. The first known primer to contain prayers in English was published in 1494 by Caxton. In 1523 Christopher van Ruremund published a primer which contained the *Our Father*, the *Hail Mary*, the *Creed*, and "The x.v. ooes in englighe" (*sic*) (the Fifteen O's were popular supplications ascribed to St Bridget), as well as various rubrics: headings and indulgences connected with the prayers and the number of aves, paternosters, and credos to be said: *Hore beate marię virginis secundum usum Sarum: cum varijs orationibus/ cuiliber deuoto commodis*, [Christopher van Ruremund for] Peter Kaetz, 1523. For prim-

revised edition and on contemporary accounts, much of its content can be reconstructed.[72] It contained the translation of the seven penitential psalms (and other "heavenly Psalmes") and "Mattens and Euensong" with the Commendations (Psalm 119), but omitted the Litany of the Saints, the hymns and anthems to the Blessed Virgin, and the *Dirge*.[73] English Protestants now had their NT in their mother tongue in Tyndale's translation and their vernacular prayer book in Joye's edition. More than any others, these two books affected the development of English Protestantism in the first two decades.

After his *Primer*, containing perhaps as many as thirty psalms, the next logical step was to translate the rest of the Psalter. Psalms have always appealed to the faithful and have been widely used in devotion both by clergy and laity. Convinced that the afflictions and persecution the Reformers experienced were what Jesus foretold as signs of the perilous end times, Joye thought that the psalms were "the prayers most convenient for this time."[74] By offering the psalms as prayers the faithful could appease "Goddis wrath" and "be restored into his favour & grace." Moreover, offering the psalms as prayers also "encrese[s] their [i.e. the faithful people's] faithe & their deuotion."[75] Joye's first complete version of the Psalter, published in 1530, was "faithfully & purely translated" after Feline's text from the "Ebrue verite/ in the which tonge Dauid/ with the other syngers of ye Psalmes firste sung them," i.e. Martin Bucer's fresh Latin translation of the Hebrew.[76] In the same year Joye published a revised version of his *Primer* with the title *Ortulus anime. The garden of the soule*. Joye regarded

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ers that contained English prayers prior to Joye's *Primer*, see: Butterworth, *The English Primers*, pp. 1–10.

[72] E.g. More, *The confutacyon of Tyndales answere*, sig. Bb2^{r}, and the *Publick Instrument* drawn up by a royal commission in May 1530, printed in David Wilkins, *Concilia Magnae Britanniae et Hiberniae, a synodo Verolamiensi a. D. 446 ad Londinensem a. D. 1717, accedunt constitutiones et alia ad historiam ecclesiae anglicanae spectantia . . . A Davide Wilkins collecta*, vol. 3, London, 1737, reprint: Brussels: Culture et civilisation, 1964, p. 727.

[73] The English word *Dirge*, referring to the *Office for the Dead*, is derived from the first words of the first antiphon of the Matins in the *Officium defunctorum*: *Dirige, Domine, Deus meus, in conspectu tuo viam meam* (Ps. 5:9(8)). Besides its tendentious omissions, the *Primer* was also criticized for propagating heretical positions. See *infra* on p. 296.

[74] George Joye, *Ortulus anime. The garden of the soule: or the englisshe primers*, Argentine: Francis Foxe [*vere* Antwerp: Merten de Keyser], 1530, K7^{v}–K8^{v}. The only known copy in the British Library was discovered in 1949.

[75] Joye, *Ortulus anime*, K8^{v}.

[76] George Joye (trans.), *The Psalter of Dauid purely and faithfully translated aftir the texte of Feline: euery Psalme hauyinge his argument before/ declarynge brefly thentente & substance of the wholl Psalme*, Argentine: Francis foxe [*vere* Antwerp: Merten de Keyser], 16 January 1530, A1^{v}. On Bucer's Psalter published under the name Aretius Felinus, see *infra* on pp. 215ff.

the prophetic books of the OT as equally expedient for devout reading "in theis perellous daies" as the psalms.[77] The *Ortulus anime* (and possibly his first *Primer*, too) had already contained prayers taken from Isaiah, Daniel, and Jonah, and thus Joye began to translate the prophets. It seems that in the beginning there was some kind of settlement between Tyndale and Joye about sharing the books of the OT between them: while Tyndale, after his Pentateuch (1530), translated Jonah into English, Joye translated Isaiah in 1531.[78] In the same year, Joye published his defence against the charges of heresy made against him by the Prior of Newnham Abbey four years earlier.[79] At the end of the year, on 3 December, Joye's two *Primers* and his Psalter were publicly denounced in London as heretical.[80] By 1532 at the latest, Joye got married.[81] Probably in 1533 he published the translation of Proverbs and Ecclesiastes.[82] That is also the year in which Joye's position on the Eucharist was formulated in the anonymously published *The Souper of the Lorde*.[83] In the beginning of 1534, Joye brought out a book attacking Thomas More's "unwrytten verites" (Sacred Tradition) as a source of the Revelation and the principle that the Church cannot err.[84]

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[77] Joye, *Ortulus anime*, sig. K8^{v}.

[78] George Joye (trans.), *The Prophete Isaye*, Straszburg: Balthassar Beckenth [*vere* Antwerp: Merten de Keyser], 10 May 1531; William Tyndale, *The prophete Jonas* [Antwerp: Merten de Keyser, 1531]. Both were published by Merten de Keyser and clearly meant to be twin volumes. See Juhász, Cats. 85 and 86 in *TT*, pp. 138–39.

[79] Joye, *The letters which Iohan Ashwel Priour of Newnham Abbey besids Bedforde, sente secretely to the Bishope of Lyncolne/ in the yeare of our lorde M.D.xxvij. Where in the sayde priour accuseth George Ioye that tyme beinge felawe of Peter college in Cambridge, of fower opinio[n]s: with the answer of the sayed George vn to the same opinions*, Straszburge [*vere* Antwerp: Merten de Keyser], 10. daye of June [1531]. (STC 845).

[80] BC, *George Joye*, p. 83.

[81] "George Iay the preste, y*t* is wedded now" (More, *The confutacyon of Tyndales answere*, sig. Bb2^{r} (*CWTM* VIII, p. 11)).

[82] Butterworth and Chester make the probable suggestion that Joye first published these books in Antwerp. They are only known from the undated copies (*c.*1535) printed by Thomas Godfray, a London printer who also reprinted Joye's first Psalter in 1534 and put out an extended version of Joye's *Ortulus anime* in the same year (BC, *George Joye*, pp. 135–43).

[83] George Joye, *The Souper of the Lorde: wher vnto, that thou mayst be the better prepared and suerlyer enstructed: haue here firste the declaracion of the later parte of the .6. ca. of S. Joha[n], beginninge at the letter C. the fowerth lyne before the crosse, at these wordis: Uerely uere. &c wheryn incidently M. Moris letter agenst Johan Frythe is confuted*, Nornburg: Niclas twonson [*vere* Antwerp], 5 April 1533. On the much debated question of the authorship of the book, see Orlaith O'Sullivan's decisive article: Orlaith O'Sullivan, *The Authorship of* The Supper of the Lord, in *Reformation* 2 (1997), pp. 207–32.

[84] George Joye, *The Subuersion of Moris false foundacion: where upon he sweteth to set faste and shoue vnder his shameles shoris/ to vnderproppe the popis chirche: Made by George Ioye*, Emdon: Jacob Aurik [*vere Antwerp*: Catherine van Ruremund], 1534.

Joye's translation of *Ieremy the Prophete*, appearing in May 1534, is the first known work by Joye from the press of the van Ruremund family.[85] The volume included Joye's translation of Lamentations, too. All of these translations were the first of those books ever put into print in English. Only three months after his *Ieremy the Prophete*, in August 1534 Joye put forth a fresh version of the Psalms, this time from Zwingli's Latin Psalter with commentary, whose works had also served as a model for Joye's translations of the other books of the OT.[86]

It is clear from what has been said that by 1534 Joye had definitely made his name with his biblical translations. Translating the Scriptures into English was no longer Tyndale's exclusive business.[87] Around this time, Joye seems to have made a shift from the press of Merten de Keyser to one of his rivals, the van Ruremund family, which was run by the widow of Christoffel van Ruremund after the death of her husband in the Tower

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[85] George Joye (trans.), *Ieremy the Prophete/ translated into Englisshe: by George Ioye: some tyme felowe of Peter College in Cambridge. ¶The songe of Moses is added in the ende to magnif ye our Lorde for the fallof our Pharao the Bisshop of Rome*, [Antwerp: Catherine van Ruremund], ¶Anno. M.D. and .xxxiiii. in the monthe of Maye.

[86] George Joye (trans.), *Dauids Psalter/ diligently and faithfully translated by George Ioye/ with breif Arguments before euery Psalme/ declaringe the effect therof*, [Antwepen:] Martyne Emperowr [= Merten de Kesyer], 1534.

[87] According to a letter by Tyndale preserved in Foxe's *Actes and Monuments*, Joye even intended to print a complete Bible and sent Henry and Anne Boleyn each a copy of "two leaves of Genesis in a great form" to obtain royal approval in 1533 (John Foxe, *A&M*, 1563, p. 521). If the information is correct, Joye's hopes were not completely unfounded, as Cardinal Wolsey had been dismissed from all of his posts of power, was charged with treason, and died in 1530. Henry, more and more under the influence of Cromwell, was clearly heading for a breach with Rome. In 1531 Cromwell's envoy, Stephen Vaughan (*c.*1502–1549), attempted to come to an accord with Tyndale about returning to England. Later he also reported about Joye to Cromwell that he "lerned of one George Gee fled out of Englond [...] who undoubtedly is a right honest and true subiect to the Kyng" (*State Papers*, vol. VII, p. 489). Only a year after Joye's alleged petition, in 1534, Joye's 1530 translation of the Psalms could already be reprinted by Thomas Godfray in London *cum privilegio regali* (although this did not mean that Henry licensed the book), and in 1541 it was printed again by Edward Whitchurch. On 19 December 1534, the English bishops petitioned for an English Bible (Pollard, *Records of the English Bible*, p. 177). Tyndale wrote frowningly to Frith that the result of Joye's petition was only a search for English books among the Antwerp printers and for an English priest who would translate the Bible. It is much more likely, however, that the search was not conducted for an English Bible or for Joye (who was in contact with Vaughan), but to seize the Franciscan William Peto of Greenwich (later Cardinal, d. *c.*1558) and a certain Elston of Canterbury, who were superintending a publication of a treatise defending Catherine of Aragon's rights under Catholic Canon Law. This bit of information was communicated to Cromwell precisely by George Joye through Stephen Vaughan. *State Papers* vol. VII, pp. 489 and 516. See also: *infra* on p. 316 and BC, *George Joye*, pp. 101–04.

of London. It is she who convinced Joye to take on the proofreading of Tyndale's NT edition, which had been reprinted repeatedly by her firm without any English-speaking corrector. Joye, after much persuasion, accepted the job, and in the same month that Joye's Psalter translated from Zwingli came out from the press of Merten de Keyser (August 1534), Tyndale's NT was put out for the fourth time by the van Ruremund family, now with Joye's corrections. Joye, however, took the job seriously, and he not only amended the typographical errors, but also revised the translation to improve comprehension. This revision also entailed the substitution of the term 'resurreccion,' as found in Tyndale's text, with expressions such as 'the lyfe after this' for some occurrences of the word. Joye, as he later explained, was motivated by the conviction that the original term in the Bible in those places did not refer to the bodily resurrection but to the survival of the soul.

Tyndale reacted vehemently to what he regarded as meddling with his text. He brought out his own revised version of his NT in November 1534. In this version, Tyndale fulminated against Joye and his translation, especially in an unusual, second foreword, which was dedicated entirely to the business with Joye. Tyndale accused Joye of both instigating the heresy of the denial of the bodily resurrection and causing schisms, and he made Joye appear to be a presumptuous, greedy, light-headed second-rate imitator, a description that has unfortunately stuck with him.

Joye, who felt that Tyndale's charges were unjust, sought every opportunity to clear his name from the imputations, especially that of denying the bodily resurrection. Although there was a chance for reconciliation at the beginning, for some reason their agreement was not respected. In January 1535 the van Ruremund press issued yet another edition of Tyndale's original NT, again with Joye's translation and a short epilogue by Joye about his motives. Tyndale's third version of his NT translation appeared in the same month. At the end of February, Joye published his *Apologye*, in which he gives a detailed account of the controversy, explaining the reasons behind his actions.

When Tyndale was betrayed in April 1535, Henry Phillips intended to have Joye and Robert Barnes, the two other persons whom the English authorities regarded as leaders of the Reformers in Antwerp, arrested too. Barnes was in England at the time, and Joye happened to be more fortunate than Tyndale; probably notified of Phillips' plans or of Tyndale's arrest, Joye fled to Calais. Apparently, in light of his previous conflict with Tyndale, Joye's prompt departure upon Tyndale's detention triggered

rumours among the English merchants about Joye's involvement in the treachery. This, however, was denied by Phillips himself.[88]

Joye returned to England probably during the summer of 1535. Little is known about his years in England. The only trace from this period is his book *A compendyouse Somme of the very Christen relygyon*, a translation of an Antwerp pamphlet originally printed by Johannes Grapheus two years earlier.[89] In 1540 Joye fled once again to the Continent. He returned to Antwerp and most likely worked again for the widow of Christoffel van Ruremund during his second exile. In 1541 *A frutefull treatis of Baptyme and the Lordis Souper* came out.[90] That same year he published a translation from Melanchthon and an original work of his (under the pseudonym James Sawtry), both defending clerical marriage and attacking Bishop Stephen Gardiner of Winchester, whom he held responsible for the execution of Barnes a year earlier.[91] Gardiner answered Joye's book and was then confuted by Joye in yet another volume. Joye's son, George, was born around 1543.[92] In *A present consolacion for the sufferers of persecucion for*

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[88] See *infra* on p. 423.

[89] George Joye, *A compendyouse Somme of the very Christen relygyon: gathered faythfully out of the holy scripture: necessary for all them that rede the olde and new Testament [. . .] Translated by George Ioye the yere of our lorde. M.D. xxxv. In Septembre*, London: John Bydell, 1535. The original bore the title: *Summa totius sacrae scripturae, Bibliorum veteris & noui Testamenti. Item Praecepta Dei per Moysen data & a Christo interpretata*.

[90] George Joye, *A frutefull treatis of Baptyme and the Lordis Souper/ of the vse and effect of them/ of the worthey and vnworthy receyuers of the Souper/ necessary to be knowne of all Christen men/ which yerely receyue the Sacrament*, Grunning [*vere* Antwerp: Catherine van Ruremund], 27 April 1541.

[91] George Joye (trans.), *A very godly defense/ full of lerning/ defending the mariage of Preistes/ gathered by Philip Melanchthon/ & sent vnto the kyng of Englond/ Henry the aight/ tra[n]slated out of latyne into englisshe/ by lewes beuchame*: *the yere of the Lorde.M.CCCCC. XLI. in Auguste*, Lipse: Ubryght Hoff [*vere* Antwerp: Catherine van Ruremund] and George Joye, *The defence of the Mariage of Preistes: Agenst Steuen Gardiner bisshop of Wynchester/ William Repse bisshop of Norwiche/ and agenst all the bisshops and preistes of that false popissh secte/ which a confutacion of their vnaduysed vowes vnaduysedly diffined: whereby they haue so wykedly separated them whom God cowpled in lawfull mariage. Made by James Sawtry*, Auryk: Jan Troost [*vere* Antwerp: Catherine van Ruremund], M.D. XLI. in August.

[92] Butterworth and Chester speak of only one son, who was also named George. The website for All Saints Church in Renhold, however, mentions several children: "George, who was born about 1543, was the youngest of five sons and three daughters. He graduated BA from St John's College, Cambridge, in 1563/64 and MA in 1567, having been created a Fellow in 1565. He further graduated BD in 1575 and was ordained Deacon at Ely on 21 December 1569, aged 26. He became Rector of St Peter's, Sandwich, Kent, from 1570 to 1574 and Vicar of Higham from 1573 to 1575. In 1574, he became Vicar of St Clement's, Sandwich until 1600 and, in plurality he was P.C. of St Mary's, Dover from 1574 and Rector of Elmstone from 1580. He died in 1600 and was buried at Elmstone" (IS *ASC Renhold*). As

ryghtwyseness (September 1544), Joye expounded upon the theme that Christ's true church has always been persecuted. Joye was more and more convinced that they were living in apocalyptic times, that the Pope was the Antichrist, and that Henry was a prince in the Kingdom of the Antichrist.[93] Accordingly, his interest at the end of his life became increasingly focused on apocalyptic works. In August 1545 *The exposicion of Daniel the Prophete* appeared.[94] Joye's books were condemned *en bloc* by the proclamation of 6 July 1546, and the copies that could be procured were burnt at St Paul's Cross on 28 September of that same year. When Edward VI came to power upon Henry's death (20 January 1547), Joye returned to England (around 1548). In May 1548 he published his *The Coniectures of the ende of the Worlde and of that godly and learned man, Andrew Osiander*. In this cabalistic reading of the Bible (based largely on the prophecies of Daniel) the end of the world is projected for between 1585 and 1625. In 1549 Joye entered into debate with a young Protestant writer on the judicial punishment of adulterers.[95] This debate and his falling-out with Tyndale are probably the reason behind his infamy.[96] His opponent, in fact, was John Foxe, the later Protestant propagandist and historian whose martyrology was to constitute the foundations of the study of the early Reformation period. In September 1549 Sir Henry Grey of Flitton gave Joye the Rectory of Blunham, Bedfordshire, and half a year later, on 21 March 1550, Bishop Ridley appointed him Rector of Ashwell, Hertfordshire.[97] George Joye died in 1553.

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sources of information, the website indicates the "Papers in Bedfordshire County Record Office" and "original research by Neil Hickman," which I could not verify.

[93] Helen L. Parish, *Clerical Marriage and the English Reformation. Precedent Policy and Practice*, (StAndrews), Aldershot, Burlington, Singapore & Sydney: Ashgate, 2000, p. 58. In one way or another, all Reformers were convinced that they were living in apocalyptic times and interpreted contemporary historical events as signs of the times. See, e.g., Philip D.W. Krey, *Luther and the Apocalypse: Between Christ and History*, in Carl E. Braaten & Robert W. Jenson (eds.), *The Last Things. Biblical and Theological Perspectives on Eschatology*, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002, pp. 135–45.

[94] George Joye, *The exposicion of Daniel the Prophete gathered oute of Philip Melanchton/ Johan Ecolampadius/ Conrade Pellicane & out of Johan Draconite. &c. By George Joye. A prophecye diligently to be noted of al Emprowrs & kinges in these laste dayes*, Geneue: G.J. [*vere* Antwerp, Catherine van Ruremund], 1545.

[95] George Joye, *A contrarye (to a certayne manis) Consultacion: That Adulterers ought to be punyshed wyth deathe. Wyth the solucions of his argumentes for the contrarye. Made by George Joye*, Prynted at London: By [Steven Mierdman? for] George Joye, [1549] (STC 14822).

[96] For the negative judgement of the majority of scholars on Joye, see *infra* on pp. 33ff.

[97] IS *ASC Renhold*.

Joye's frequently neglected legacy lies foremost in his Psalters and *Primers*. These were reprinted in London more than once, and they were used by later compilers and editors, among them, not unimportantly, Thomas Cranmer for the compilation of the Book of Common Prayer. Being the most popular prayerbooks of popular piety, Joye's texts influenced private Protestant devotion of the early Reformation period (partly through the Book of Common Prayer) more than any other publication. Secondly, Joye's legacy can be found in his biblical translations. His translations of Psalms, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Lamentations were the first publications of these books of the Bible ever printed in English. These were perhaps of less poetic value and did not make it into later translations in such high proportions as Tyndale's did. Nonetheless, some of Joye's wordings were retained or rediscovered in later versions.[98] Coverdale's familiarity with and use of Joye's translations is unquestionable. We also encounter some of his renderings in the Matthew Bible, in the Geneva Bible, and later in the King James Version,[99] and even Tyndale himself followed a number of Joye's alterations to the NT translation.[100]

The Sources for the Tyndale–Joye Debate

Having met the main actors in the debate, let us now briefly introduce the sources of the controversy.

The discussion between Tyndale and Joye in Antwerp has five direct contemporary written pieces of evidence, the primary sources of the actual debate: (1) two letters from 1533 among the *State Papers*, originally written

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[98] E.g. The expressions "sauing helthe" (Ps. 67:2), "backslide" (Jer. 3:6.12.14.22), and "a mess of pottage" (Prov. 15:17), or the proverb "Pryde goth before a fall/ and a fall foloweth a proude mynde" (Prov. 16:18). It was Joye's translation of Ps. 91:5 (*Thou shalt not nede to be afrayde of nyght bugges*) in his first Psalter based on Bucer that originated the famous "bugges" (bogies), or evil spirits, a peculiar expression, one that was copied by Coverdale (1535) and by Rogers in the Matthew Bible (1537) and survived until the Great Bible (1539). Based on this expression these Bibles are sometimes referred to as the "Bugge Bibles." See BC, *George Joye*, pp. 139, 142, and 145, n. 25. R. Gerald Hobbs, *Martin Bucer and the Englishing of the Psalms: Pseudonymity in the Service of Early English Protestant Piety*, in D.F. Wright (ed.), *Martin Bucer. Reforming Church and Community*, Cambridge: UP, 1994, pp. 169–70.

[99] E.g. Mk. 15:40; Lk. 2:19; Jn. 1:21, 6:23, and 12:25; 1 Cor. 4:3; and Rev. 22:2. See BC, *George Joye*, pp. 159–60.

[100] E.g. Lk. 16:22–23; Jn. 5:45; 1 Cor. 4:16; and Heb. 13:21. See BC, *George Joye*, p. 158. See also Gergely Juhász, *Antwerp Bible Translations in the King James Bible*, in *The King James Bible after Four Hundred Years. Literary, Linguistic and Cultural Influences*, eds. Hannibal Hamlin and Norman W. Jones, Cambridge: UP, 2011, pp. 100–23.

by Joye but intercepted and copied by an agent of Cromwell. These are the first written proof of Joye's theological interest in issues concerning the afterlife. (2) Joye's first NT edition (August 1534), which incorporates the contested variations of the translation of Tyndale. (3) Tyndale's second edition of the NT (November 1534), particularly its unusual second foreword, a direct attack on Joye. (4) Joye's second NT editions (January 1535), again in the wording of Joye and with a short epilogue that explains Joye's motives. And finally, (5) the pamphlet of the widow, Joye's *Apologye* (February 1535), which will constitute the foremost source of information not only about Joye's motivations but also about the chain of events.

Indirectly, however, there are further sources: (1) Tyndale's works in Antwerp, especially his *Exposition of the fyrste Epistle of seynt Ihon* (1531), in which Tyndale reflects on Joye's position without mentioning Joye's name explicitly, and Tyndale's *An answere to Sir Thomas Mores dialoge*. Finally, (2) the letters sent from Calais by the merchant Edward Foxe to Cromwell (June 1535), and the letters from Thomas Theobald to Thomas Cranmer, also sent from Calais (July 1535) just a few weeks after the arrest of Tyndale. In these, Cromwell was informed that Joye was lodging with Foxe in Calais and that he was wrongly accused by Tyndale's friends of aiding Henry Phillips in the betrayal and capture of Tyndale.

All of these sources—direct and indirect—will be studied in detail. But before that, an assessment of the secondary literature on the topic can help to situate this present study.

A Status Quaestionis

Joye's falling-out with Tyndale has certainly had its consequences on his reputation, and as a result not only their debate but also George Joye's person in general have been for the most part ignored by the scholarly world. The topic has never been studied satisfactorily. A survey of the literature available on the issue gives us the opportunity to familiarize the reader with the main stream of scholarship. I have divided the material into three sections: (1) the first biographical references by Joye's contemporaries, (2) the conservative consensus and some exceptions to it, and (3) a shift in the study of Joye.

The First Biographical References by Joye's Contemporaries

The first pieces of evidence on Joye's life and work come from his contemporaries. Some of them originate from his opponents, and some from his

fellow Protestants. These are scant, scattered, and circumstantial, except for Bale's short account.

In *The Confutation of Tindales answere*, Thomas More discloses his hearsay knowledge about Joye being the author of the English Psalter as well as of the *Primer* in English. He knows about Joye's "goodly godly pystle," no doubt a reference to Joye's reply to Ashwell's accusations. More's information on Joye's wedding helps to determine the date of this marriage, and More provides the information on Joye's alias 'Clerke':

> Then haue we from George Iaye otherwyse called clerke, a goodly godly pystle/ wherin he teacheth dyuerse other heresyes, but specyally that mennys vowes and promyses made of chastyte, be not lawfull nor can bynde no man in conscyence, but he may wedd when he wyll. And thys man [...] determyned therfore wyth hym self that he wolde of his preachynge, shew hymself ensample. And therfore beynge prreste, he hath bygyled a woman and wedded her/ the pore woman I wene vnware that he ys preste.[101]

More also accuses Joye of teaching heresies "agaynst the blessed sacrament of the aulter" to Dick Purser, the son of one of More's own servants.[102] It is evident from the way More treated and described Joye in these works that he regarded him as an arch-heretic leader of the Reformers, equal or similar to Tyndale in significance.[103] Cuthbert Tunstall, the bishop of London, also referred to Tyndale and Joye together as "children of iniquitie mainteiners of Luthers sect."[104]

The first short biography of Joye was composed by John Bale (1495–1563), a one-time Leuven student and contemporary of Joye's who probably met

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[101] More, *The confutacyon of Tyndales answere*, sig. Aa4^{r} (*CWTM* VIII, pp. 7–8). Cf. sig. Bb2^{r}, cited *supra* in n. 81 on p. 22.

[102] Thomas More, *The apology of syr Thomas More knight*, London: William Rastell, 1533, sig. Dd4^{v}. The following year Joye replied to the accusation, claiming that all he taught the child was the Our Father, the Hail Mary, the Creed, and the prayers before and after meals. (Joye, *The Subuersion of Moris false foundacion*, G3^{v}). Joye is also accused by More of providing a 'safe house' for apostate nuns in Antwerp: "George Iaye or Gee otherwyse called Clerke, whyche is a preste, and is now for y*t* wedded in Antwarpe/ into whose howse there, the two nonnys were brought, which Iohan Byrt otherwyse called Adryan stale out of theyr cloyster to make them harlottes" (More, *The apology of syr Thomas More knight*, sig. Dd4^{v}).

[103] Cf. Edward Halle, *The vnion of the two noble and illustre famelies of Lancastre & Yorke, beyng long in continuall discension for the croune of this noble realme: with al the actes done in both the tymes of the princes, both of the one linage & of the other*..., London: Rychard Grafton, Prynter to the Kynges Maiestye, 1550, fo. 186^{v}.

[104] Pollard, *Records of the English Bible*, p. 131.

Joye in person while both of them were studying in Cambridge.[105] The biography, together with a list of works by Joye, is contained in Bale's *Illustrium Maioris Britannie scriptorum . . . summarium*, printed in Wesel in 1548, when Joye was still alive.[106] Bale's short account of Joye's life is important for three reasons: (1) it gives the first biographical details of Joye (birthplace, studies, exile in "Germania," marriage, etc.). (2) Bale, a contemporary of Joye, describes Joye in a positive light (with the famous expression "fidelis ac robustus ueritatis assertor").[107] By including him among the "major writers," Bale testifies to Joye's eminence in the early Reformation period. (3) Bale's list of Joye's works with their *incipit* made the identification of some of his anonymous books possible (e.g. *The Souper of the Lorde*, and his translations of Proverbs and Ecclesiastes).

Although Joye most likely died of natural causes, elements of his life and references to his works can also be found in the so-called *Book of*

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[105] On his life, see Leslie P. Fairfield, *John Bale: Mythmaker for the English Reformation*, West Lafayette: Purdue UP, 1976; John N. King, *English Reformation Literature. The Tudor Origins of the Protestant Tradition*, Princeton: Princeton UP, 1982; Peter Happé, *John Bale*, New York: Twayne, 1996; John N. King, art. *John Bale* in IS ODNB.

[106] "GEORGIUS IOYE, Bedfordiensis, de domo Petri Cantabrigiae, post liberalium artiu[m] professione[m] theologicae facultatis bacchalaureus, utraque lingua Latina & Graeca peritus, in Aristotelicis delirijs non consenuit. Sed dum adhuc florenti esset aetate, exorta ueritatis luce, manum admouit caelestis doctrinae aratro. Spiritualem enim & omni ex parte synceram Christi philosophiam, ex purissimis Euangeliorum fontibus haurie[n] s, arida multorum corda ea humectabat. Vnde & incommoda nonnulla sub Eboracensi tunc Cardinale, Moro, Roffense, atque alijs adhuc Antichristi propugnatoribus pertulit, compulsus tu[m]demum in Germaniam cum alijs plaerisque aufugere. Vbi accepta in Dei uerbo uxore christiana, in toto esse desijt corruptissimi monstri creatura. Varios iste Bibliorum libros, ac alios christianorum autorum labores, Anglicos nobis dedit. Psalterium ex foelice, li.1. Prouerbia Salomonis, li.1. Ecciesiasten eiusdem, li.1. Esaie uaticinium, li.l. Hieremiae prophetiam, li.1. Hortulum animae, li.1. Melanthonem de coniugio, li. 1. Zwinglium de religione, li.l. Ex Erasmo quoque, li.1. Composuit in Anglico sermone. Labefactatam ecciesiam Mori, li.1. Postquam placuisset pijssimo, Ad priorem de Newenham, li.1. Patri nostro reuenderissimo, Compendium passionis Christi, li.1. Seruator noster Christus in ult, Apologiam ad Tyndale, li.l. De coeni domini, li.1. Cum iudisset epulones Christus, De baptismo & eucharistia, li.1. Quia constat homo ex duabus, Matrimonij defensionem, li.1. Cum populus Dei, Israel voce, Onera caeremoniarum, li.1. Paulus electum uas Dei, Commentarios in Danielem, li.l. Haec cum in bruma scriberem, Contra Gardineri articulos, li.1. Quosdam casu articulos inue, Refutationem eorundem, li.1 Intelleges candide lector, quod, Et alia quaedam Praefatam in Danielem expositionem collegit ex Philippo Melanthone, Oecolampadio, Pellicano, Draconite, atque alijs scriptoribus probis. Huiusque perstat fidelis ac robustus ueritatis assertor, cum hostibus Christi fortiter dimicans, anno eiusdem seruaboris nostri (quo haec scripsimus 1548. sub rege Edwardo sexto." (John Bale, *Illustrium majoris Britanniae scriptorum summarium*, Ipswich & Wesel: for John Overton, 1548 fos. 239^{v}–240^{v}.)

[107] Bale, *Illustrium majoris Britanniae scriptorum summarium*, fo. 240^{v}. Bale also claims that Joye was skilled in Latin and Greek.

Martyrs, the monumental work of John Foxe, entitled *Actes and Monuments of these Latter and Perillous Days, touching Matters of the Church*. After two Latin martyrologies, Foxe published his first English version of the book in 1563.[108] Later, three ever-expanding reworkings (1570, 1576, and 1583) by Foxe appeared. The book became a classic during the lifetime of the author, shaped the general stance on the Reformation, has largely contributed to many mis(in)formed Protestant views on the Catholic Church, and has frequently been used as a trustworthy historical source.[109] Leaving aside the question of the reliability of Foxe's work as a whole, the treatment of Joye by Foxe is not quite adequate.[110] Joye never earned the ambiguous honour of martyrdom and had earlier had a disagreement with Foxe on how adulterous people should be punished.[111] The information on Joye therefore is only circumstantial and subjective.[112] Foxe vaguely mentions Tyndale's row with Joye in his 1563 edition without mentioning Joye's name:

> After that he [i.e. Tyndale] had finished that woorke, then toke he in hande to conferre the newe testament with the Greake. And that fynyshed and put forth, then was in hand to declare his mynde vpon a place in the newe Testament, where one had altered it, otherwyse then maister Tyndall hadde translated it, or as he sayd was translated by any other translation, in any

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[108] In 1554 V. Rihelius published Foxe's *Commentarii rerum in ecclesia gestarum* in Strasbourg. The *Rerum in Ecclesiâ gestarum, maximarumque per Europam persecutionum, ac sanctorum Dei Martyrum Commentarii* was put out in 1559 by Johannis Oporinus in Basel.

[109] After the completion of the second edition in 1570, the Convocation of the English Clergy ordered that every cathedral church should own and display a copy. Jeremy Paxman estimates that there were perhaps as many as 10,000 copies in circulation by the 17th century. He argues that Foxe's book carries the responsibility for the fearfully contemptuous attitude of many English people towards their fellow Europeans. Hinting at its sacred status in Protestant circles, he characterizes the book as "a lurid piece of propaganda [that] ought to be taken as the third Testament of the English Church" (Jeremy Paxman, *The English. A Portrait of a People*, London: Michael Joseph, 1998, p. 89). On Foxe's life, achievements, and the *Actes and Monuments*, see: James Frederic Mozley, *John Foxe and His Book*, London: SPCK, 1940, John Foxe, *Facsimile of John Foxe's Book of Martyrs*, ed. David G. Newcombe & Michael Pidd, Version 1.0 on CD-ROM, The British Academy, Oxford UP, 2001.

[110] Foxe's reliability has been questioned ever since the publication of the book. See: David Michael Loades (ed.), *John Foxe and the English Reformation*, (StAndrews), Aldershot: Scolar Press, and Brookfield: Ashgate, 1997, esp. John N. King, *Fiction and Fact in Foxe's* Book of Martyrs, pp. 12–35.

[111] On their disagreement, see: BC, *George Joye*, pp. 252–54; Lydia Whitehead, *A Poena et Culpa. Penitence, Confidence and the Miserere in Foxe's Actes and Monuments*, in *Renaissance Studies* 4 (1990), pp. 287–99.

[112] Cf. O'Sullivan, *The Authorship of* The Supper of the Lord, pp. 209–11.

> language, and so put it forthe for maister Tyndals translation. Wherfore sayd he, if he wold haue altered the text, he should haue put it forth for his owne translation and not for myne. But this beyng endid and inprynting, he was betrayed and apprehended, the whiche apprehension was as hereafter foloweth.[113]

In the revised 1570 edition, Foxe 'forgets' to mention the dispute altogether.[114] However, in this second edition he mentions Joye's books against Gardiner, and the bishop's answer to Joye's writings.[115] Foxe gives a detailed account of their controversy, together with the historical background and a short summary of Gardiner's 'Popish Articles.' It is unnecessary to refute the arguments of these articles, we are told, because Joye has done it sufficiently in his books, and the reader is instructed to look there for the refutation.[116]

Other interesting details in connection with the Tyndale–Joye controversy are also found in the second edition (1570), in which Foxe included a table of "Persons abiured with their Articles." This contains the name of "Iohn Raymund, *a Dutchman*" with the date 1528, "For causyng fyftene hundreth of Tyndals new Testamentes to be printed at Antwerpe, and for bryngyng fyue hundreth into England."[117] This is in all probability the Antwerp printer Hans van Ruremund, who is traditionally identified as the brother of Christoffel van Ruremund, also mentioned by Foxe in the same table: "Christofer *a Dutche man of Antvverpe*" with the date 1531. This man, Foxe writes, "for sellyng certeine new Tementes [*sic*] in Englishe to Iohn Row aforesayd, was put in prison at Westminster, and there dyed."[118]

Besides the random biographical traces of Joye's career, the interest and importance of the evidence from the contemporary authors concern, as

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[113] Foxe, *A&M*, 1563, p. 516 [*vere* 519].

[114] Tyndale's biography in the 1563 edition is described as "prosaic" by Tom Betteridge, while he points out that the account in the 1670 edition receives "biblical" aspects. (Tom Betteridge, *From Prophetic to Apocalyptic: John Foxe and the Writing of History*, in Loades, *John Foxe and the English Reformation*, p. 218).

[115] Foxe, *A&M*, 1570, pp. 1370–72.

[116] "These Articles, for somuch as they be sufficiently au*n*swered and replied vnto by George Ioye in his Ioynder, and Reioynder agaynst Wynchester, I shall not nede to cumber thys worke with any new adoe therwith, but only referre y*e* reader to the bokes aforesayd: where hee may see matter enough to au*n*swere to these Popishe Articles" (Foxe, *A&M*, 1570, p. 1371).

[117] Foxe, *A&M*, 1570, p. 1184.

[118] Foxe, *A&M*, 1570, p. 1188. Foxe also mentions several people in his various editions who were condemned for the possession of *The Primer in English*, undoubtedly Joye's first *Primer* of 1529. (Richard Bayfield in ed. 1563, p. 487; Walter Kiry and John Wyly, the elder, in ed. 1570, vol. 2, pp. 1188 and 1191; and Thomas Hitton in ed. 1583, p. 2136).

has been said, their treatment of Joye as one of the key figures and authors of the early Reformation period. That Foxe is an exception to this rule can be explained by his personal agenda based on his own conflict with Joye. Unfortunately, Foxe's disregard of Joye has been decisive in creating the conservative consensus on Joye.

The Conservative Consensus and Some Exceptions to It

The paucity of material on Joye's life and achievement in the scholarly literature is astounding. There is only one monograph biography of Joye, that of Butterworth and Chester, which will be presented in the following section. All other references to Joye are mainly found in biographical works on Tyndale, or in general studies on the (early) Reformation or on the history of the English Bible. The general representation of the debate in these, if present at all, is rather clear-cut.[119] Joye's name is mentioned almost exclusively in connection with his debate with Tyndale

[119] Many books on the early Reformation period or on the history of the English Bible simply ignore Joye and his translations altogether. A few examples of such otherwise useful studies: Richard Simon, *Critical Enquiries into the Various Editions of the Bible Printed in Diverse Places and at Several Times Together with Animadversions upon a Small Treatise of Dr. Isaac Vossius concerning the Oracles of the Sybills. And an Answer to the Late Critica Sacra Written Originally in Latin Translated into English by N.S.*, London: Tho. Braddyll, 1684; H.W. Hoare, *The Evolution of the English Bible*, London: John Murray, 1902; John V. Madison, *English Versions of the New Testament: A Bibliographical List*, in *JBL* 44 (1925), pp. 261–88; Hillaire Belloc, *How the Reformation Happened*, London & Toronto: Jonathan Cape, 1928; Vernon Faithfull Storr (ed.), *The English Bible. Essays by Various Writers*, London: Methuen, 1938; Roland H. Bainton, *The Reformation of the Sixteenth Century*, Boston: Beacon, 1952; Frederick C. Grant, *Translating the Bible*, Edinburgh: Nelson, 1961; Joyce Youings, *Sixteenth-Century England*, (The Pelican Social History of Britain) ([1]1984) London: Penguin Books, 1991 Euan Cameron, *The European Reformation*, Oxford: Clarendon, 1991; Christopher Hill, *The English Bible and the Seventeenth-Century Revolution*, London: Allen Lane, 1993; John D. Long, *The Bible in English. John Wycliffe and William Tyndale*, Lanham, New York & Oxford: UP America, 1998; Diarmaid MacCulloch, *The Reformation. A History*, New York: Viking, 2004; David Norton, *A Textual History of the King James Bible*, Cambridge: UP, 2005. The historian Bishop of Salisbury Gilbert Burnet (1643–1715) refers to Joye only in one sentence: "The bishops were much offended at the translations of the New Testament by Tyndale, Joye, and others; and proceeded severely against those who read them: yet it was not easy to put a stop to the curiosity and zeal of the people" (Gilbert Burnet, *The History of the Reformation of the Church of England*, rev. and ed. Nicholas Pocock, Oxford: Clarendon, ([1]1680) 1865, p. 128). In his more than 750-page–long abridgement, Burnet mentions only that "*Tindall* and some others at *Antwerp*, were every Year either translating or writing Books against some of the received Errors, and sending them over to England. But his Translation of the New Testament gave the greatest Wound, and was much complained of by the Clergy, as full of Errors" (Gilbert Burnet, *The Abridgement of the History of the Reformation of the Church of England*, London: Ric Chiswell, 1682, p. 126).

and, as a rule of thumb, in a negative light. If his own translations are mentioned, they usually receive a derogatory note on their qualities or originality.[120] His intellectual capacities are usually belittled and his character is demonized. To spare the reader from the tedious and unrewarding task of discussing all of these infinitesimal mentions of Joye separately, I will summarize their general view, which I call the 'conservative consensus.' Although not all of these works contain every detail of the stance described here, the tone, theme, and topics are common. The authors who vary from the overall portrait (generally those who consecrate more than a footnote or two to Joye) will be mentioned separately.

According to this 'conservative consensus,' "Tyndale's last days of freedom"[121] before he was betrayed by the Leuven scholar Henry Phillips, "an agent of the Roman Catholic Church and the King of England, which sought to kill Tyndale as a heretic and traitor for translating the Bible into English,"[122] "were darkened by a dispute with a fellow-Protestant, George Joye."[123] For when Tyndale had almost finished his revision of the translation of the NT, Joye secretly undertook the correction of a 'pirated' edition of the NT at the press of Catherine van Ruremund.[124] Authors of

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[120] Cf. e.g. "Early associate of William Tyndale, who produced a translation of Martin Bucer's Latin version of the Psalms (1530 and 1534), Isaiah (1531), Jeremiah (1534), Proverbs and Ecclesiastes (1535). Except for Proverbs and Ecclesiastes, most of his work was printed abroad, probably in Antwerp and such were his relations with Tyndale that it is not always clear just how much was his. Lacking scholarship and a nicety of taste he has been described as "an interesting minor figure in the story of the English Bible." When there was increasing demand for Tyndale's Translation some pirate printings took place, often with words altered. Joye was responsible for some of these and Tyndale admonishes him in the prologue to his revised New Testament 1534" (art. *George Joye*, in Alec Gilmore, *A Dictionary of the English Bible and its Origins*, (Biblical Seminar 67), Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000, pp. 96–97).

[121] Gervase E. Duffield, *The Work of William Tyndale*, Appleford: Sutton Courtenay Press, 1964, p. xxvii.

[122] IS *SwordSearcher*. Cf. David Daniell, who dedicates his recent book on the English Bible: "To the memory of William Tyndale, ?1494–1536, translator of genius, martyred for giving English readers the Bible from the original languages" (David Daniell, *The Bible in English. Its History and Influence*, New Haven & London: Yale UP, 2003, p. v). On the commonly claimed charge that Tyndale was executed for translating the Bible into English, see *infra* p. 423, esp. n. 638, and Juhász & Arblaster, *Can Translating the Bible Be Bad for Your Health?*, pp. 315–40.

[123] Duffield, *The Work of William Tyndale*, p. xxvii. Cf. Brooke Foss Westcott, *A General View of the History of the English Bible*, rev. ed. William Aldis Wright, New York: Lemma, 1972, p. 45.

[124] Duffield, *The Work of William Tyndale*, pp. xxvii–xxviii. John Eadie, *The English Bible. The External and Critical History of the Various Translations of the Scriptures, With Remarks on the Need for Revising the English New Testament*, vol. I, London: Macmillan, 1876, p. 217.

the 'conservative consensus' believe that Joye volunteered to do the job knowing full well that Tyndale himself had been busy for some time with a thorough revision of his own work.[125] This 'pirated' edition of the NT, eventually published in August 1534, contained Tyndale's translation with substantial changes implemented by Joye.[126] These "ungracious and ignorant interferences with Tyndale's version" included the introduction of the false readings of the Vulgate; while Tyndale translated from the original Greek text, as published in Erasmus' NT, Joye, being illiterate in Greek, worked on the basis of the corrupted Latin text of the even more corrupt Catholic Church.[127] But worst of all, authors of the 'conservative consensus' argue, where Joye found the word 'resurrection' in Tyndale's text, he changed it into 'the life after this' or some other similar expression. This is held to be the most intolerable arrogance on Joye's part.[128] These "foolish alterations" are explained by Joye's "abstruse" and "bizarre" theological standpoint on the resurrection, as a result of "mere 'curious speculation' of a stupid and ignorant man."[129] It is argued that Joye's position essentially

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[125] Demaus, *William Tyndale*, pp. 359 and 361.

[126] Cf. F.F. Bruce, *History of the Bible in English. From the Earliest Versions*, Cambridge: Lutterworth, [1]1961, [repr.rev.3]1986, pp. 43–44. Christopher M. Anderson, *The Annals of The English Bible*, vol I, rev. ed. Hugh Anderson, London: Jackson, 1862, pp. 393–394; Francis Fry, *A Bibliographical Description of the Editions of the New Testament Tyndale's Version in English with Numerous Readings Comparison of Texts, and Historical Notices*, London: Henry Sotheran, 1878, pp. 40–41. Demaus, *William Tyndale*, p. 357; Westcott, *A General View of the History of the English Bible*, p. 46. Demaus, however, also claims that "the changes which he has introduced are few in number, of the very smallest possible consequence, never in any case suggested by the original Greek, and probably not in a single instance effecting any improvement either in the accuracy or the clearness of the version which he thus presumed to correct" (Demaus, *William Tyndale*, p. 359). Cf.: "Joye's trifling and heedless changes" (ibid., p. 364), and Mozley, *William Tyndale*, p. 277.

[127] Anderson, *The Annals of The English Bible*, vol. I, pp. 393 and 395–97. Cf. Duffield, *The Work of William Tyndale*, p. xxviii; Demaus, *William Tyndale*, p. 358; Mozley, *William Tyndale*, p. 271; Andrew Edgar, *The Bibles of England. A Plain Account for Plain People of the Principal Versions of the Bible in English*, London: Alexander Gardener, 1889, p. 72.

[128] The impression one usually gets from reading the literature is that Joye eradicated *all* occurrences of the word "resurrection." E.g. Demaus, *William Tyndale*, p. 360. Demaus, however, specifies on the following page that "Joye did not, as has been sometimes said, discard the word resurrection altogether, neither did he intend to express any doubt as to the doctrine of the resurrection of the body; but he confined the use of the word to those instances in which it was unquestionably the resurrection of the body that was intended (e.g., Acts i. 22); and in all other cases, in order, as he supposed, to avoid instilling prejudices into the minds of the unwary readers, he employed such circumlocutions as 'the life after this' or 'the very life'" (Demaus, *William Tyndale*, p. 361). Cf. Mozley, *William Tyndale*, p. 277.

[129] Demaus, *William Tyndale*, p. 361. Brian Moynahan, *God's Bestseller. William Tyndale, Thomas More, and the Writing of the English Bible—A Story of Martyrdom and Betrayal*, New York: St Martin's Press, 2002, p. 332.

came down to the denial of the bodily resurrection.[130] Tyndale, understandably, was furious, and when he finished his own revision of the NT he inserted an impassioned second prologue in which he refuted Joye's heresy. For some authors the story ends here,[131] while others do mention that Joye replied in a pamphlet entitled *An Apologye*.... According to these authors, this work is long-winded, rambling, repetitious, illegible, confused, incorrect, accusatory, and ill-tempered; it is a spiteful, furious tirade, an unjust, absurd, unsatisfactory, and extremely lame vindication by Joye, and an unfair, unjustifiable, abusive, intemperate, and unfeeling attack on Tyndale written in the most extravagant vehemence.[132]

A common phenomenon in the literature is to pass judgement on Joye. Accordingly, Joye, in the eyes of the Tyndale scholarship, is guilty of several faults. (1) He has committed breach of friendship, since he was aware of Tyndale's own revision.[133] "Beyond all question Joye had acted dishonourably; he had injured and insulted Tyndale; and no human patience could have submitted unmoved to his proceedings."[134] (2) Furthermore, Joye was working anonymously, and "thereby giving the impression that it was Tyndale's work."[135] "Had Joye put out this mistranslation under his own name," Bruce proposes hypothetically, "he would have been welcome to

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[130] Bruce, *History of the Bible in English*, p. 44. Demaus, *William Tyndale*, p. 360.

[131] Edgar, in his *Plain Account for Plain People*, plainly claims that "George Joye [...] took the liberty of amending the translation in several places. This liberty was keenly resented by Tyndale, and as it was never graciously apologised for, it was never altogether forgiven" (Edgar, *The Bibles of England*, p. 72).

[132] Cf. Anderson, *The Annals of The English Bible*, vol. I, pp. 133 and 393–98; Duffield, *The Work of William Tyndale*, p. 309. Demaus, *William Tyndale*, pp. 130 and 376; Parish, art. *George Joye* in IS ODNB.

[133] Duffield, *The Work of William Tyndale*, p. xxviii. Anderson (inaccurately) reproaches Joye for publishing his *Apologye* after the imprisonment of Tyndale: "Though the 'Apology made by him to satisfye, if it may be, W. Tyndale,' &c., dated the 28th of February, (1535) in itself a contemptible production, became peculiarly offensive, from its being put forth after our Translator had been actually and at last apprehended, and in prison!" (Anderson, *The Annals of The English Bible*, vol. I, p. 396. Cf. p. 398). In reality, Tyndale was only apprehended in April (or perhaps May) 1535.

[134] Demaus, *William Tyndale*, pp. 361–362; Mozley, *William Tyndale*, [1]New York: MacMillan, 1937, [repr]Westport: Greenwood, 1971, pp. 269–70. Mozley suspects that it was also Joye who supplied intimate information about Tyndale's plans and secured a copy of Tyndale's *Answer to More* for Stephen Vaughan, the English envoy in Antwerp, early in 1531 (Mozley, *William Tyndale*, p. 192). Cf. Vaughan's letter to Cromwell dated from Antwerp, 25 March 1531, PRO, Cotton MSS, Galba B.x., fos. 7–8). This, however, presupposes that Joye was an assistant to Tyndale, of which there is no evidence. On Vaughan, see: Walter Cecil Richardson, *Stephen Vaughan, Financial Agent of Henry VIII. A Study of Financial Relations with the Low Countries*, (Louisiana State University Studies, Social Science Series 3). Baton Rouge: Louisiana State UP, 1953.

[135] Duffield, *The Work of William Tyndale*, p. xxviii. Cf. Fry, *A Bibliographical Description*, p. 38.

the credit brought him, but Tyndale naturally did not like it to be assumed that he himself had authorized this and similar changes."[136] (3) Joye is also guilty of such "piracy" and "plagiarism" "as any modern laws of copyright would interdict or punish."[137] (4) Joye's greediness financially undermined Tyndale "by filling the market with a cheaper and inferior translation, and so curtailing the circulation of the new and improved version."[138] (5) Joye did not keep his word and broke the agreement when he published his second edition of the NT with his correction and his *Apologye*. (6) Joye "tampered with" Tyndale's text, and his changes were "wilful" and "outright corruption" of the Bible, "juggling" with the text of the Scripture.[139]

It is hardly ever mentioned that Joye translated and published almost one-fourth of the OT that had never been put into print in English before. When these translations are deemed worthy of a footnote or even a line or two, they are often dismissed with scorn. Eadie, for example, remarks that Joye "had already been attempting a translation from the Latin text, and had published a Psalter at Strasbourg in 1530, the Prophet Isaiah in 1531, and Jeremiah in 1534."[140] He is keen to observe in a satirical footnote that "Joye describes his version of Isaiah as 'Isaye speakinge playne Englissche.' "[141]

Joye's intellectual, linguistic, and scholarly capacities are generally derided. His style as a writer and his erudition are oftentimes the target of criticism. He is presented as foolish and ignorant, and he is characterized as quarrelsome, dishonest, mean, and malicious. By way of illustration, a few excerpts from the mainstream scholarly literature on the English Reformation should suffice.

According to Duffield, "Joye shows himself small-minded, mean and rather hypocritical."[142] Anderson sees Joye as "rash and incompetent," "a man of very inferior calibre, whether in regard to learning or sound judgment."[143] Townley, though uniquely recognizing Joye's erudition, calls

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[136] Bruce, *History of the Bible in English*, p. 44. Contrary to the general trend, Demaus recognizes that "Joye, indeed, took care not to connect Tyndale's name with his edition" (Demaus, *William Tyndale*, p. 358). Mozley remarks that "Joye's name does not appear in the book, nor does Tyndale's" (Mozley, *William Tyndale*, p. 270).

[137] Demaus, *William Tyndale*, p. 359. See also Betteridge, *From Prophetic to Apocalyptic*, p. 218. Bruce, *History of the Bible in English*, pp. 43–44.

[138] Demaus, *William Tyndale*, p. 372. Bruce, *History of the Bible in English*, p. 43.

[139] Gerald Snare, *Reading Tyndale's Bible*, in *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 35 (2005), p. 300.

[140] Eadie, *The English Bible*, p. 217.

[141] Eadie, *The English Bible*, p. 217, n. 2.

[142] Duffield, *The Work of William Tyndale*, p. xxix.

[143] Anderson, *The Annals of the English Bible*, vol. I, p. 395.

Joye's integrity into question.[144] Eadie calls him "a careless and unscholarly editor."[145] Joye's alterations "betray great weakness of judgement, and frequently depart widely from the meaning of the original text."[146] Joye's biographers call his style peculiar, idiosyncratic, and parochial: "plainly, this is not translation of a high literary excellence, it is crude pioneering rather."[147]

It seems that Joye could not do anything right. Before the discovery of the only complete copy of Tyndale's 1526 Worms NT edition, the title of Joye's NT edition (being an exact copy of Tyndale's) is characterized as "a pompous and affected title."[148] Once the title page was discovered, he was criticized for copying even the title page from Tyndale's original. While the tract on *The Souper of the Lorde* was attributed to Tyndale, it was described as having a tone "reverent in the extreme, and it might have taught More, had he been more willing to listen, that his antagonist was something better than a mere spoiler of the past."[149] The work was judged "as too able," too well-written for Joye's pen.[150] After Joye's authorship had been demonstrated, it was characterized as "a flimsy little tract in comparison with the sacramental works of Frith and Tyndale."[151] Apparently *The Souper of the Lorde* "is either too good or it is just bad enough to have been written by Joye."[152] He is even held responsible for the lack of uniformity in the spelling of his name by *others*: to a footnote alleging Joye's ignorance Eadie disdainfully appends: "He had a wealth of names—Joye, Jaye, Gee, and More adds, 'otherwise called Clarke.' "[153]

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[144] "Though a learned man, he does not appear to have possessed that conscientious integrity which would have given Christian dignity to his character; and it is to be regretted that while he defended the 'truth,' the 'truth' does not seem 'to have made him free' from guile and deception" (James Townley, *Illustrations of Biblical Literature Exhibiting the History and Fate of the Sacred Writings from the Earliest Period to the Present Century, Including Biographical Notices of Translators and Other Eminent Biblical Scholars*, vol. 2, New York: G. Lane and P.P. Sandford, 1842, p. 96).

[145] Eadie, *The English Bible*, vol. I, p. 218.

[146] W.F. Moulton, *The History of the English Bible*, London: Charles H. Kelly, s.d. [*c.*1930], p. 64.

[147] BC, *George Joye*, p. 58. Cf. pp. 59–60, 71–73, 134, 143, and *passim*.

[148] Demaus, *William Tyndale*, p. 359. For other scholars' derogatory opinions on Joye's title, see *infra* p. 322.

[149] Mozley, *William Tyndale*, p. 254.

[150] James Frederic Mozley, *Tyndale's 'Supper of the Lord'*, in *N&Q* 183,11 (1942), p. 306.

[151] Stephen M. Foley, in *CWTM* 11, New Haven & London: Yale UP, 1985, p. 36.

[152] O'Sullivan, *The Authorship of* The Supper of the Lord, p. 212.

[153] Eadie, *The English Bible*, vol. I, p. 221, n. 1. By way of analogy, Tyndale could be reproached because his name had even more variants: "Tindalus" in his own autography, Tindal, Tindall, Tyndale, and Tyndal, not to mention Hytchins, Huchyns, and Hochyns.

In fact, Tyndale's style is deemed so much more eloquent, more precise, more pleasing than Joye's that in many accounts, Tyndale's translation attains the status of the sacrosanct. For David Daniell, for example, the translation of Tyndale is equal to revelation; it is a sacred text, "God's word itself," not less inspired than the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures, which are but the sources for the Bible, which, for Daniell, is the English Bible.[154] In a similar vein, Anderson actually calls the translation of Tyndale "the Sacred Text."[155] The very attempt to change anything in the translation is ethically immoral, theologically absurd, and linguistically incorrect. Any modification to Tyndale's text is *ab ovo, a priori* a corruption that can originate only from a morally corrupt person.[156]

Sometimes, to preserve the air of impartiality, Tyndale's temper is recognized. This, however, does not diminish his saintliness; it only makes him more human in the eyes of the Tyndale scholars. They are always ready to understand, justify, and absolve Tyndale's irritability, often by contrasting him with Joye's imputed moral and scholarly deficiencies.

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[154] Daniell, *William Tyndale*, pp. 100 and 192. Daniell does emphasize that Tyndale used the 'original' Hebrew and Greek texts, which could suggest some awareness of the Bible being more than the English Bible. Nonetheless, the importance of the use of the 'original' texts seems to be only an element in the canonization of Tyndale's work. Characteristically, having detailed the pre-Reformation translations into German, French, Italian, Catalan, Spanish, Portuguese, and Dutch, Daniell goes on to claim that "the Church would never permit a complete printed New Testament in English from the Greek, because in that New Testament can be found neither the Seven Sacraments nor the doctrine of Purgatory, two chief sources of the Church's power" (Daniell, *William Tyndale*, pp. 92–93 and 100). But as we have written earlier, "setting aside the false suggestion that the Vulgate contains explicit references to the sacraments and to Purgatory which are absent from the Greek text, it would be interesting to know why the power of the Church would be undermined by a translation into English but not by translations into the languages of Continental Western Europe. The only plausible explanation is that for Daniell, subconsciously at least, 'the Bible' means the English Bible, of which the Greek and Hebrew Scriptures are but the sources" (Juhász & Arblaster, *Can Translating the Bible Be Bad for Your Health?*, p. 338). Daniell's is not an unusual attitude in the English-speaking world, where some sixty years ago an English newspaper editor could write of the Authorized Version as "the sacred English original" (quoted by Dorothy L. Sayers, *The Man Born to Be King*, San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1990 ([1]London: Victor Gollancz, 1943), pp. 12–13).

[155] Anderson speaks about Tyndale as "having compared the Sacred Text once more with the *Greek*" (Anderson, *The Annals of The English Bible*, vol. I, p. 395). Cf. also: "The fact was, that Joye, in his ignorance, was contributing to the corruption of the Sacred Text" (Anderson, *The Annals of The English Bible*, vol. I, p. 396). Later, the King James Version will achieve a similar status: Cf. Sayers, *The Man Born to Be King*, pp. 12–13.

[156] This, of course, does not apply to Tyndale himself. When modern authors see a connection between correctness in syntax and use of vocabulary, this is in fact a continuation of Erasmus' and the Humanists' attitude: correct grammar mirrors and engenders moral rectitude. Cf. Latré, *The 1535 Coverdale Bible and its Antwerp Origins*, pp. 89–91.

Thus, even Tyndale's bad behaviour offers an opportunity to minimize Joye. Mozley, for example, believes that

> It may be that Tyndale, who was by nature blunt and outspoken, showed Joye more plainly than he needed have done, that he thought him a conceited and ignorant fellow: for such he was. At all events Joye himself would feel his own inferiority in learning, ability, and force of character; and, as is often the case with weak and foolish persons, the knowledge rankled with him.[157]

Duffield exonerates Tyndale from the implication of being confrontational by claiming that "Tyndale was not by choice a controversialist, and only entered this field to defend himself when attacked."[158] On the other hand, Joye's furious reaction caused by Tyndale's justified words is a clear sign of quarrelsomeness, grumpiness, ill temper, and petulance.

Here we could conclude the presentation of the debate according to the conservative consensus emerging from the conventional, mainstream scholarly and popularizing works. In order to do them justice, however, some of the above-mentioned authors deserve some special comment here for having a specific point diverging from the common position.

John Lewis' *A Complete History of the Several Translations of the Holy Bible, and New Testament, into English, Both in MS. and in Print* (1739) is the first significant study of the English versions of the Bible.[159] This pioneering work devoted quite a substantial amount of space to Joye and his translations: it contains a short account of Joye's life starting with his early Cambridge years and sketching his flight from England to Strasbourg up until his first Antwerp exile.[160] Lewis draws from the information on Joye

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[157] Mozley, *William Tyndale*, pp. 273–74.

[158] Duffield, *The Work of William Tyndale*, p. xxix.

[159] John Lewis, *A Complete History of the Several Translations of the Holy Bible, and New Testament, into English, Both in MS. and in Print: And the Most Remarkable Editions of Them since the Invention of Printing*, London: H. Woodfall for Joseph Pote, ([1]1731) [2enlarged]1739. According to Lewis himself, of the original 1731 edition there were but 140 copies, and he amended the book significantly for the revised second edition of 1739 (p. iii., sig. A2[r]), which is usually the one referred to.

[160] Lewis, *A Complete History of the Several Translations*, p. 79. Lewis refers to "Col. Tho. Baker," the Collection of Thomas Baker (1656–1740), nonjuring Church of England clergyman and antiquary who had a large collection of valuable documents from the early period of book printing (among others, his copy of the *Polychronicon*, printed by Caxton at Westminster in 1482, which bears Baker's quaint inscription: "Tho. Baker, Col. Jo., Socius ejectus. So scarce and dear that it cost me what I am ashamed to own"). (Dotted Crotchet, *St. John's College, Cambridge*, in *The Musical Times*, 1 Dec. 1904, p. 776.) His library was bequeathed partly to the British Library and partly to the Public Library of Cambridge, which is now included in the Cambridge University Library. Baker wrote to

provided by Foxe and More (mentioning Joye's *Primer* without the Litany and the Dirge and the Psalter).[161] He attests that the late Mr Humphrey Wanley (1672–1726), antiquary, "dean and chapter of St. Paul's at London," claimed to have seen a fragment "which seemed to him to be Part of an entire Bible, and to be older than *Coverdale's* Bible, printed in 1535."[162] Lewis proposes the identification of this fragment with the first page of Genesis that Joye printed at Barrow (Bergen-op-Zoom) and sent to Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn, according to a letter from Tyndale to Frith published in Foxe's *Actes and Monuments*. But Lewis' information seems not to be exclusively secondhand: he exhibits an intimate familiarity with a number of Joye's Antwerp publications. Some of these are described with meticulous bibliographical information, and he quotes large portions of them (usually from the prologue). (1) He notes that Joye published a translation of the Book of Isaiah under the pseudonym "*Balthaser Backneth*" [*sic*] with the (false) printing address of Strasbourg.[163] (2) He describes *The Psalter of Dauid*, "imprinted at Argentine, January 16 [1530], by Francis Foye [*sic*] in 12mo,"[164] reprints its prologue by Johan Aleph (*vere* Joye), and explains that Feline is the "faigned Name" Aretius Felinus, which Martin Bucer used for his Latin version of the Psalter of 1526.[165] (3) After giving the bibliographical details of *David's Psalter* (1534),[166] Lewis indicates "that the Latine out of which Joye translated, was that of Frier *Felix*'s of the Order of *Heremites* of St. *Austin*, which was printed AD 1515 and again 1522.

Bishop Gilbert Burnet suggesting corrections to his 'History of our Reformation' (see *supra* n. 119 on p. 33). Bishop Burnet's answer to Thomas Baker about the suggestions dated at Windsor Castle, 23 July 1700, was donated by C.M.P. Johnson, senior bursar in 1980 to St John's College Library, Cambridge (St John's Library, Misc. Box 4, BU3), the very library of which the first history was written by the same Thomas Baker (Thomas BAKER, *History of the College of St. John the Evangelist, Cambridge*, 2 vols., ed. John E.B. Mayor, Cambridge, 1869). The letter was reproduced with an article by N. Long Brown, the original owner of the letter, in the magazine of St John's College, *The Eagle*, issue XLVI (December 1930), pp. 74ff. Apparently Baker suggested, among other things, additional information on Joye.

161 LEWIS, *A Complete History of the Several Translations*, pp. 79–80.

162 LEWIS, *A Complete History of the Several Translations*, p. 80. His reference for Wanley's claim: "Biblic. Litera. No. 4. p. 40." On Wanley, see: Peter HEYWORTH, art. *Humfrey Wanley* in IS ODNB.

163 According to Lewis, the book was at that time in the Library of Lord Oxford (LEWIS, *A Complete History of the Several Translations*, p. 78).

164 LEWIS, *A Complete History of the Several Translations*, p. 86. He also indicates that the book is found in the 'Public Library, Cambridge' with the shelf number A-7-43. Lewis does not seem to recognize that the pseudonym *Francis Foxe* hides Joye.

165 LEWIS, *A Complete History of the Several Translations*, p. 87.

166 Present at that time in the 'Public Library, Cambridge' under the shelf number A-7-42. LEWIS, *A Complete History of the Several Translations*, p. 87.

Haganoe in aedibus *Thomae Anselmi Badensis* mense *Decembris*."[167] (4) Lewis describes *Ieremy the Prophete* (1534) in detail and quotes from its prologue.[168] The *Complete History* also presents a short account of the Tyndale–Joye debate. Lewis explains how the English NT "grew faulty by careless printing," and how the publishers agreed with Joye to correct the NT.[169] (5) A detailed, apparently first-hand bibliographical description of the "*fourth* Dutch Edition, the *fifth* in all, of Tyndal's New Testament in 12mo" is given, which Lewis assumed to be the edition "corrected by an *English* Refugee, *George Joye*" (1534).[170] This bibliographical description, however, does not fit either of Joye's editions of the NT that can be found in the British Library.[171] Nor does the colophon match either of them exactly.[172] Surprisingly, its place in the book is given correctly.[173] "It seems," Lewis explains, "that *Joye* took the Liberty to correct the Translation, as well as the Errors of the Press, and to give many Words their pure and native Signification in their Places which he thought they had not before. Among these was the Word *Resurrectio*, which *Joye* translated *the Life after this*." Joye's edition coming forth just before Tyndale finished his own at the press "occasioned *Tyndal* to add another Epistle to the Reader, which begins thus W.Tyndal *yet once more to the Christen reader*."[174]

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[167] Lewis, *A Complete History of the Several Translations*, pp. 87–88.

[168] Lewis, *A Complete History of the Several Translations*, pp. 88–89.

[169] Lewis, *A Complete History of the Several Translations*, p. 80.

[170] According to Lewis it was in the library of Lord Pembroke. Lewis, *A Complete History of the Several Translations*, p. 79.

[171] Lewis claims that "the Title-page is lost; then follows the Epistle to the Christian Reader; next four Prologues to the iv Gospels; then the Table for Acts of Apostles; then a Title thus, *The New Testament*, Anno M.D.XXXIIII. At the End are Pistles of the Old Testament" (Lewis, *A Complete History of the Several Translations*, p. 79). Based on that description, this could fit Tyndale's third edition of the NT, published in 1535 (which does indeed have a title with the date 1534 on it and at the place indicated by Lewis).

[172] The colophon Lewis gives is: "Here endith the New Testament dylygentlye oversene and correct and printed now ageyne at Antwerp by me Widow of Christophall of Endhoven in the Year of our Lord a M.D.XXXIIII. in August" (Lewis, *A Complete History of the Several Translations*, p. 80). Although it is not an exact match with the colophon Tyndale presented in his second NT (November 1534) edition, it can be assumed with some certainty that Lewis copied the colophon from Tyndale's second foreword.

[173] "This Edition hath in the End before the Table of the Epistles and Gospelles this Title" (Lewis, *A Complete History of the Several Translations*, p. 80). I suspect that Lewis had indeed seen a copy of Joye's NT in Lord Pembroke's library, but when he wrote his *Complete History*, he had no direct access to the book. The copy he saw might also have been a collation of various editions, hence the Epistle to the Christian Reader, the prologues to the four gospels, and tables before the biblical text. His 'faulty memory' could also be the explanation for the mistaken size of the book.

[174] Lewis, *A Complete History of the Several Translations*, p. 82.

In this, Lewis deems Tyndale "expresses a great deal too much passion and resentment against *Joye*, particularly for the manner of his translating the Word *Resurrectio*."[175] The newly added note "The dead are ignorant of God" at 1 Pt. 4:6 as a reaction to Joye is also quoted by Lewis.[176] Tyndale's second foreword, in its turn, "occasioned Joye to write and publish a Vindication of himself." Lewis exhibits thorough knowledge of the contents of the *Apologye*, of which he gives the lengthy title in full.[177] The bibliographical description of Tyndale's Worms NT edition (1526), for example, is clearly based on Joye's description in the *Apologye*, a fact acknowledged by Lewis himself in the reference note.[178] But the *Complete History* includes several extensive excerpts taken verbatim from the *Apologye*. Lewis quotes Joye's description of the widow's persistence, how she tried to persuade him to take the job, and Joye's account of the financial side of their agreement. He also quotes Joye's assertion of the ignorance of the printer about Tyndale's own revision of the NT and how Joye's words were corroborated by Tyndale's testimony.[179] Finally, Lewis illustrates Joye's effect on Tyndale's third NT edition (given by Lewis as 1536 instead of 1535): how Tyndale mended the translation of Mt. 1:18 and the gloss upon 1 Jn. 3 according to the critique and suggestions of Joye.[180]

Among the modern authors, Henry Cotton (1821) is the first to stand out in his treatment of Joye. He enumerates all of the biblical translations by Joye that were known to him in his *Editions of the Bible and Parts Thereof in English*, with numerous excerpts and selections from the works.[181] His short account of the Tyndale–Joye controversy is also limited to mentioning that Tyndale complained "heavily of George Joye for altering his translation in many important instances, particularly in rejecting the word *resurrection*, and (concealing his own name) still uttering it as

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175 Lewis, *A Complete History of the Several Translations*, p. 82.

176 Lewis, *A Complete History of the Several Translations*, p. 85.

177 Lewis, *A Complete History of the Several Translations*, p. 83.

178 Lewis, *A Complete History of the Several Translations*, p. 75. Unfortunately, Lewis does not disclose where he consulted the *Apologye*.

179 Lewis, *A Complete History of the Several Translations*, pp. 83–85.

180 Lewis, *A Complete History of the Several Translations*, p. 85.

181 These include: J_{1534} (but not J_{1535}), Joye's various translations of the Books of Psalms, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Lamentations, and Daniel. On More's authority, Cotton mentions the translation of the Seven Penitential Psalms, supposedly from 1531–32, but More's comment is probably referring to Joye's lost *Primer* from 1529, which included the seven penitential psalms (Henry Cotton, *Editions of the Bible and Parts Thereof in English, from the Year MDV. to MDCCCL.: With an Appendix Containing Specimens of Translation, and Bibliographical Descriptions*, Oxford: UP, ^{1}1821 ^{2rev}1852, pp. 4, 6, 7, 19, 24, 134n, 135, 239, 240, 252, 307–309, 320, 353, and 390).

Tyndale's genuine translation."[182] Cotton adds a short note about Joye answering these charges in the *Apologye*, a "small tract [...] of very great rarity."[183] Nonetheless, Tyndale's attack was deserved, according to Cotton, and Joye's *Apologye* was only an attempt to defend himself (implying that Joye's argumentation is unconvincing).[184]

Anderson, whose *Annals of the English Bible* (1845) I have cited several times already, is probably (together with David Daniell) the most partial author on the subject. His emotionally strong adjectives, his hammering on Joye's moral deficiencies, and his ignorance of Joye's achievements and arguments give a very one-sided presentation of the controversy. Even Robert Demaus remarks that "I am no admirer of Joye, but cannot help protesting against the treatment he has received from Anderson."[185]

Westcott's *A General View of the History of the English Bible* (1868) recognized that "Joye does not avoid the word 'resurrection'; and if this were the only change, the particular substitution would be of little moment in the connexion where it occurs; but comparatively few paragraphs are left wholly untouched as far as I have examined the book."[186] After quoting the passages where Joye substituted Tyndale's 'resurrection' with 'the lyfe after this' or some similar expression, Westcott remarks: "From these examples it is obvious that Joye's object was simply exegetical in the particular passages which he altered, and that he had no desire to expunge the idea or the word 'resurrection' from his version. Later writers have not dealt justly with him."[187]

Demaus' biography of Tyndale (1871), too, deserves to be mentioned for his attempt to pass a more objective judgement on Joye. He clearly shows some awareness of a number of underlying theological issues, but he stigmatizes them as obscure, irrelevant, dogmatic problems.[188] And although

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[182] Cotton, *Editions of the Bible and Parts Thereof in English*, p. 320.
[183] Cotton, *Editions of the Bible and Parts Thereof in English*, p. 320n.
[184] Cotton, *Editions of the Bible and Parts Thereof in English*, p. 7 and 7n.
[185] Demaus, *William Tyndale*, p. 361, n. 1.
[186] Westcott, *A General View of the History of the English Bible*, p. 46.
[187] Westcott, *A General View of the History of the English Bible*, p. 46n.
[188] "In his intercourse with Tyndale there had been frequent discussions on an abstruse doctrinal question much controverted in the Christian Church, –the condition of the souls of the dead between death and judgement. In his controversy with Sir Thomas More, Tyndale had asserted, or, at least, had admitted, that 'the souls of the dead lie and sleep till Domesday,' whereas Joye maintained, in common perhaps with most members of the Church, Reformed or un-Reformed, that at death the souls passed not into sleep, but into a higher and better life. [...] Joye believed that Tyndale had obscured the meaning of Scripture in several passages by the use of the term *resurrection*, where it was not the resurrection of the body that was really intended: and he therefore in his revision struck out

he thinks that Joye's "defence of his conduct in appropriating Tyndale's translation without acknowledgment is extremely lame and unsatisfactory," he also recognizes that "on the speculative question debated between them Joye defended himself with very considerable ability."[189] Tyndale, Demaus affirms, was indeed inconsistent in his teaching on the issue, and "Joye argues with great force and pertinacity in favour of his own views."[190] Demaus also acknowledges that Tyndale

> somewhat misrepresented or misunderstood Joye; Joye did not deny the resurrection of the body; he merely maintained that, according to Scripture, the state of the soul between death and the resurrection of the body was a state which was appropriately described as a life, and that Tyndale had erroneously used the word *resurrection* in his version in passages where the resurrection of the body was not at all alluded to, but rather the continued life of the soul after its separation from the body.[191]

Demaus is also ready to admit that "on the whole Joye seems to have the best of the argument, he certainly espouses that view of the question which has found most favour among Protestant theologians." Nonetheless, the question in the opinion of Demaus is "speculative rather than practical" and "in learning and in ability of every kind [. . .] Joye's inferiority to Tyndale is conspicuous."[192] Demaus' assessment of Joye's character is even less appealing. According to him "it is obvious that he was one of that class of shallow, troublesome, narrow-minded men of one idea who in colloquial *parlance* are denominated *bores*."[193] There is, however, one opinion, expressed by Joye, that according to Demaus might have had its influence on Tyndale, namely, Joye's plea for a biblical text without any notes or glosses: "it had been the first and plainest protest that had yet been uttered in favour of the circulation of the pure and simple text of Holy Scripture, leaving the Word of God to convey its own message without the aid of glosses and comments."[194] Demaus then explains how Tyndale had preferred a text with glosses, how his second edition contained many such glosses and marginal notes, and how, perhaps under influence

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the term, and substituted for it the phrase 'life after this,' which was more in accordance with his own opinions" (Demaus, *William Tyndale*, p. 360).

189 Demaus, *William Tyndale*, p. 376.
190 Demaus, *William Tyndale*, pp. 376–77.
191 Demaus, *William Tyndale*, p. 377.
192 Demaus, *William Tyndale*, p. 377.
193 Demaus, *William Tyndale*, p. 377.
194 Demaus, *William Tyndale*, pp. 377–78.

of Joye's suggestion, Tyndale's third and final edition of the NT was published without notes.[195]

In 1876 John Eadie's *The English Bible. The External and Critical History of the Various Translations of the Scriptures* appeared in London. He, too, makes an attempt to present Joye and the controversy with Tyndale with more accuracy. To this end, he tells the story of how Joye's modifications came about and how Tyndale reacted to them, mainly by quoting Tyndale's and Joye's own words. Eadie quotes extensively both from Joye's *Apologye* in modernized spelling and Tyndale's second foreword. Unfortunately, Joye's words are mainly used to give the chain of events with regard to the circumstances of the "surreptitious, badly printed" van Ruremund editions, and are heavily commented upon by Eadie.[196] His presentation of the story leaves the reader in no doubt about whose side Eadie is on:

> To have wantonly touched and retouched a common treatise without authority was wrong; but it was an act of no common daring so to handle the translation which Tyndale regarded as the labour and crown of his life, on which also rested his critical repute and his means of blessing the English people.[197]

Joye's changes, according to Eadie, were insignificant: "Joye did not affix Tyndale's name to the reprint, though the book was really his with some changes, none of any value, or suggested by the original, but only inserted to eke out the sense by unneeded and clumsy supplements."[198] A couple of sentences later, however, Eadie does think that Joye's version was different from Tyndale's: "the result of his effort is a poor, marred, and diluted version."[199] The fact that Joye did not spot Tyndale's error in Mk. 14:5, where Tyndale had two hundred pence (for the Greek δηναρίων τριακοσίων, Vg: *trecentis denariis*), proves in the eyes of Eadie that Joye was working carelessly.[200] Eadie does accredit Joye with the wish for a pure text

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[195] Demaus, *William Tyndale*, pp. 363–78.

[196] Eadie, *The English Bible*, vol. I, pp. 218–22.

[197] Eadie, *The English Bible*, vol. I, p. 219.

[198] Eadie, *The English Bible*, vol. I, p. 219. These "unneeded and clumsy supplements" were the OT readings, the Calendar, the Concordance of parallel places, etc. Tyndale probably did not think that they were "unneeded" or "clumsy," for he included them in his new revision.

[199] Eadie, *The English Bible*, vol. I, p. 219.

[200] This is the sole proof Eadie offers for Joye's carelessness (Eadie, *The English Bible*, vol. I, p. 218). Tyndale tended to 'convert' biblical money to English money, and the figures were sometimes changed as the 'exchange rate' required. Joye kept these 'conversions.'

without glosses or notes, and in one long paragraph running more than two pages he focuses on the theological background of the debate. He claims that Joye changed the translation of resurrection to 'life after this' or some similar expression "though he retained it in cases where the rising of the body is distinctly intended, as in 1 Corinthians xv, and Philippians iii."[201] Eadie's incautious formulation, however, might suggest to the casual reader that these are the exceptions, while on the whole the word resurrection was as good as blotted out. According to Eadie, the reason behind Joye's modification of the word was his dispute with Tyndale about "the nature of the soul-life, between death and resurrection."[202] Eadie clarifies that "Joye's view was the common one, that the souls pass into a higher life at death."[203] This, however, was not disputed by Tyndale, whose "own opinion wavered."[204] True, Eadie avows, Tyndale had maintained earlier in his controversy with More that the souls lay dead and were asleep until doomsday, but Tyndale changed his opinion and his "more recent view is in harmony with Scripture, which teaches not simply the immortality of the soul, but the immortality of the man."[205] This unwarranted assertion of an evolution in Tyndale's view of the afterlife creates the basis for an attempt to harmonize the traditional Protestant theology on the eschathon with some new exegetical approaches of Eadie's own time read into Tyndale's words. For the biblical view, according to Eadie, "lays far more stress on the resurrection than our popular theology supposes; looks on the separate existence of the soul after death as an insignificant parenthesis in our existence, and takes almost no notice of it when it is out of the physical organism created it." Eadie maintains that an unembodied spirit, though in the service of the Divine, is always imperfect, regardless of its brightness or happiness. Perfection and glorification will come only on Judgement Day, when "nature in all its spheres will be perfected in Christ, and prepared for, and admitted into everlasting blessedness."[206] This amalgam of irreconcilable ideas is, in my opinion, a misinterpretation of Tyndale's own view.

Francis Fry's excellent and still indispensable *A Bibliographical Description of the Editions of the New Testament Tyndale's Version in English with*

201 Eadie, *The English Bible*, vol. I, p. 222.
202 Eadie, *The English Bible*, vol. I, p. 222.
203 Eadie, *The English Bible*, vol. I, p. 222.
204 Eadie, *The English Bible*, vol. I, p. 222.
205 Eadie, *The English Bible*, vol. I, pp. 222–23.
206 Eadie, *The English Bible*, vol. I, p. 223.

Numerous Readings, Comparisons of Texts, and Historical Notes appeared in 1878.[207] Fry gives very detailed bibliographical data on the various editions of Tyndale's translation of the NT (from the 1525 unfinished Cologne edition through the Antwerp editions and up to the London editions of the 1550s and 1560s), with plenty of examples drawn from them. He meticulously compares the translation, the notes, and the marginalia of the various printed editions. Number two of the discussed NTs is the 1534 Joye edition.[208] Fry's presentation of the debate is limited to three or four sentences (in the fashion that was discussed under the 'conservative consensus'), with a quotation from each involved party. What makes Fry's approach unique is the fact that the passage he quotes (in modernized spelling) from Joye is Joye's summary in the *Apologye* of the reasons why he chose to alter Tyndale's translation in those places. Fry also quotes *all* of the places where the word resurrection is retained. Furthermore, he composes a table of more than 100 passages in which he contrasts Joye's translation with Tyndale's 1534 revision.[209] This is, however, somewhat misleading, as many of the differences are due to the fact that Joye was following Tyndale's 1526 edition, and not the 1534 edition.

In 1883 Edward Arber published the full text of Joye's *Apologye*.[210] The introduction amounts to barely four small pages. Arber's explicit goal with the reprint was "not the quarrel, interesting as that is; but the bibliographical information" on Tyndale's NT editions.[211] Accordingly, the quarrel is not treated at all; only the intimate relationship between Joye and Tyndale is mentioned (though Tyndale distrusted Joye), and that the *Apologye* is "as bitterly angry a retort as any Christian man could write."[212] Having characterized Tyndale as "our Luther," Frith as "our Melanchthon,"

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[207] Francis Fry, *A Bibliographical Description*. The book was reprinted in June 1999 by Greyden Press. But the reprint contains only the first xxiii + 83 pages out of the original xxiii + 196 pages + 73 plates. The reprint includes, oddly, the entire table of contents of the original work (pp. v–viii), despite the fact that almost two thirds of it is not contained in the book!

[208] Fry, *A Bibliographical Description*, pp. 38–43. Fry was as yet unaware of Joye's second edition of the NT, which was only discovered in 1905. See *infra* on p. 48.

[209] Fry, *A Bibliographical Description*, pp. 41–43.

[210] George Joy, *An Apology made by George Joy to satisfy, if it may be, W. Tindale. 1535*, ed. Edward Arber, Westminster: Archibald Constable, 1882 (further: Arber, *Apology*). Arber consequently spells the names of the parties as Tindale and Joy (he points to Tyndale's autograph in his letter from the prison of Vilvoorde, where his signature reads *Tindalus*, p. 5). (In the University Library of the K. U. Leuven, the book was originally catalogued under the name 'George Joyce.') The book was reprinted in 1895.

[211] Arber, *Apology*, p. vi.

[212] Arber, *Apology*, p. vi.

and Joye as "our Carlstadt," Arber safely passes over to the bibliographical details.[213] After a reprint of Tyndale's second foreword from his second NT edition (November 1534), the text of the *Apologye* is presented in original spelling and with the original punctuation (e.g. using slashes / instead of commas). The marginal notes and the running titles are kept and presented at the appropriate places. Wherever Joye abbreviates Tyndale's name (T. or Tyn.), the abbreviation is expanded in square brackets: T[indale]. Arber silently structures Joye's text into two sections, starting with nicely decorated initial letters A (After that w. Tindale . . .) and B (But let us now . . .). Unfortunately, a few mistakes slipped into his transcription.[214] Arber introduces half a dozen notes and clarifications, mainly with regard to the dates and explanation of words. He also uses cross-reference page numbers for Joye's quotations from Tyndale's second foreword as they are found in Arber's reprint. Although the book appeared in a limited edition (in 1895 it was reissued), it has made it possible for scholars all over the world to form a more founded opinion on the question by reading Joye's *Apologye*.

In 1905, Alfred W. Pollard published the news about the discovery of the second edition of the NT with George Joye's alterations.[215] In his article Pollard gives a short account of the facts according to the conservative consensus. He, however, reprints Joye's epilogue in full, making it available for research for the first time since the 16th century. In 1911 another important work appeared in the field of Reformation studies, Pollard's *Records of the English Bible*.[216] The book, as its title and subtitle indicate, is a compendium of important documents relating to the history of the Bible in English. The book contains a seventy-page-long introduction that includes two pages on Joye.[217] Nothing is mentioned about his individual translations. The facts of controversy are enumerated, but their interpretation is debatable.[218] More importantly, Pollard publishes many original documents, and thus makes possible a study of the early English

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213 Arber, *Apology*, p. vi.

214 E.g. On sig. $B3^r$ Arber mistakenly resolves Joye's *pctm* into *pectum* instead of *peccatum*, on $C6^r$ he has "I her say" instead of "I herd saye," on $C8^v$ he has "Pystel" instead of "Pistle," on $D3^v$ he has "yt" instead of "it," on $D4^r$ he has "ful" instead of "full," etc.

215 Alfred W. Pollard, *Recent English Purchases at the British Museum*, in *The Library*, 2nd ser. vol. VI, no. 21 (Jan. 1905), pp. 1–28, esp. pp. 10–19.

216 Pollard, *Records of the English Bible*, 1911.

217 Pollard, *Records of the English Bible*, pp. 6–8.

218 E.g. his claim that "Joye's new edition being probably itself a fresh cause of offence" (Pollard, *Records of the English Bible*, p. 8).

Bible translations that no longer exclusively relies on Foxe's hagiographical martyrology. Among these documents we find Tyndale's complaint in his second foreword, Joye's epilogue of his second NT edition, and two extracts from the *Apologye*.[219]

In the same year (1911) the Catholic apologist Henry G. Graham's *Where We Got the Bible* was published. The book, which has been reprinted more than twenty times, is an amusing exception to the rule, not because Graham gives due treatment to the controversy, but because he brings it up for quite a different purpose.[220] His mention of Joye's *Apologye* serves exclusively for an attack on the qualities of Tyndale and his translations.[221] Graham's objective is no less apologetic and is just as biased as the usual presentation of the matter by the scholars of the 'conservative consensus.'[222]

Mozley's treatment of Joye in his Tyndale biography (1937) should not be left unmentioned here.[223] His fairly balanced Tyndale biography (probably still the best work on Tyndale's life for scholarly purposes) contains many useful historical details of the debate, mainly based on Joye's *Apologye*.[224] Mozley reflects briefly on some theological issues involved

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[219] Pollard, *Records of the English Bible*, pp. 174–75 and 178–96.

[220] Henry G. Graham, *Where We Got the Bible. Our Debt to the Catholic Church*, St Louis: Herder Book, 1911.

[221] The passage in the chapter "A Deluge of Erroneous Versions" is short and entertaining enough to quote it in its entirety: "So long as Henry made no objection, any printer or publisher or literary hack, who thought he saw a chance of making a little money out of the venture, would take in hand the publishing of a new version of the Bible. George Joye, for example, took this course in regard to Tyndale's Bible, and in consequence (1535) brought down upon himself a volley of bitter and un-Christian reproaches from that worthy who (as I have said before) was a man of uncontrollable temper and scurrilous language when thwarted or resisted. In reply to this tirade, George Joye published an 'Apology', in which he showed that the printer had paid him only 4 ½ d. for the correction of every 16 leaves, while Tyndale had netted 10 pounds for his work; and besides, he exposed in fine style the departure from the truth of which Tyndale had been guilty in boasting of his translation and exposition as if it were his own, whereas Joye shows it was really Luther's all the time; that Tyndale did not know enough Greek to do it, and had only added 'fantasies' and glosses and notes of his own imagination to the work of others. However, we have no time to dwell on the quarrels of these amiable Bible translators, else we should never reach the end of our historical review." (IS Graham, *Where We Got the Bible*.)

[222] Graham is quite useful for the earlier periods, but the presentation of the Reformation period is less adequate.

[223] Mozley, *William Tyndale*, London & New York: SPCK & Macmillan, ([1]1937) [repr]1971. See also his numerous contributions in *Notes and Queries*: Mozley, *George Joye, or Gee*, pp. 252–53; Mozley, *Tyndale's 'Supper of the Lord'* in *N&Q* 183,11 (1942), pp. 305–06; James Frederic Mozley, *Tyndale's 'Supper of the Lord'* in *N&Q* 185,3 (1943), p. 87; James Frederic Mozley, *The Supper of the Lord. 1533*, in *Moreana* 10 (1966), pp. 11–16.

[224] Esp. Mozley, *William Tyndale*, pp. 268–84.

in the debate. He draws attention to the fact that the Reformers' denial of the validity of the prayers to the saints and, as a consequence, their denial of the saints being already in Heaven, posed a serious question, viz. the question of where the departed souls are "between death and the resurrection of the body preceding the day of judgement?"[225] Tyndale, Mozley maintains, claimed ignorance on the issue. More and Joye, however, undoubtedly but mistakenly believed that "Tyndale's cautious ignorance came dangerously near to the doctrine that the souls sleep."[226] However, for his part Tyndale was no less certain that "the belief that the souls are already in glory in Heaven diminishes the need and the value of the bodily resurrection."[227] Mozley uniquely also presents (and partially reprints in modern spelling) Joye's letters, the early sources of the controversy. He is, however, incorrect in stating that one of the letters was written by John Coke, the secretary of merchant adventurers, who, as Mozley believed, sided with Tyndale on the question. Mozley is also mistaken in believing that the addressee of that letter was Tyndale.[228] He correctly recognizes that Joye is the author of the letter to Latimer, which is preserved on the same sheet of paper among the *State Papers* from the reign of Henry VIII in the Public Record Office.[229] He also quotes at length from Arber's reprint of Joye's *Apologye*. Nonetheless, Mozley's interpretation of the peace agreement of the parties is also doubtful.[230] This misinterpretation of the treaty gives Mozley the opportunity to claim that Joye not only did not respect the agreement when he published his second edition of J_{1535} crowned with "a spiteful postscript," but that Joye also "withholds all knowledge of this fact from his readers."[231] And despite all of the virtues of his biography, his description of Joye's character, as quoted above, is far from impartial.[232] He judges that "the ignorance and levity of [Joye's] attack upon Tyndale's translation leave a very bad impression upon the

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[225] Mozley, *William Tyndale*, p. 271.

[226] Mozley, *William Tyndale*, p. 271. Mozley admits that "in fairness to More and Joye it should be added that the compiler of the index in the first edition of the Answer (whosoever he was) refers to the above passage (III., 180) under the heading: Soul sleep" (Mozley, *William Tyndale*, p. 271n).

[227] Mozley, *William Tyndale*, p. 271.

[228] Mozley, *William Tyndale*, p. 272. For the discussion on the authorship and the addressee of the letters, see *infra* p. 306.

[229] Mozley, *William Tyndale*, p. 273.

[230] Mozley, *William Tyndale*, pp. 277–78. He himself claims that "Nor does Joye's account of the treaty of peace hold together" (p. 283). For the discussion, see p. 322.

[231] Mozley, *William Tyndale*, p. 283.

[232] See *supra* on p. 39.

reader."[233] He calls the *Apologye* a "long and rambling document."[234] He speaks in a cynical tone about Joye's "brilliant argument."[235] According to Mozley, Joye "exhibits a ludicrous medley of conflicting emotions."[236] His final judgement is that Joye's "want of candour puts him out of court, and clinches the verdict against him. No doubt Tyndale knew his man; he had not associated with him in Antwerp for six or seven years for nothing. He had found him, as we find him, well-meaning and zealous, but vain, shallow and untrustworthy, and probably he had no great confidence that Joye was in earnest, when the reconciliation was engineered by mutual friends."[237]

Although he was close to the mainstream authors in his approach, Gervase E. Duffield, who has already been cited, is one of the few authors who mentions Joye's translations (1965). He, too, has a few good words on Joye: "He was an energetic man who translated a fair bit of the Old Testament, wrote commentaries and treatises, and even translated a prayer book into English."[238] Duffield also recognizes that "the background of [Joye's] changes [in Tyndale's translation] was the dispute as to what happened to souls between death and the judgement day."[239] He identifies some of the theological issues and is aware that the Tyndale–Joye debate is only one part of a broader context.[240] Duffield reprints Tyndale's second foreword of T_{1534} in his work, as well as the full text of Joye's epilogue of his second NT edition (J_{1535}) and some five pages of Joye's *Apologye*, all of

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[233] Mozley, *William Tyndale*, p. 283.

[234] Mozley, *William Tyndale*, p. 280.

[235] Mozley, *William Tyndale*, p. 280.

[236] Mozley, *William Tyndale*, p. 283.

[237] Mozley, *William Tyndale*, p. 283. In his study on the authorship of *The Souper of Lorde*, his argument for Tyndale being the source of the book is Joye's character and style: "Besides, the 'Supper' is too able a work for Joye's pen. Joye was zealous and well-meaning, but of second class—vain, foolish, touchy, and apt to intrude into matters beyond his capacity. He lacks the strong simplicity, learning and directness of Tyndale, whose very railings are deeper and more penetrating than Joye's" (Mozley, *Tyndale's 'Supper of the Lord'*, in *N&Q* 183,11 (1942), p. 306).

[238] Duffield, *The Work of William Tyndale*, p. xxvii.

[239] Duffield, *The Work of William Tyndale*, p. xxviii.

[240] "This dispute arose in its turn out of the conflict about the cult of the departed saints. The Reformers were often accused of maintaining that souls slept after death. More accused Tyndale of this, but the latter replied that he was agnostic about the question. Joye may have taken such agnosticism as dangerously near accepting the idea of soul-sleep, hence his emendations" (Duffield, *The Work of William Tyndale*, p. xxviii).

them in modernized spelling and with (some unfortunate) annotations.[241] Nonetheless, he stigmatizes the van Ruremund NTs as "pirated," Joye's variations to Tyndale's translation as "theological eisegesis" with its "own theological idiosyncrasies," and Joye's repeated request to Tyndale to clear his name from the imputation of heresy as "pestering Tyndale."[242] Duffield clearly misunderstands Joye's version of the agreement for reconciliation, as presented in the *Apologye*. Without any substantiation, Duffield calls the *Apologye* a repetitious, "intemperate book" with "incoherent arguments."[243] Joye, according to Duffield, "keeps returning to his great theme that Scripture is plain and Tyndale is wrong, though little proof is offered!"[244] In 1971 Duffield studied Joye's rendering of Bucer's Latin version of the Psalms.[245] In the same year he also issued a reprint edition of Joye's first Psalter of 1530 with a short introductory note.[246] Curiously, Joye's name is not mentioned on the title page of the reprint: "The Psalter of David / Aretius Felinus / 1530 / Introduced by G.E. Duffield." Joye's name is only mentioned on p. 12, and Joye does not merit more than two tiny paragraphs sketching his entire life in a mere three sentences and enumerating five arguments for Joye's authorship. Joye's "abusive language" (probably meant in relationship to his *Apologye*) is contrasted with Tyndale's "moderate tone."[247] Nonetheless, Duffield recognizes that "Joye's phraseology passed permanently into the literary heritage of the English Bible."[248]

David Daniell is currently the most celebrated but probably one of the most biased of Tyndale's biographers. His biography of Tyndale was published for the quincentenary of Tyndale's birth (1994). Both there and in his recent *The Bible in English* (2003) he addresses the debate between Joye and Tyndale, but his Tyndale biography shows an approach different

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241 Duffield, *The Work of William Tyndale*, pp. 309–22. The following extracts are contained from the apology: *III. Joye's Apology* (pp. 316–18): *Apology*, p. 2, li. 1 to p. 6, li. 18; *IV. Joye's Explanation* (pp. 318–22): *Apology*, p. 38, li. 5 to p. 45, li. 25.

242 Duffield, *The Work of William Tyndale*, pp. xxviii–xxix.

243 Duffield, *The Work of William Tyndale*, p. xxix.

244 Duffield, *The Work of William Tyndale*, p. xxix.

245 Gervase E. Duffield, *First Psalter Printed in English (Bucer-Joye) Psalter*, in *Churchman* 85 (1971), pp. 291–93.

246 *The Psalter of David*, ed. Aretius Felinus (Martin Bucer) 1530, introd. by Gervase E. Duffield (Courtenay Facsimile 1) Appleford: Sutton Courtenay Press, 1971 [hereafter: Duffield, *Psalter of David*]. Unfortunately, the publication was limited to only 250 copies.

247 Duffield, *Psalter of David*, p. 15.

248 Duffield, *Psalter of David*, p. 17.

from that of his latest book.[249] He has also written several articles and studies where the controversy is mentioned.[250] (1) Daniell's view in his Tyndale biography and his studies corresponds to the 'conservative consensus' as described above. These works are marked with tendentiousness and a lack of historical insight. He presents Joye as a quarrelsome, imprudent, dim-witted person who irritated everyone and was the cause of schisms within the early English Protestant community.[251] According to Daniell, Joye was a second-rate editor with "foolish philosophy and generally bad work," who with his tinkering threatened the harmony and unity of the Scripture, the very foundation of reformist thought.[252] (2) In his recent book on the history of the English Bible, however, Daniell's treatment of Joye is somewhat different.[253] Daniell, probably influenced by the new scholarly approaches to Joye, presents a less partial picture of him. Joye is no longer ignorant but is introduced to the reader as "an English scholar living in Antwerp."[254] The debate itself is summarized in four or five concise sentences, and the wording is much less derogatory than in his earlier studies.[255] In the next chapter (somewhat misleadingly called

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[249] Daniell, *The Bible in English*.

[250] David Daniell, *Tyndale, Roye, Joye, and Copyright*, in John A.R. Dick and Anne Richardson (eds.), *William Tyndale and The Law*, (SCES 25), Kirksville: SCJ, 1994, pp. 93–101; IS Daniell, *Tyndale as Reformer in his English Bibles*.

[251] Daniell, *William Tyndale*, pp. 321–26 Cf. "this man, George Joye, who had pretensions to Bible scholarship [...]" (IS Daniell, *Tyndale as Reformer in his English Bibles*).

[252] Daniell, *Tyndale, Roye, Joye, and Copyright*, pp. 93–101.

[253] On the whole, the book is marked with the same bias that characterized his earlier works. Blacketer describes it as suffering from "a disturbing lack of evenhandedness that detracts from the overall credibility of the work" (Review by Raymond A. Blacketer, in *The Journal of Religion* 87 (2007), p. 152). Daniell's use of double standards is accompanied by his sole criterion of excellence of any biblical translation—its proximity to William Tyndale's version. "In fact, this book is in one sense a book about William Tyndale and how his translation has never really been eclipsed. Daniell writes about the history of great men, or in this case, the one great man Tyndale, whose spirit dominates the entire narrative" (p. 151). Daniell's work also exhibits a serious lack of historical understanding: "Daniell's portrayal of the history of Christian thought is skewed and outdated. He presents a caricature of medieval theology and exegesis in which a good fifteen hundred years of Christian thought can be written off as superstition and ignorance. Daniell betrays his lack of insight into this era when he dismisses the fourfold method of interpretation but then praises its greatest practitioner, Nicholas of Lyra (because he was one of Tyndale's favorite exegetes). His treatment of John Calvin and later Protestant orthodoxy is similarly disappointing. Moreover, the confessional tone of his writing threatens to transgress the borders of civility. His treatment of Roman Catholic thought and attitudes toward the Bible is simplistic to say the least and comes disturbingly close to bigotry" (p. 152).

[254] Daniell, *The Bible in English*, p. 151.

[255] Daniell still remarks that "Not to put his name to the changes was bad enough, but in 1533 the Resurrection was the subject of debate among the English reformers" (Daniell,

After Tyndale), Daniell devotes a section to "Joye and Roy," where Joye receives a much fairer handling.[256] According to Daniell, "early on he [i.e. Joye] showed a certain gift with trenchant English."[257] Joye is credited for his OT translation, for the publication of his *Primer*, and for coining the expressions 'saving health' and 'backslide.'[258] Daniell points out that Joye "was an innovator in that all the books he translated into English had not been touched by Tyndale."[259] Daniell even acknowledges, to a certain degree, Coverdale's indebtedness to Joye.[260] Nonetheless, Joye's translational strategy is summarized by Daniell as "he was not trying for any literal accuracy, and he liked to fill out the text with words and ideas of his own."[261] And strangely, after having underlined that Joye's translations and his *Primer* were the first ever put into print in English, Daniell states that "Joye did not break new ground."[262] He also believes that "had Joye been able to translate into English an entire Bible, it would have been inadequate."[263] Even so, Daniell admits that "Joye's translations certainly filled a gap, and there are moments in them which have merit," and as a sign of goodwill he concludes his treatment of Joye by allowing that "whatever his personal faults, Joye did endure two long and difficult exiles for his religion."[264]

A Shift in the Study of Joye

In the second half of the 20th century, a clear shift can be observed in the scholarly attitude towards Joye's person and oeuvre.[265] The trend is characterized by such works as William Clebsch's *England's Earliest Protestants 1520–1535* and Charles C. Butterworth's publications on the *English Primers*. This renewed interest gave rise to a series of studies with a new

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The Bible in English, p. 151). He does not give any further details as to why and how the 'Resurrection' (apparently he still has not realized that the debate was *not* on resurrection) was debated, and why it aggravated Joye's 'crime.'

256 Daniell, *The Bible in English*, pp. 167–68.
257 Daniell, *The Bible in English*, p. 167.
258 Daniell, *The Bible in English*, p. 167.
259 Daniell, *The Bible in English*, pp. 167–68.
260 Daniell, *The Bible in English*, p. 168.
261 Daniell, *The Bible in English*, p. 167.
262 Daniell, *The Bible in English*, p. 167.
263 Daniell, *The Bible in English*, p. 168.
264 Daniell, *The Bible in English*, p. 168.
265 The first short study was perhaps by L.A. Sheppard, who published a short bibliographical description of Joye's *Ortulus anime*. L.A. Sheppard, *The Hortulus Animae in English, 1530*, in *The Library* s5-VI, 3–4 (1951), pp. 109–15.

perspective on Joye and his works during the last decades of the previous century. Scholars became interested in the person and the writings of Joye, regardless or independently of his quarrel with Tyndale. Joye (re)gained more and more recognition as an important figure of the first decades of the English Reformation. These new studies coexisted with the established, conservative consensus, on which they have exercised very little effect.

Charles Butterworth and Joye's Only Biography

In 1953 Charles Butterworth issued a comprehensive study titled *The English Primers, 1529–1545*.[266] The book examines the short-lived but very influential genre of printed primers as devotional books. These primers contained the best-known and best-loved portions of the Bible and therefore "had their part in shaping the English text [of the Bible]."[267] Butterworth presents a meticulously detailed description of all of the available evidence on Joye's Psalters and *Primers*, including his first, lost *Primer*.[268] Butterworth identifies Joye's sources for his *Primers* and quotes extensively from them. Where there are parallel texts available from Tyndale, the two are compared. Although Joye's influence on the later primers is underlined, the qualities of his works are characterized as "slipshod rather than scholarly, uneven rather than temperate, yet generally fresh and racy."[269]

The first and until now only book-length biography of Joye was published in 1962.[270] The work was started by Charles Butterworth, but after his untimely death in 1957 it was completed by Allan Chester, who contributed chapters 8–11. The book appeared under both names and I will always refer to the authors in the plural because Chester also revised the chapters that originally were written by Butterworth. There is, however, a noticeable difference in style between the two: Chester is markedly "less fond of Joye than was his predecessor."[271] In their present form, the chapters about the controversy (8–9) are written by Chester based on the notes of Butterworth and are, accordingly, less objective. The facts of the controversy are presented in an interpretative way that has much in common with the 'conservative consensus.' And although the analyses of the other

266 Butterworth, *The English Primers*.
267 Butterworth, *The English Primers*, p. 2.
268 Butterworth, *The English Primers*, pp. 11–46.
269 Butterworth, *The English Primers*, p. 41.
270 BC, *George Joye*.
271 Review by Thomas M. Parker in *EHR* 79 (1964), pp. 838–39.

textual changes made by Joye are very useful, Joye's reasons for altering Tyndale's 'resurreccion' are less than satisfactory. Joye's 'conviction' about the fate of the souls of the saved is seen as "amounting almost to an obsession."[272] Joye was "advancing one of his own theological views" when he "wilfully mistranslated an important word." And to make matters even worse, "by not acknowledging the translation as his own [Joye] had fathered the mistranslation upon Tyndale."[273] The biography claims that "Neither etymologically nor historically was there authority for Joye's figurative rendering *the life after death*. Joye's chief offence—the only one which Tyndale could not condone—was an offence against theological and biblical scholarship."[274] The *Apologye* is described as "intemperate," "marred by repetitiousness and incoherence."[275] And according to the biography, "Joye does not succeed in vindicating himself against Tyndale's charges—how could he?" The other chapters of the book, in spite of a number of historical and interpretative flaws, are more useful and credit Joye's works with some of their merits.[276] The book contains ample analysis of Joye's scriptural translations and excerpts from them.

William Clebsch

William Clebsch's study on *England's Earliest Protestants* represents a landmark in Reformation studies.[277] Although his treatment of Tyndale has frequently been the subject of criticism for being too one-sided due to Clebsch's stress on Tyndale's dependence on Luther, the book is still indispensable.[278] Chapter 12 in the book is entitled "The Practical Piety of George Joye," and it is probably the most sympathetic lengthy treatment of Joye the Protestant author has ever received.[279] Clebsch presents a

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[272] BC, *George Joye*, p. 161.

[273] BC, *George Joye*, p. 166.

[274] BC, *George Joye*, p. 166.

[275] BC, *George Joye*, p. 175.

[276] For some of the mistakes, see: the review by Thomas M. Parker in *EHR* 79 (1964), pp. 838–39.

[277] Clebsch, *England's Earliest Protestants 1520–1535*. See also: William A. Clebsch, *More Evidence That George Joye Wrote 'The Souper of the Lorde'*, in *HTR* 55 (1962), pp. 63–66.

[278] E.g. Ralph Werrell's recent publication is a heroic effort to prove Tyndale's originality: Ralph S. Werrell, *The Theology of William Tyndale*, Cambridge: Clarke, 2006. While many of the points made by Werrell are valid and interesting, and Tyndale's emphasis sometimes lies elsewhere compared to Luther, it is impossible and absurd to deny Tyndale's indebtedness to Luther. Interestingly, those scholars (e.g. Daniell) in the conservative consensus who incriminate Joye for his pirating Tyndale are the fiercest defenders of Tyndale's originality.

[279] Clebsch, *England's Earliest Protestants*, pp. 205–28.

detailed biography of Joye listing and describing his literary activities. The first section examines Joye's biblical translations and his *Primers*. Clebsch emphasizes the neglected but profound influence Joye exercised on the religious practice of the early Protestant community with his translations of the prophets, the Psalter, and his *Primers*: "Joye compiled the first printed English primer with such skill that it set the standard for these books for at least a decade and a half, and its influence continued throughout the first Reformation generation [. . .] Joye earned credit as a shaper of English Protestant religiosity."[280] Clebsch also underlines the importance of Joye's choice of the biblical books to be translated: the Psalms and the prophetic books, upon which "in every age Christians have centered personal and family, as well as monastic, devotion."[281] Joye's first translation of the Psalms "lodged itself in various English primers of the 1530s and stamped its verbiage on the minds and souls of Protestants who prayed by these books."[282] Joye's second Psalter was no less influential, "for no fewer than thirty-eight individual psalms from this version were quoted directly in Robert Redman's *Prayer of the Bible*, printed early in 1535."[283] Clebsch points out that Joye, unlike Tyndale, never specified certain parts and themes of the Bible as "keys to unlock the whole."[284] "He always held that the common reader should feed his soul on scriptural and devotional materials with minimal assistance from translator or editor."[285]

The second section in Clebsch's chapter on Joye is a comprehensive and accurate presentation of Joye's theology in his various tracts. Clebsch aptly shows how Joye adopted and defended the Zwinglian view on various theological topics ranging from the Zwinglian notion of double justification to his views on the Lord's Supper.[286]

The final section in the chapter on Joye is Clebsch's innovative presentation of the Tyndale–Joye debate. Clebsch relates the events objectively. He identifies the theological roots of the debate correctly: "the state of the souls departed: did resurrection of the dead with their bodies await the last trumpet's call, or were the souls of the faithful departed already living a resurrected life?"[287] This question, as he pointed out, "had slumbered

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[280] Clebsch, *England's Earliest Protestants*, p. 206.
[281] Clebsch, *England's Earliest Protestants*, p. 210.
[282] Clebsch, *England's Earliest Protestants*, p. 211.
[283] Clebsch, *England's Earliest Protestants*, p. 211.
[284] Clebsch, *England's Earliest Protestants*, p. 211.
[285] Clebsch, *England's Earliest Protestants*, p. 211.
[286] Clebsch, *England's Earliest Protestants*, pp. 213–19.
[287] Clebsch, *England's Earliest Protestants*, p. 219.

in Christendom since the days of Pope John XXII."[288] He is also correct in connecting the question with "late medieval Christianity's preoccupation with purgatory."[289] Clebsch briefly mentions Joye's letters to Latimer and to William Hill and points out that "the letters show that Joye turned every stone to avoid controversy among the Brethren."[290] Clebsch believes that Tyndale contested Joye's changes because he considered Joye a heretic "for believing that the souls of the dead received celestial embodiment without waiting for their mortal flesh to be revivified at the general resurrection."[291] Joye, however "ably defended himself with ¶ *An Apologye*. . . ."[292] This was based on Tyndale's own works and on the Scriptures and, according to Clebsch's judgement, "made a good case for his viewpoint on the resurrection."[293] Clebsch highlights that Joye corroborates his arguments with quotations from Bucer, Pelican, Melanchthon, and Zwingli, and that Joye's position that "in Scripture words like 'resurrect' and 'resurrection' are used not only of the general resurrection of the dead but of the life of the soul after this present age" is actually taken directly from Zwingli.[294] Clebsch further observes that "Joye's keen eye" for the many inconsistencies within Tyndale's theology "also perceived aspects of the great translator's personality which, although brushed aside by biographers, find support from primary evidence."[295] He points to Tyndale's ambiguous attitude with regard to his own translation:

> Tyndale had both welcomed others' corrections and promised his own revision in the 1525–26 New Testament; by 1534 he regarded not only scripture but his own translation of it as sacrosanct, for, what he earlier conceived as human testimony to divine mercy, he later took to be a contract binding God as well as man.[296]

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[288] Clebsch, *England's Earliest Protestants*, p. 219. Clebsch is borrowing Rupp's expression: E. Gordon Rupp, *Studies in the Making of the English Protestant Tradition (Mainly in the Reign of Henry VIII)*, Cambridge: UP, 1959, p. 50.

[289] Clebsch, *England's Earliest Protestants*, p. 219.

[290] Clebsch, *England's Earliest Protestants*, p. 221.

[291] Clebsch, *England's Earliest Protestants*, p. 219. This, as will be seen, is not entirely correct. See *infra*, on pp. 334–336.

[292] Clebsch, *England's Earliest Protestants*, p. 219. The chronology of the events that followed is not quite accurate in Clebsch's presentation, and, accordingly, his reconstruction of the agreement between Tyndale and Joye is incorrect (p. 220).

[293] Clebsch, *England's Earliest Protestants*, p. 220.

[294] Clebsch, *England's Earliest Protestants*, p. 220. Unfortunately, he does not expound upon how the position of the other Reformers confirms Joye's point.

[295] Clebsch, *England's Earliest Protestants*, p. 220.

[296] Clebsch, *England's Earliest Protestants*, p. 220.

Joye "cut close to the bone with the prayer 'God forbyd that T. shulde so thinke of hymself/ that he hathe so exquysitly/ (ye and that at firste) translated the testament that yt cannot be mended.' "[297] Clebsch highlights how Joye pleaded against Tyndale that "a variety of scriptural interpretations was necessary and desirable,"[298] and that he genuinely hoped "that Tyndale would overcome the notion that the Holy Ghost spoke in his own translation."[299] As there was no sign of Tyndale's promised revision, Joye justly accused Tyndale of having 'slept' from 1526 to 1534 with respect to the 'New Testament project'; he was sincere when he declared that he only sought to eliminate the misprints and to clarify some points of misunderstanding, and was acting correctly when he did not append his name to what was essentially Tyndale's work, "lest he be guilty of the very vainglory of which Tyndale accused him."[300] Tyndale's second foreword, Clebsch points out, was perceived as feigning humility and charity "while actually castigating a former friend."[301] Clebsch contrasts Tyndale's praise of his own works with Joye's crediting their literal accuracy to Frith and Luther.[302] He contrasts Tyndale's worry that someone would steal away his glory and the name of his translation with Joye's yearning "for the day when other men would edit all the early translations into versions of the full English Bible."[303] Finally, the reception of Joye's embittered style is set in sharp contrast to the reception of similar sentiments exhibited by Tyndale during their debate:

> Joye wrote in the bitterness of personal controversy with a former friend, and confessed it; modern commentators have roundly blamed him for it. Joye pointed out that Tyndale had written in the same bitterness, and had struck the first blow; Tyndale's biographers have absolved him. In fact, Joye was not without fault. Neither was Tyndale.[304]

In a similar vein he observes the incorrect treatment Joye has received in the scholarly literature: "modern writers have bent upon magnifying Tyndale, often by minifying his associates. Joye's accusations against Tyndale have been written off as the fulminations of a near crank against an

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[297] Clebsch, *England's Earliest Protestants*, p. 221. Clebsch is quoting from Arber's reprint pp. 221, 229, and *passim*.
[298] Clebsch, *England's Earliest Protestants*, pp. 221–22.
[299] Clebsch, *England's Earliest Protestants*, p. 222.
[300] Clebsch, *England's Earliest Protestants*, pp. 220–21.
[301] Clebsch, *England's Earliest Protestants*, p. 221.
[302] Clebsch, *England's Earliest Protestants*, p. 222.
[303] Clebsch, *England's Earliest Protestants*, p. 222.
[304] Clebsch, *England's Earliest Protestants*, p. 222.

always patient and godly man."[305] Clebsch's final conclusion with regard to Joye is that

> Like him or not, the man translated into acceptable and influential English much of the Old Testament: Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Solomon, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Lamentations; all these he was the first to put into modern English, maybe also Job. He neither knew nor claimed to know Hebrew well, working usually from some Reformation Latin version. Both Rogers and Coverdale incorporated parts of his work into their complete Bibles, although Joye was not a major source of either editor. He worked on those parts of scripture to which Tyndale's efforts did not extend. But his chief interest was to provide English Protestants with usable books of devotion. On that ground he recommended the prophetic and wisdom literature which he translated, and to that purpose he compiled the first Protestant devotional manuals in English. Theologically clever but not profound, polemically strident but effective, Joye left a legacy that enriched the piety and shaped the worship of English Christians. He eluded martyrdom under Henry VIII, unlike Tyndale, Frith, and Barnes. So did Cranmer, Latimer and Ridley, but they became martyrs under Mary Tudor. Joye died an apparently natural death, in an age when to do so was, for leaders of English religion, unheroic.[306]

Clebsch unmistakably sets a new tone on appreciation of Joye. Through his equitable analysis of Joye's *Primers* and his Psalms translations as well as their effects on the newborn Protestant piety, he draws attention to the pre-eminence of Joye in making possible and fundamentally shaping the English evangelical devotion. He examines the cardinal points of Joye's evangelical theology and demonstrates their predominantly Zwinglian origins. His original, unbiased account of Joye's dealings with Tyndale sheds new light on their debate. He shows how Joye's personal arguments against Tyndale are corroborated by Tyndale's own writings and how Joye's *Apologye* was an able defence. It is only a pity that Clebsch pays so little attention to Joye's arguments concerning the heart of the matter.

Recent Studies

The new assessment of Joye proposed by Butterworth, Chester, and, most importantly, Clebsch has apparently induced other writers to produce a series of other studies dedicated to Joye. A commonly studied topic is the authorship of *The Souper of the Lorde*, with contributions made in almost

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[305] Clebsch, *England's Earliest Protestants*, p. 226.
[306] Clebsch, *England's Earliest Protestants*, pp. 227–28.

every decade since the 1940s.[307] The increasing scholarly interest in Joye's own works, translations, and devotional and polemical writings goes hand in hand with a growing appreciation of his oeuvre and recognition of his importance among the early Reformers.

In the 1970s and 1980s Rainer Pineas published a number of articles on Joye.[308] His main interest was Joye's controversy with More (Pineas had previously studied the More–Tyndale controversy) and with Catholics in general. Pineas shows how, with his oratorical skills and wide cultural background, Joye could use almost anything as an argument in a controversy. And although Pineas condemns Joye's practice to put the "trwth [truth] in the text"—i.e. using hyponyms and hyperonyms, and inserting explicatory remarks in the text for his readers (for Pineas this is corrupting the text)—he points out how successful Joye was in advancing the cause of the Reformation with his polemical writings.[309]

In a volume on Martin Bucer (1994), Gerald Hobbs studied the use of Bucer's Psalters in two English biblical translations: in Joye's first translation of the Psalms published in 1530, and in John Rogers' emendations of the Coverdale Psalms in the Matthew Bible of 1537.[310] According to Hobbs, Joye translated Bucer's text according to Bucer's own principle, viz.

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[307] Even before Clebsch's publication, the topic had been studied by Mozley (and some other Tyndale scholars) in order to prove Tyndale's authorship. The most important contributions were: Mozley, *Tyndale's 'Supper of the Lord'* in *N&Q* 183,11 (1942), pp. 305–06; Mozley, *Tyndale's 'Supper of the Lord'* in *N&Q* 185,3 (1943), p. 87; Clebsch, *More Evidence That George Joye Wrote the Souper of the Lorde*, pp. 63–66; Mozley, *The Supper of the Lord. 1533*, pp. 11–16; M. Anderegg, *The Probable Author of* The Souper of the Lorde*: George Joye*, in Thomas More, *The Answer to a Poisoned Book*, eds. S.M. Foley & C.H. Miller (*CWTM* 11), New Haven & London: Yale UP, 1985, pp. 343–74; C. Davies & J. Facey, *A Reformation Dilemma. John Foxe and the Problem of Discipline*, in *JEH* 39 (1988), pp. 37–65; Rainer Pineas, *Polemical Technique in Thomas More's* The Answere to the Poysoned Booke, in *Moreana* 100 (1989), pp. 385–393; O'Sullivan, *The Authorship of* The Supper of the Lord, pp. 207–32.

[308] Rainer Pineas, *George Joye's Polemical Use of History in his Controversy with Stephen Gardiner*, in *Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis* 55 (1974), pp. 21–31; Rainer Pineas, *George Joye: 'Exposicion of Daniel'*, in *RQ* 28 (1975), pp. 332–42; Rainer Pineas, *George Joye's Use of Rhetoric and Logic as Weapons of Religious Controversy*, in *Essays in Literature* 2 (1975), pp. 10–23; Rainer Pineas, *Thomas More as an Anti-Catholic Weapon in Protestant Polemics*, in *Moreana* 18, 70 (1981), pp. 45–48. See also his works on the Tyndale–More controversy: Rainer Pineas, *Thomas More and Tudor Polemics*, Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1968; Pineas, *Polemical Technique*, pp. 385–93; Rainer Pineas, *The Answer to a Poisoned Book*, in *RQ* 40 (1987), pp. 116–18. Further: Rainer Pineas, *John Bale's Nondramatic Works of Religious Controversy*, in *Studies in the Renaissance* 9 (1962), pp. 218–33; Rainer Pineas, *William Tyndale's Influence on John Bale's Polemical Use of History*, in *ARg* 53 (1962), pp. 79–96.

[309] On Joye's translational strategy, see *infra* on pp. 414ff.

[310] Hobbs, *Martin Bucer and the Englishing of the Psalms*, pp. 161–75. I have contacted Prof. Hobbs via e-mail asking for some clarifications and help with regard to Joye's dependence on Bucer, but to my regret, he was reluctant to help and directed me only to this

that a faithful translation is not necessarily a word-for-word translation.[311] Instead, the translator has to render the sense of the original and not its letter, for it is absurd to produce a literal but incomprehensible translation.[312] Hobbs points out that in Bucer's view it was "better to risk bringing something of the devout translator's own thought into the version than to leave it so unclear that almost anything can be deduced from it by readers lacking in understanding of the Hebrew context."[313] Hobbs also shows how Rogers made use of Joye's 1530 *Psalter of Dauid* when he attached arguments before each psalm and inserted marginal notes at various places based on Bucer. Hobbs states that Roger, while revising Joye's translation of Bucer's arguments, "tended to sacrifice grace for the sake of literal accuracy."[314] According to Hobbs, Roger tried to give a more literal rendering of Bucer's text, but he was less skilful than Joye, and on several occasions he missed its sense.[315]

Joye's oeuvre has recently been researched by Orlaith O'Sullivan in two studies. In her article *The Authorship of* The Supper of the Lord (1997), she argues convincingly for Joye being the writer of this influential and controversial pamphlet.[316] Her study demonstrates how Joye's personal row with Foxe and Tyndale brought Joye into discredit and how it could happen that *The Souper of the Lorde*, which had been ascribed to Joye until 1573, was afterwards, due to Foxe's personal agenda, attributed to Tyndale.[317] Based on a thorough investigation of the internal evidence (style, themes, topics, and theology) in comparison with Joye's other writings, O'Sullivan proves beyond reasonable doubt the Joyean authorship.[318] In another publication she studies Joye's biblical translations.[319]

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article, which, as I had indicated to him, was already known to me. He also warned me not to take Joye *too seriously*.

311 Hobbs, *Martin Bucer and the Englishing of the Psalms*, p. 167.

312 Hobbs, *Martin Bucer and the Englishing of the Psalms*, pp. 166–69. See also Gerald Hobbs, *Exegetical Projects and Problems. A New Look at an Undated Letter from Bucer to Zwingli*, in Edward J. Furcha, H. Wayne Pipkin & Jean and Dikran Hadidian, *Prophet, Pastor, Protestant. The Work of Huldrych Zwingli after Five Hundred Years*, (Pittsburgh Theological Monographs-New Series), Allison Park: Pickwick Publications, 1984, pp. 89–107.

313 Hobbs, *Martin Bucer and the Englishing of the Psalms*, p. 167.

314 Hobbs, *Martin Bucer and the Englishing of the Psalms*, p. 172.

315 Hobbs, *Martin Bucer and the Englishing of the Psalms*, p. 173.

316 O'Sullivan, *The Authorship of* The Supper of the Lord, pp. 207–32.

317 O'Sullivan, *The Authorship of* The Supper of the Lord, pp. 209–11.

318 The fact that she misinterprets Thomas More's Catholic vision (among other things on Sacred Tradition) does not take away from the validity of her arguments. Cf. O'Sullivan, *The Authorship of* The Supper of the Lord, p. 216.

319 Orlaith O'Sullivan, *The Bible Translations of George Joye*, in O'Sullivan, *The Bible as Book*, pp. 25–38.

In 1998 Gordon Jackson published excerpts from Joye's two translations of the Book of Psalms under the title *Surprised by Joye*.[320] In the introduction Jackson argues that the "variance with Tyndale has cost Joye his true literary standing."[321] Nonetheless, Jackson maintains, there is "a new spirit abroad."[322] This new spirit involves the re-examination of the key figures of the Reformation, "and it is right and due time that Joye should be included."[323]

In the same year, Claire Cross briefly reviewed Joye's works, all produced in exile, in a surprisingly objective manner.[324] Cross calling him an "important scholar" points to Joye's first psalm translations and his *The Supper of the Lord*, which, influenced by Zwingli, "emphasised the memorial nature of the communion service and rejected the catholic concept of Christ's death as a perpetual sacrifice."[325] Cross sees Joye's importance in the publication of "a further ten books expounding major points of Zwinglian theology" during Joye's second exile in Antwerp.[326]

Helen Parish (2000) examines how Joye's writings on priestly marriage (a theme very dear to the married Joye) reflected on the official English policy of the Henrician era concerning the matrimony of clerics.[327] She aptly shows that Joye's position, influenced by Continental Protestant writers such as Melanchthon and Zwingli, was in line with other evangelical writers of his age arguing for the same.

Vivienne Westbrook's *Long Travail and Great Paynes*, a reworking of her doctoral thesis published in 2001, examines the work of seven Bible translator-revisers. Among these, she discusses Joye's biblical translations and the indebtedness of later translations to Joye's pioneering work.[328] Based on her close textual analysis of Joye's texts, she argues compellingly for a new evaluation of his Bible translations.

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[320] Gordon Jackson, *Surprised by Joye. Parallel Selections from George Joye's Two Psalters*, Lincoln: Asgill, 1998. Jackson used Joye's 1530 translation from Bucer's Latin text (with variants in square brackets from the 1542 reprint) and the 1534 translation from Zwingli's Latin text.

[321] Jackson, *Surprised by Joye*, p. vi.

[322] Jackson, *Surprised by Joye*, p. vi.

[323] Jackson, *Surprised by Joye*, p. vi.

[324] Claire Cross, *No Continuing City: Exiles in the English Reformation 1520–1570*, in *History Review* 32 (1998), pp. 17–22.

[325] Cross, *No Continuing City*, pp. 17–18.

[326] Cross, *No Continuing City*, 18.

[327] HParish, *Clerical Marriage and the English Reformation, passim*, esp. pp. 57–59 and 131–35.

[328] Vivienne Westbrook, *Long Travail and Great Paynes. A Politics of Reformation Revision*, (Studies in Early Modern Religious Reforms 1), London: Kluwer Academic, 2001.

Peter Marshall's contribution on *Evangelical Conversion in the Reign of Henry VIII* (2002) explores how Luther's dichotomy of Law/Gospel was spelled out by Joye for English readers and how his writings helped shape the Protestant notion of conversion for English Protestant theology.[329]

Alec Ryrie has studied Joye's political and ecclesiological viewpoints (*inter alia* on the question of royal supremacy and clerical celibacy) in *The Gospel and Henry VIII: Evangelicals in the Early English Reformation* (2003).[330] Ryrie points out how carefully Joye formulated his position on these matters and gives Joye a very prominent place in his study.

Conclusion of the Status Quaestionis

This study of the *status quaestionis* shows that the controversy between Joye and Tyndale has usually been treated tangentially. The general view that emerges from the works that do give a place to Joye is an almost unvarying defamation of Joye. Some authors present the reader with specific insights into the debate and its background, but none can be said to have treated the issue both impartially and exhaustively. This is probably due to the secondary rank of style, knowledge, scholarship, and importance usually attributed to Joye. Clearly, Joye's contemporaries had a very different assessment of his person and influence. He was seen as one of the most prominent members of the Lutheran group at Cambridge in 1526 when his room was searched and he was questioned. Also in 1527, when Ashwell gave him up, Wolsey summoned him as one of the three foremost figures of the heresy in Cambridge. More's and Tunstall's testimony also show that they regarded Joye, just like Tyndale, as one of the leaders of the 'brethren.' Henry Phillips was paid to betray and arrest the three most dangerous heretics in Antwerp at the time: Tyndale, Joye, and Barnes (Coverdale was not on the list). Hugh Latimer, Stephen Gardiner, Stephen Vaughan, and Edward Foxe all interceded for or recommended him, an act that could have meant a considerable risk or discredit for them. When Joye got entangled in various theological battles, his works were deemed to be important and dangerous enough to be answered by such prominent people as Thomas More and the bishop of Winchester.

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[329] Peter Marshall, *Evangelical Conversion in the Reign of Henry VIII*, in Peter Marshall & Alec Ryrie, *The Beginnings of English Protestantism*, Cambridge: UP, 2002, pp. 14–37, esp. 21–27.

[330] Alec Ryrie, *The Gospel and Henry VIII. Evangelicals in the Early English Reformation*, Cambridge: UP, 2003, *passim*, esp. pp. 61–78 and 95–109.

John Bale counted him among the most illustrious writers of Britain. Joye's 1530 Psalter (based on Bucer) was reprinted in 1534 in London by Thomas Godfrey, who also (re)printed Joye's translation of Proverbs and Ecclesiastes in the same year. The Psalter was reprinted again as late as 1541. His *Primers* were taken as a model for later devotional books and shaped the language and the praxis of Protestant piety more than any other book (partly through the Book of Common Prayer). Rogers and Coverdale deemed Joye's translation useful for their own edition of the Bible, and Coverdale retained a considerable portion of Joye's renderings. Even Tyndale's third NT edition contains wordings from Joye's NT. Joye's personal adversary John Foxe recognized the importance and effect of his writings.

The evaluation of Joye has undergone a major change in the second half of the 20th century. In the last few decades, there has been a renewed interest in studying Joye's achievements independently of his quarrel with Tyndale. His works and person have become the subject of scholarly research. Some of his polemical writings have received the attention of scholars like Pineas and Parish, but his debate with Tyndale and the *Apologye* remains neglected. Even his biographers and Clebsch are cursory on the topic, concentrating on circumstantial evidence rather than on Joye's real arguments.[331] This study fills the gap in the new interest in Joye by presenting an original view of the Tyndale–Joye debate based on first-hand evidence available from Joye's *Apologye* and placing it into its proper historical and theological context.

Methodological Considerations and the Structure of the Book

A reflection on the *status quaestionis* teaches us that the scholarly world has fallen short of presenting an adequate account of the Tyndale–Joye controversy, mainly for the following reasons:

1. A clear bias in favour of Tyndale and against Joye. This can go as far as completely ignoring (or being ignorant of) the Joye sources.

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[331] Cf. Parish's remark: "The works of Protestant and Catholic polemicists in the mid-Tudor period often receive superficial treatment in biographies of the authors, where polemical writings are glossed over as embarrassing lapses into populism" (Parish, *Clerical Marriage and the English Reformation*, pp. 5–6).

2. The lack of understanding of or attention to the theological issues at hand.
3. Judging the question without placing it in its appropriate context: an ongoing theological debate about issues of the afterlife.
4. Disregarding the historical context of the debate, which explains the use of such anachronistic terms as 'piracy,' 'pirated edition,' 'plagiarism,' etc.
5. The manifestation of a need or strong urge to pass a moral judgement on Joye's character and thus influence the reader.

Clearly, the first and the last points are the result of a subjective attitude and are closely related to each other. Apparantly Tyndale has achieved some kind of an infallible, saintly status in his treatment by some scholars. By trying to ignore or condone what they would see as Tyndale's shortcomings (especially Tyndale's attitude in the debate with Joye), these authors implicitly 'canonize' the "Apostle of Britain" and the "Father of the English Bible." These authors give the impression that they feel that acknowledging facts that could be interpreted as human weaknesses would somehow diminish Tyndale's achievements. Accordingly, the veneration of Tyndale by these writers is explicitly hagiographic, rather similar to that of the Blessed Virgin in the Catholic Church, or even that of Christ: a person without blemish, incapable of doing anything wrong.[332] This, in the practice of some writers, has to be emphasized by passing a negative judgement on Joye's personality.

The other points, however, are of an objective kind and are shortcomings that result in an anachronistic, chronocentric, and uneven view of the controversy. Consequently, in order not to fall into the same trap, the relevant theological issues and the general historical and theological context of the controversy, especially the quest of Christians to grasp the issues of an existence after this earthly life, will form the background of my presentation of the Joye-Tyndale debate.

Accordingly, in the second chapter I present a short historical overview about how the post-mortem fate of the human person has been conceived

[332] It is no accident that he is sometimes compared to Jesus. Cf. "The Lord Jesus was betrayed by a man who was supposed to be his friend, and the same thing happened to Tyndale. Tyndale's 'Judas' was a man named Phillips, a man Tyndale trusted, believing that he was faithful and true" (IS *The Book of Books. A General Introduction to the Bible*, Chapter 13. *How We Got Our Bible*). "They had, of course, reckoned without Phillips, who had, Judas-like, shared the sop with Tyndale at supper-time" (DANIELL, *William Tyndale*, p. 366).

throughout the centuries. The scope of this work limits our possibilities with regard to the scale and details of this survey. Therefore, I have to restrict my survey to the extent that these concepts have been relevant and effective to my principal theme, namely, the Tyndale–Joye controversy. Only major influential ideas are treated, and only to the degree that they bear relevance to the controversy. It is therefore not my intention to present an up-to-date evaluation on the subjects treated, but rather to show how they were conceived in the 16th century. The immensity of the available data on the issue makes it virtually impossible to accomplish thoroughness. Nor is it possible within the present work to examine the development of these ideas, how they influenced each other, and what the present-day scholarly evaluation of these is. The sole purpose of the initial historical overview is to present the main concepts that have played a role in the debate, *in the form* they were understood at the time of the debate.

Chapter three concentrates on the quest for an understanding of afterlife issues in the 16th century, the immediate historico-theological context of the debate between Tyndale and Joye. I present the interpretative solutions to the problems of translation of the NT texts and how they caused dogmatic disagreements at the dawn of the early Reformation period. I present the ideas of, among others, Wessel Gansfort, Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam, Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples, Martin Luther, Andreas Bodenstein of Karlstadt, Gerhard Westerburg, Philipp Melanchthon, Huldrych Zwingli, Martin Bucer, Bartholomäus Westheimer, Heinrich Bullinger, and Thomas More. Here, too, the principles of reference and relevance to the Tyndale–Joye controversy are primordial in selecting and presenting the material. My main focus is the contextualization of the Tyndale–Joye controversy in its immediate religious and exegetical context of the early 16th century as it was understood by the parties, and not the presentation of a modern scholarly evaluation on the various authors. I show that not only was the question of soul sleep vs. immortality of the soul a much debated issue at the time, but also that many beliefs concerning a post-mortem existence were called into question, and that it is against this background that the Tyndale–Joye debate has to be understood. These questions have never been studied with regard to the Tyndale–Joye controversy. Nonetheless, as I demonstrate, most of these theological works had a direct influence on the debate, and Joye explicitly refers to many of them in his *Apologye*. Although it may seem circumstantial, occasionally I pay some attention to a number of personal arguments, subjective comments, *ad hominem* charges, and polemical remarks in various debates on

this subject at the time of Tyndale and Joye. These are given as samples of the language and style of the contemporary way of debating such issues, to familiarize the reader with the tone of such debates at that time in order to enable him or her to make a better assessment of arguments of the kind that were used in the Tyndale–Joye debate and help the reader to place Tyndale's and Joye's very similar notes of harsh accusation in their wider context.

The fourth chapter treats the actual controversy between Tyndale and Joye. I present Tyndale's translational strategy in his NT editions. I discuss the earliest traces of the controversy preserved only in manuscript form (Joye's letter to Hugh Latimer under the name of John Coke, intercepted by a spy of Cromwell). In this letter Joye already points to his exegetical arguments on the subject. I present the circumstances that led to the publication of Tyndale's NT with Joye's corrections and the actual variations he brought about in the work. I examine Tyndale's 'unfriendly' letter printed in his second NT edition. Based on the available evidence I reconstruct an original and plausible scenario for the documented attempt to reach a concord between Tyndale and Joye and how it was doomed to fail. I describe briefly Joye's second NT revision with its concluding remarks on the debated issue. I present a detailed study of Joye's *Apologye*, in which the following aspects are treated: (1) Joye's non-theological arguments; (2) Joye's theological arguments: the belief of the Sadducees, Joye's understanding of the term 'resurrection' in passages where he altered Tyndale's translation, Joye's understanding of the term 'resurrection' in passages that are left unaltered, and Joye's other exegetical arguments; (3) Joye's scholarship and use of sources; and (4) Joye's style and translational strategy.

As most of my research in the third and the fourth chapters is based on primary sources, I will not often refer to the secondary literature that happens to mention the same topic for a different purpose. Naturally, all ideas, concepts, and insights originating from others are duly credited. My somewhat extended study of the *status quaestionis* spares me also from reflecting in too repetitive a fashion on the difference between my findings and those resulting from approaches previously taken. Nevertheless, when this is relevant for a better understanding of my argument, I will make references to the opinions of other scholars.

Finally, a word on transcribing the source material. I have kept the original spelling everywhere, but I resolved all abbreviations except ę (for æ), the & sign (for *et* or *and*), and superscript e-s in German (e.g. gehȯrt). Supplied letters are italicized or put within square brackets (e.g. *a*[*n*]*d* for *ād*).

CHAPTER TWO

VIEWS ON POST-MORTEM EXISTENCE PRIOR TO THE REFORMATION

Is death the definitive end of human life? If not, what happens to the human being after death? These questions have always fascinated humankind. As there is no uncontested first-hand information available, the answer to them has to be based on traditions, beliefs, and human reasoning. Developing and revising previous ideas, every age and every generation have tried to formulate and reformulate an answer in the language and paradigm of its own time. The 16th-century interest in these subjects is thus neither exceptional nor without precedent. In order to illustrate and position the debate between Tyndale and Joye on the fate of the dead, and its broader ideological context within the 16th century, I include here a brief bird's-eye view of the eschatological ideas that have influenced the debate.

The problem of post-mortem existence had occupied some of the attention of the Greco-Roman world as well. In pagan Antiquity, no universally prescribed dogmatic position was held with regard to the post-mortem existence of the human being, and therefore several, sometimes contradictory theories were postulated propagating the transmigration of the souls (*metempsychosis*) and/or personal immortality.[1] These ranged from

[1] On the Greco-Roman views on afterlife, see: Franz Cumont, *After-life in Roman Paganism*, New York: Dover, 1959; Francis R. Walton, art. *After-life*, in Nicholas Geoffrey Lemprière Hammond & Howard Hayes Scullard (eds.), *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, Oxford: Clarendon, ²1979, pp. 23–24; Robert Garland, *The Greek Way of Death*, Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1985; Alexander J.M. Wedderburn, *Baptism and Resurrection. Studies in Pauline Theology against Its Greco-Roman Background*, (WUNT 44), Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr Siebeck, 1987, especially pp. 181–210; Segal, *Life after Death. A History of the Afterlife in the Religions of the West*, New York: Doubleday, 2004, pp. 204–47; Jan N. Bremmer, *The Early Greek Concept of Soul*, Princeton: UP, 1987; Sarah Iles Johnson, *Hekate Soteira. A Study of Hekate's Roles in Chaldean Oracles and Related Literature*, (American Classical Studies 21), Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990; Peter G. Bolt, *Life, Death and the Afterlife in the Greco-Roman World*, in Richard N. Longnecker (ed.), *Life in the Face of Death. The Resurrection Message of the New Testament*, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1991; Jan N. Bremmer, *Greek Religion*, (Greece and Rome. New Surveys in the Classics 24), Oxford: UP, 1994; Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood, *'Reading' Greek Death to the End of the Classical Period*, Oxford: Clarendon, 1995; N. Clayton Croy, *Hellenistic Philosophies and the Preaching of the Resurrection (Acts 17:18, 32)*, in *NT* 39 (1997), pp. 21–29, esp. p. 29; Sarah Iles Johnson, *Restless Dead. Encounters between the Living and the Dead in Ancient Greece*, Berkeley: UP California, 1999.

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(1) the early Elysian fields of the blessed and (2) the 'democratic' Homeric view of a common ᾅδης for everyone, through (3) the Orphic and Platonic clear-cut dualism (claiming that the soul, imprisoned in the body in life, is set free by death only to be reincarnated in another body until it is completely purified) and (4) the Aristotelian *hylomorphism* (proposing somewhat dubiously the immortality of active intellect, the *intellectus agens* of the later commentaries), to (5) Stoic ambiguity on the subject (generally allowing for a temporal survival of the soul until the cataclysmal Conflagration (ἐκπύρωσις) and (6) Epicurean monist materialism denying all possibility of the survival of the person. Early Christian theology was probably most influenced by (7) Neo-Platonism, with its interest in divine emanations and a strong ethical dualism coupled with the metaphysical. In pagan Antiquity, the idea of a once-and-for-all resurrection of the body for eternal life is absent.

Views on Post-Mortem Existence in the Bible

Belief in the Afterlife in the Old Testament

There seems to be a consensus in modern scholarship about the fact that afterlife beliefs occur at a rather late stage in the history of the Hebrew Bible.[2] Allegedly, early Israelites had no (clearly developed) idea about

[2] On afterlife beliefs in ancient Israel, the Hebrew Bible and Judaism, see: Alexander Heidel, *The Gilgamesh Epic and Old Testament Parallels*, (Phoenix Books 136), Chicago: UP, 1963; Oscar Cullmann, Harry Austryn Wolfson, Werner Jaeger & Krister Stendahl, *Immortality and Resurrection*, New York: Macmillan, 1965; Nicholas J. Tromp, *Primitive Conceptions of Death in the Nether World in the Old Testament*, Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1969; George W.E. Nickelsburg. *Resurrection, Immortality and Eternal Life in Intertestamental Judaism*, (HTS 26), Cambridge (MA): Harvard UP, 1972; Klaas Spronk, *Beatific Afterlife in Ancient Israel and in the Ancient Near East*, Neukirchen–Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1986; Bruce Vawter, *Intimations of Immortality and the Old Testament*, in *JBL* 91 (1972), pp. 158–71; John F.A. Sawyer, *Hebrew Words for the Resurrection of the Dead*, in *VT* 23 (1973), pp. 218–34; Theodore J. Lewis, *The Cults of the Dead in Ancient Israel and Ugarit*, (Harvard Semitic Monographs 39); Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989; Elizabeth M. Bloch-Smith, *The Cult of the Dead in Judah. Interpreting the Material Remains*, in *JBL* 111 (1992), pp. 213–24; Mark S. Smith, *The Invocation of Deceased Ancestors in Psalm 49:12c*, in *JBL* 112 (1993), pp. 105–07; Émile Puech, *La croyance des Esséniens en la vie future: immortalité, résurrection, vie éternelle? Histoire d'une croyance dans le judaïsme ancien*, 2 vols. (Études bibliques. N.S. 21–22), Paris: Lecoffre, 1993; Brian B. Schmidt, *Israel's Beneficent Dead. Ancestor Cult and Necromancy in Ancient Israelite Religion and Tradition*, (Forschungen zum Alten Testament 11), Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1994; Christian Herrmann, *Unsterblichkeit der Seele durch Auferstehung. Studien zu den anthropologischen Implikationen der Eschatologie*, (FsöTh 83), Göttingen: V&R, 1997; Segal, *Life after Death*; Casey D. Elledge, *Life after Death in Early Judaism*, (WUNT 2. Reihe 208), Tübingen: Mohr, 2006; David C. Mitchell,

a possible future life of the individual beyond death, neither as a soul separated from the body nor in the form of the resurrection of the body. Concerns about death, especially untimely death (generally recognized as a punishment from God), were more interested in the preservation of the family, clan, tribe, or nation than in the fate of the individual (cf. Gen. 38; Dt. 25:5–6; 1 Sam. 2:31; Prov. 10:27–30). The main interest of the early Israelites was the fate of the nation and not that of the individual. It is customary today to explain the apparent lack of interest in a post-mortem existence with the alleged monistic anthropology of the Jewish culture. According to this, the human person is an indissoluble unit, and terms such as בָּשָׂר (traditionally translated by LXX: σάρξ Vg: *caro*; English: flesh) and נֶפֶשׁ (traditionally translated by LXX: ψυχή Vg: *anima*; English: soul) refer to the human person in its entire being from a particular aspect (e.g. the human person in relation to the material world, or the human person as a living being) rather than to a component. Although this awareness was not generally present in the 16th century, we will see that some 16th-century scholars with a thorough knowledge of Hebrew argued similarly.[3] These were, however, the exceptions. By and large passages, that could be seen even faintly to refer to a post-mortem existence or resurrection (usually reinforced by the Greek and Latin translations of the Hebrew text) were consistently understood and explained by Christians in such a sense. The OT was seen as the prefiguration of the NT, wherein the central tenet is unquestionably Jesus' victory over death, His bodily resurrection from the dead. Christ's resurrection is the good news of Christianity, and it is the promise for the salvation of the faithful. Anything that could be seen as a prophecy of Jesus' death and resurrection was therefore interpreted accordingly, and anything that could be understood as referring to the promise of a post-mortem existence was taken in that sense. In this regard there was no difference between the Eastern and the Western Church, nor between Catholics and Protestants.

This alleged monistic anthropology does not imply that the belief in the resurrection of the body or in some kind of survival of the person beyond death was totally absent from the Hebrew Bible. Such references, usually from the later books, are found abundantly, although they resist any systematic harmonization. Nor does it mean that the Christian reading of

'God Will Redeem My Soul from Sheol.' The Psalms of the Sons of Korah, in *JSOT* 30 (2006), pp. 365–84. See also the literature *infra* in n. 11 on p. 76.

[3] See *infra* on pp. 218ff and p. 268.

those passages would have differed significantly from the interpretation of some of those passages by contemporary Jewish interpreters.

The destination of all humankind in the OT is said to be שְׁאוֹל (*sh^{e}ôl*).[4] The primary meaning of the word is grave or pit, but it is regularly translated as ᾅδης in the Septuagint and as *infernus* in the Vulgate, which were both used to designate the underworld, the realm of the dead or Hell.[5] It is in these senses that the term was mostly understood in the 16th century. The various passages where שְׁאוֹל is used are difficult to synthesize. שְׁאוֹל is the destination for both the righteous and the wicked, the rich and the poor, the slave and the master (Job 3:11–19). It can be a place of unremitting suffering (Job 14:22) or a place of peace, where even the wicked are at rest (Job 3:17). The dead in שְׁאוֹל are sometimes described as abandoned by God and cut off from the living: they are sleeping or lying apparently in an inactive state (Ps. 115:17; 30(29):9–12; 88(87):3–12). They are incapable of praising God or even of remembering (Ps. 6:5–6; Eccl. 9:5). In other passages, however, God is present even in שְׁאוֹל (Ps. 139:8), and Ps. 16(15):10 claims that God delivers the soul from שְׁאוֹל. This text was taken as a prophecy of the resurrection of Jesus by the author of Acts (2:25–31; 13:35–37) and was unproblematically used in that sense until modern times. A similar confirmation of the possibility of deliverance from שְׁאוֹל is present in Ps. 49(48):16 and Job 19:25–29.

In 1 Sam. 28, the desperate King Saul consults the spirit of the dead prophet Samuel through the 'witch' of Endor. Samuel appears in bodily form (an "old man with a robe": v. 14) and complains about being disturbed and having to come up, but he finally predicts for Saul what would happen to Saul, much as he would have done in his prophetic ministry while still alive: Samuel's ghost obviously knows the future. It is certainly not the aim of the message to propagate necromancy (both Saul and the witch know that it is forbidden; cf. Dt. 18:9–12; Lev. 19:31; 20:27), but the possibility of consulting the dead already departed to שְׁאוֹל is evident, and was sometimes used as proof for the survival of the soul after death.[6]

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[4] Enoch and Elijah are possible exceptions. Of Enoch, the genealogy in Gen. 5:24 does not say that he died but "he was not, for God took him." Elijah is recorded to have been taken to Heaven in a chariot of fire (2 Kgs. 2). Both of them were assumed to have been taken into Heaven in their bodily form.

[5] For more on the meaning and usage of שְׁאוֹל, see: art. sh^{e}ôl; in *TWAT*; Philip Johnston, *Shades of Sheol. Death and Afterlife in the Old Testament*, Leicester: Apollos, 2002; Mitchell, *'God Will Redeem My Soul from Sheol,'* pp. 365–84.

[6] Isaiah 19:3 testifies to the Egyptian practice of necromancy. Isaiah rebukes the Jews for practicing necromancy in Is. 8:19; 19:3; 29:4. Manasseh is reported to have practiced

Besides these scattered and seemingly conflicting references to שְׁאוֹל, the prophetic books also contain passages that were seen as promises by God. Ezekiel's vision about the revivification of the dry bones (Ez. 37:1–14), Isaiah's apocalypse (esp. 25:87 and 26:19), or Hosea's comforting words (6:1–2) were all understood as prophecies of a future resurrection at the end of the world in general, or of Christ's resurrection in particular.

The latest books of the OT, Wisdom literature and the books of Daniel and Maccabees, contain the clearest references to a belief in the afterlife. In the deuterocanonical Book of Wisdom this faith is formulated mostly in dualistic terms, with a confirmation of the immortality of the soul. The book explicitly states the immortal character of the human person as image of God (ἀφθαρσία is used e.g. in 2:23; 6:18–19, and ἀθανασία in 3:4; 8:13.17; 15:3). Eccl. 3:14, too, corroborates the immortal character of the soul (cf. 3:7–8).[7] Daniel's reference in 12:1–3 on the other hand, formulates the hope of those 'asleep' in terms of resurrection to eternal life or to everlasting punishment. This judgement will take place in the apocalyptic times, when the Son of Man comes to restore Israel to an everlasting kingdom (Dan. 2:44; 7:13–18 and 26–27). In 2 Maccabees God vindicates the death of His martyrs by their resurrection. He does not allow His people to be utterly crushed, but rewards their faith by raising them from death. (2 Macc. 7). It is also in this deuterocanonical book where the connection between the living and those who had already passed away is expressed: in 2 Macc. 12:38–46 Judas Maccabeus collects money for a sacrifice to atone for those Jewish soldiers who died in sin. The passage formed the basis of the Catholic theology of indulgences, by which the temporal punishment of the souls in Purgatory could be shortened by pious acts of the living.[8] In another passage, Judas Maccabeus sees the murdered high priest Onias and the prophet Jeremiah pray for the Jews and the holy city of Jerusalem (2 Macc. 15:11–16). This passage was used for the confirmation of the intercession of the saints on behalf of the living.[9]

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necromancy in 2 Kgs. 21:6 and 2 Chron. 33:6. The reality of the apparition was sometimes disputed (e.g. by Jerome) or attributed to the devil (e.g. Basil, Gregory of Nissa, Tertullian). But Josephus Flavius and the majority of the Church Fathers accepted it as real (e.g. Justin, Origen, Ambrose, Augustine). See art. *necromancy* in IS *CE*.

[7] In contrast, Eccl. 2:1–4 seems to confirm the forsakenness of the souls, much like in some of the texts referring to the dead in שְׁאוֹל.

[8] On the theology of indulgences, see *infra* on p. 114.

[9] Also, Sir. 3:3 confirms the possibility of atonement for the sins of the fathers by their sons. It is no accident that the canonicity of the deuterocanonical books was contested by Luther and the Reformers.

The apocryphal 4 Ezra (= 2 Esdras) 7 speaks about death as a separation of body and spirit or soul (vv. 78 and 100), and confirms that departed souls are fully conscious, can feel shame or fear (v. 87), and receive either temporal punishment (vv. 78–87) or comfort (88–99) upon death, prior to the final judgement.[10] Punishment and comfort differ both in degree and 'place', according to their deeds on earth. Judgement is said to be definitive, without the possibility of modification (vv. 104–105). Thus, 4 Ezra combines the idea of the immortal soul that departs the body at death with the belief of a final and future corporal resurrection of the dead.[11]

One final remark should be noted about the belief in the post-mortem existence expressed in the Hebrew Bible and in the writings of the Intertestamental period. The emerging idea of a post-mortem existence in the

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[10] Alhough the book was not recognized as part of the Roman Catholic canon, it is contained in the LXX and Jerome translated it, and thus it made its way into the Vulgate. The Church Fathers frequently cited it (especially Ambrose). The introitus *Requiem æternam* in the Catholic funeral is based on 2:34–35: "Ideoque vobis dico, gentes quae auditis et intellegitis: expectate pastorem vestrum, *requiem æternitatis dabit vobis*, quoniam in proximo est ille, qui in finem sæculi adveniet. parati estote ad præmia regni, quia *lux perpetua lucebit vobis per æternitatem temporis*" (emphasis mine). The book is now recognized as part of the Bible in the Ethiopian Orthodox Church as well as in the Russian Orthodox Church.

[11] Other apocryphal writings also display various vivid imageries and descriptions about the afterlife and resurrection (cf. 1 Enoch 22; Apocalypse of Zephaniah 10; Testament of Abraham 11:20; Jubilees; 4 Macc.; etc.). On Jewish apocalyptic literature, see: Robert Henry Charles, *A Critical History of the Doctrine of a Future Life in Israel, in Judaism, and in Christianity or Hebrew, Jewish, and Christian Eschatology from Pre-Prophetic Times till the Close of the New Testament Canon*, London: Black, 1899 (reprinted as a paperback: *Eschatology. The Doctrine of a Future Life in Israel, Judaism and Christianity. A Critical History*, New York: Schocken Books, 1963); Paul Volz, *Die Eschatologie der jüdischen Gemeinde im neutestamentlichen Zeitalter nach den Quellen der rabbinischen, apokalyptischen und apokryphen Literatur*, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1934; Harold Henry Rowley, *The Relevance of Apocalyptic. A Study of the Jewish and Christian Apocalypses from Daniel to the Revelation*, London: Lutterworth, 1944; Martinus Adrianus Beek, *Inleiding in de Joodse apocalyptiek van het Oud- en Nieuw testamentisch Tijdvak*, (Theologia: een bibliotheek van leerboeken 6), Haarlem: Bohn, 1950; Joshua Bloch, *On the Apocalyptic in Judaism*, (JQR MS 2), Philadelphia: The Dropsie College for Hebrew and Cognate Learning, 1952; Joseph Klausner, *The Messianic Idea in Israel from Its Beginning to the Completion of the Mishnah*, London: Allen and Unwin, 1956; Michael Edward Stone, *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period. Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, Qumran Sectarian Writings, Philo, Josephus*, (Compendia rerum iudaicarum ad NT. Section 2. The Literature of the Jewish People in the Period of the Second Temple and the Talmud 2), Assen: Van Gorcum, 1984; Henning Reventlow, *Eschatology in the Bible and in Jewish and Christian tradition*, (JSOT Supplement series 243), Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997; Steven M. Bryan, *Jesus and Israel's Traditions of Judgement and Restoration*, (SNTS MS 117), Cambridge: UP, 2002; George W.E. Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature between the Bible and the Mishnah. A Historical and Literary Introduction*, Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2005; Ben Zion Wacholder, *The New Damascus Document. The Midrash on the Eschatological Torah: Reconstruction, Translation and Commentary*, (Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 56), Leiden: Brill, 2007.

OT, whether in the form of bodily resurrection or in the form of immortality of the soul, is thoroughly connected with the figure of the Messiah and with the messianic age. The Messiah is believed to lead the Jewish people into a new age (עלאם הבא) in which he will establish a new kingdom.[12] This new age will only come at the price of sufferings and woes, the "birth-pangs of the Messiah" (in the Rabbinic literature: חבלי המשיח) (cf. Hos. 13:13; Zech. 10; Dan. 12:1).[13] But the new kingdom of the Messiah will be one of justice and peace (cf. Is. 11; Dan. 2:44), where the righteous are vindicated and saints will reign and the nations will be judged (cf. Dan. 7:10–27). Salvation may be universal, but Israel will keep its privileged place among the nations (cf. Zech. 8:20–23; Tob. 13:11; 14:6–7). The whole world will be renewed (Is. 65:17; 66:22) and the dead will be resurrected.[14]

Belief in the Afterlife in the New Testament

In contrast with the OT, faith in an afterlife is central to the message of the NT.[15] Jesus' victory over death is the pivotal point of the Christian *kerygma*. His death and resurrection are the foundation for the salvation of the faithful. But Jesus' teachings, His prophetic message during His

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[12] See Emil Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ 175 B.C.–A.D. 135*, vol. 2, English version rev. and ed. Géza Vermes, Fergus Millar & Mathew Black, Edinburgh: Clark, 1979, p. 496.

[13] Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People*, p. 514.

[14] Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People*, p. 539.

[15] On the afterlife beliefs in the NT, see: Cullmann, Wolfson, Jaeger & Krister Stendahl, *Immortality and Resurrection*; Nickelsburg, *Resurrection, Immortality and Eternal Life in Intertestamental Judaism*; Murray J. Harris, *Raised Immortal. Resurrection and Immortality in the New Testament*, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1985; John W. Cooper, *Body, Soul, and Life Everlasting. Biblical Anthropology and the Monism-Dualism Debate*, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1989; Herrmann, *Unsterblichkeit der Seele durch Auferstehung*; Jean-Bosco Matand Bulembat, *Noyau et enjeux de l'eschatologie paulinienne. De l'apocalyptique juive et de l'eschatologie hellénistique dans quelques argumentations de l'apôtre Paul. Étude rhétorico-exégétique de 1 Co 15,35–58; 2 Co 5,1–10 et Rm 8,18–30*, (Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche, 84), Berlin: de Gruyter, 1997; Ernest Austin Adams, *The Development of Biblical Views on the General Resurrection of the Dead*, Ph.D. thesis, Rand Afrikaans University, (Promotor: Jan Du Rand), October 2001; Ed Condra, *Salvation for the Righteous Revealed. Jesus amid Covenantal and Messianic Expectations in Second Temple Judaism*, (Arbeiten zur Literatur und Geschichte des hellenistischen Judentums 51), Leiden: Brill, 2002; Arland J. Hultgren, *Eschatology in the New Testament: The Current Debate*, in Carl E. Braaten & Robert W. Jenson (eds.), *The Last Things. Biblical and Theological Perspectives on Eschatology*, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002, pp. 67–89; Joseph Verheyden, *The Fate of the Righteous and the Cursed at Qumran and in the Gospel of Matthew*, in Florentino García Martínez (ed.), *Wisdom and Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Biblical Tradition*, (BETL 168), Leuven: UP & Peeters, 2003, pp. 427–52; Segal, *Life after Death*.

earthly life about the Kingdom of God (ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ; Vg: *regnum Dei*), also exhibits an eschatological character pointing to a realm beyond this earthly life.[16]

The Gospels portray Jesus predicting His own death and resurrection both in figurative speech and in specific prophecies. His parable about the workers in the vineyard attacking the owner's servants and son (Mt. 21:35–39 *et par.*), His use of the sign of Jonah spending three days in the belly of the whale (Mt. 12:39–41 *et par.*), and His words on the destruction and reconstruction of the Temple in three days (Jn. 2:18–20) were read in the light of His own death and resurrection. His explicit prophecies were taken as even clearer proof that Jesus in His earthly life already firmly believed in the resurrection of the body, and more specifically in His own resurrection (Mk. 8:31; 9:31;10:34). His belief was vindicated by God when God raised Him up from death, an event that became the very heart of the Christian message. The resurrection of Jesus figures preeminently in the proclamation of the good news by the Early Church (e.g. Acts 1:22; 2:31; 4:2.33; 17:3.18.32; 23:6; 24:15.21; 26:23). The evangelists and Paul mention several appearances of Jesus in bodily form (Mt. 28; Mk. 16; Lk. 24; Jn. 20–21; 1 Cor. 15:4–8). Until His ascension into Heaven, the resurrected Jesus converses, exercises physical functions (such as eating and

[16] On the tension between the present / 'now' (prophetic or realized) and the future / 'not yet' (apocalyptic or eschatological) aspects of Jesus' message about the Kingdom of God, see: Charles Harold Dodd, *The Parables of the Kingdom*, London: Nisbet, 1936; Reinhard Nordsieck, *Reich Gottes—Hoffnung der Welt. Das Zentrum der Botschaft Jesu*, (Neukirchener Studienbücher 12), Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1980; Heinz Schürmann, *Gottes Reich, Jesu Geschick. Jesu ureigener Tod im Licht seiner Basileia-Verkündigung*, Freiburg: Herder, 1983; Willem van Bruggen, *Futurum en eschathon. Over de verhouding van het handelen van God en van de mens in de geschiedenis met het oog op de toekomst*, Nijkerk: Callenbach, 1983; Bruce David Chilton, *The Kingdom of God in the Teaching of Jesus*, (Issues in Religion and Theology 5), Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984; Walter Simonis, *Jesus von Nazareth: seine Botschaft vom Reich Gottes und der Glaube der Urgemeinde. Historisch-kritische Erhellung der Ursprünge des Christentums*, Düsseldorf: Patmos, 1985; Clayton Sullivan, *Rethinking Realized Eschatology*, Macon: Mercer UP, 1988; Martin Hengel & Anna Maria Schwemer (eds.), *Königsherrschaft Gottes und himmlischer Kult im Judentum, Urchristentum und in der hellenistischen Welt*, (WUNT 55) Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1991; Christian Walther, *Eschatologie als Theorie der Freiheit. Einführung in neuzeitliche Gestalten eschatologischen Denkens*, (Theologische Bibliothek Töpelmann 48), Berlin: de Gruyter, 1991; Leonhard Hell, *Reich Gottes als Systemidee der Theologie. Historisch-systematische Untersuchungen zum theologischen Werk B. Galuras und F. Brenners*, (Tübinger Studien zur Theologie und Philosophie 6), Mainz: Grünewald, 1993; Heinz Giesen, *Herrschaft Gottes, heute oder morgen? Zur Heilsbotschaft Jesu und der synoptischen Evangelien*, (Biblische Untersuchungen 26), Regensburg: Pustet, 1995.

breathing), and can even be touched.[17] At the same time, the resurrected body is not restricted by the laws of nature: it can appear and vanish at will, can pass through closed doors, and can easily bridge great distances (Lk. 24:13–43; Jn. 20:11–29; 21:1–14).

Yet, Jesus' resurrection is not limited to His person alone, but has its implications for all humankind (1 Cor. 6:14; Rom. 8:11; 1 Pt. 1:3). He promised that He would come back at the end of the world to gather His elected people and to judge the universe. At this final judgement everyone shall be resurrected and shall receive eternal punishment or bliss according to their deeds (Mt. 19:28; 25:31–46; Acts 17:31; 24:15; 1 Cor. 6:2–3; 2 Cor. 5:10; Rev. 19–22).[18] Thus, the resurrection of the individual is clearly affirmed. Yet, the individual always remains part of the Christian community and is not self-sufficient for salvation. To express this, Jesus uses the image of the vine and the branches (Jn. 15:1–5), and Paul symbolizes it through the metaphor of the body, in which each part is equally important and united by Christ (1 Cor. 10:17; 12:12–27). The parables of the royal banquet (Mt. 22:1–10; Lk. 14:16–24) and of the wedding dress (Mt. 22:11–14), exemplifying the Kingdom of God, depict the future life as a communal meal. It is therefore in the apocalyptic Kingdom of God that the eschatological hope of the community is vested, where the saved will all be partakers of the communal heavenly meal.[19]

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[17] Paul is the only exception, who on his way to Damascus meets the risen Lord in a vision after the ascension (Acts 9:1–8).

[18] On the final judgement, see: Egon Brandenburger, *Das Recht des Weltenrichters. Untersuchung zu Matthäus 25,31–46*, (Stuttgarter Bibelstudien 99), Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1980; Marius Reiser, *Die Gerichtspredigt Jesu. Eine Untersuchung zur eschatologischen Verkündigung Jesu und ihrem frühjüdischen Hintergrund*, (Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen N.F. 23), Münster: Aschendorff, 1990; H.-Konrad Harmansa, *Die Zeit der Entscheidung. Lk 13,1–9 als Beispiel für das lukanische Verständnis der Gerichtspredigt Jesu an Israel*, (Erfurter theologische Studien 69), Leipzig: Benno, 1995; Ulrich Luz, *The Final Judgment (Matt 25:31–46). An Exercise in "History of Influence" Exegesis*, in David Robert Bauer & Mark Allan Powell, *Treasures New and Old. Recent Contributions to Matthean Studies*, (Society of Biblical Literature. Symposium Series 1), Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996, pp. 271–310; Verheyden, *The Fate of the Righteous and the Cursed at Qumran and in the Gospel of Matthew*, pp. 427–52; Brian Han Gregg, *The Historical Jesus and the Final Judgment Saying in Q*, (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament. 2. Reihe 207), Tübingen: Mohr, 2006, and the literature in these works.

[19] On how the Messianic feast and the meal imagery with its communal eschatological aspects have been used as symbols for the life of the Kingdom, and by extension the life of the community, see: Fergus John King, *More Than a Passover. Inculturation in the Supper Narratives of the New Testament*, doct. diss. at the University of South Africa, 2005, esp. pp. 199–238.

Besides the belief in the bodily resurrection, there are passages in the NT that have traditionally been interpreted as a proof of the survival of the soul separated from the body after death. Jesus' parable about the rich man and the poor Lazarus (Lk. 16:19–31) is probably the most commonly cited proof of the immortality of the soul.[20] Equally common are the references to Jesus' promise on the cross to the repentant criminal that the thief would be with Jesus in Paradise *on that same day* (σήμερον) (Lk. 23:43) and to Paul's desire 'to depart and be with Christ' (τὸ ἀναλῦσαι καὶ σὺν Χριστῷ εἶναι) as opposed to 'live' and 'remain in the flesh' (τὸ ζῆν ἐν σαρκί, ἐπιμένειν [ἐν] τῇ σαρκί) (Phil. 1:18b–26).[21] Similarly, in 2 Cor. 5:1–10 Paul speaks about his desire to be away from the body and be at home with the Lord (ἐκδημῆσαι ἐκ τοῦ σώματος καὶ ἐνδημῆσαι πρὸς τὸν κύριον) after having put down the earthly tent and moved into a mansion not built by human hands. This, too, has been seen as a reference to the soul leaving the body at death and entering into a Paradise. Finally, while it is not referring to a post-mortem state, Paul's description in 2 Cor. 12:2–4 about being caught up into the third Heaven (ἁρπαγέντα ἕως τρίτου οὐρανοῦ) has also been used as an argument for the possibility of an extra-corporeal existence of the soul.[22]

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[20] Most modern exegetes reject the idea that theological truths can be deduced from this parable with regard to the conscious state of the dead after death or to the effect of the immortality of the soul. See e.g. Alfred Plummer, *A Critical Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel According to St. Luke*, (International Critical Commentary 30), Edinburgh: T&T Clerk, ([1]1922) 1977, p. 252; Ferdinand O. Regalado, *The Jewish background of the Parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus*, in *Asia Journal of Theology* 16 (2002), p. 344; Joel B. Green, *Eschatology and the Nature of Humans. A Reconsideration of Pertinent Biblical Evidence*, in *Science and Christian Belief* 14 (2002), pp. 33–50. To the contrary: Cooper, *Body, Soul, and Life Everlasting*, pp. 136–39; A.J. Mattil, *Luke and the Last Things*, Dillsboro: Western North Carolina Press, 1979, pp. 28–29; I. Marshall, *Commentary on Luke*, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1978, p. 636.

[21] On the exegesis, for the bibliography of the passage and the interpretation of the expression σὺν Χριστῷ εἶναι, see: Gergely Juhász, *Being with Christ. An Exegetical Analysis of Philippians 1,18b–26 in Perspective of Pauline Eschatology*, (unpublished S.T.L. thesis; K. U. Leuven, Promotor: Reimund Bieringer), Leuven: 1996. More recently: Heinz Giesen, *Eschatology in Philippians*, in Stanley E. Porter, *Paul and His Theology*, (Pauline Studies 3), Leiden: Brill, 2006, pp. 217–82; Stefan Schreiber, *Paulus im 'Zwischenzustand'. Phil 1.23 und die Ambivalenz des Sterbens als Provokation*, in *NTS* 49 (2003), pp. 336–59; Enrique Treiyer, *S'en aller et être avec Christ. Philippiens 1:23*, in *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 34,1 (1996), pp. 47–64.

[22] Paul writes that he does not know whether it happened "in the body or out of the body" (εἴτε ἐν σώματι οὐκ οἶδα, εἴτε ἐκτὸς τοῦ σώματος οὐκ οἶδα), but the fact that he allowed for the possibility of this happening "out of the body" was seen as proof of such an existence.

Although its canonicity was the subject of dispute for some time, the Church Fathers and later theologians drew extensively on the visions described in the Book of Revelation with regard to the eschatological events.[23] The author, who calls himself John, describes the epiphany of Christ to him in several cycles of visions.[24] Among others, these include the portrayal of the heavenly court with the Lamb (5:6–14) and the 144,000 sealed (7:1–8 and 14:1–5). In chapters 19–22, John describes his visions of the last things: the second coming of Christ (19:11–16), the call to the heavenly banquet (19:17–18), the final battle, and the binding of Satan (19:19 to 20:3), followed by the thousand-year reign (20:4–10), the Last Judgement (20:11–15), the renewal of Heaven and earth, and the vision of the New Jerusalem (21:1 to 22:5).[25] These descriptions in vivid imagery were sometimes taken literally to identify theological truths.

That the belief in an afterlife was not unproblematic for the contemporaries of Jesus is also documented in the NT. According to the Synoptic Gospels, Jesus is confronted by the Sadducees, who try to entrap him with the story of the seven brothers, who one after the other married the same woman upon the untimely and childless death of the previous brother (Mt. 22:23–33 *et par.*).[26] They refer to the law of Levirate marriage

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[23] See *NJBC* 66:66.

[24] Based on the testimony of the opinion of the Church Fathers, Revelation was long attributed to John, "one of Christ's Apostles" (Justin Martyr, *Dialogus cum Tryphone*, LXXXI; cf. Irenaeus, *Adversus haereses*, III,11.1–3; IV,20.11), an ascription that is generally rejected now. See: Henry Barclay Swete, *The Apocalypse of St. John. The Greek Text With Introduction, Notes and Indices*, London: Macmillan, ²1907, pp. cviii–cxi; Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, *The Quest for the Johannine School. The Fourth Gospel and the Apocalypse*, in *NTS* 23 (1977), pp. 402–27; *NJBC*, 63:7.

[25] For a good overview of the structure of the book, see: *NJBC*, 63:16.

[26] For literature on the Sadducees and their denial of the 'resurrection,' see: Gustav Hölscher, *Der Sadduzäismus. Eine kritische Untersuchung zur späteren jüdischen Religionsgeschichte*, Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1906; Hugo De Lil, *Farizeeën en Sadduceeën van de Makkabeeën tot Hyrkanus*, (unpublished M.A. thesis), Leuven, 1963; Hugo De Lil, *De Sadduceeën, Qumran en de Sadokide*, (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation), Leuven, 1965; Julius Wellhausen, *Die Pharisäer und die Sadducäer. Eine Untersuchung zur inneren jüdischen Geschichte*, Göttingen: V&R, (¹1874) ³1967; Jean LeMoyne, *Les Sadducéens*, (Etudes bibliques), Paris, 1972; Nickelsburg, *Resurrection, Immortality and Eternal Life in Intertestamental Judaism*; H. Mulder, *De Sadduceeën. Deconfessionalisering in bijbelse tijden*, (Zicht op de Bijbel 2), Amsterdam: Buijten en Schipperheijn, 1973; Ernst Bammel, *Sadduzäer und Sadokiden*, in *ETL* 55 (1979), pp. 107–115; Shaye J.D. Cohen, *The Political and Social History of the Jews in Greco-Roman Antiquity. The State of the Question*, in Robert A. Kraft & George W.E. Nickelsburg (eds.), *Early Judaism and its Modern Interpreters*, Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986, pp. 33–56; Gary G. Porton, *Diversity in Postbiblical Judaism*, in Kraft & Nickelsburg (eds.), *Early Judaism and its Modern Interpreters*, pp. 57–80; Anthony J. Saldarini, *Pharisees Scribes and Sadducees in Palestinian Society. A Sociological Approach*, Edinburgh: Clark, 1988; Günther Baumbach, *The Sadducees in Josephus*, in Louis H. Feldman & Gohei Hata

(Dt. 25:5–6), according to which brothers living together should marry the wife of their brother who dies without leaving a son, in order to generate a male heir who would *keep alive* the name of the deceased.[27] It is noteworthy that for the expression 'keeping alive the name,' the Hebrew text in Deuteronomy has יָקוּם עַל־שֵׁם using the verb קוּם, which is the usual term for rising, resurrecting. The Septuagint renders the expression καταστηθήσεται ἐκ τοῦ ὀνόματος, also using a verb etymologically related to ἀνίστημι but with another verbal prefix. In the Gospels the pun on the term 'resurrection' (ἀνάστασις) is even more explicit, as Mark and Luke have ἐχαναστήσῃ σπέρμα, and Matthew uses ἀναστήσει σπέρμα (raise offsprings), based on Gen. 38:8 (וְהָקֵם זֶרַע: LXX: ἀνάστησον σπέρμα).[28] But, they ask, whose wife shall she be in the 'resurrection' (ἐν τῇ ἀναστάσει)? By *reductio ad absurdum*, their question ridicules the idea of 'resurrection' and seems to exclude any possibility of existence beyond death, implying that physical death is the definitive end to human life. Jesus first rebukes them for their ignorance of the Scriptures and the power of God (τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ θεοῦ). In the 'resurrection,' Jesus explains, people neither marry nor are given in marriage, but are like angels. Then, to prove the veracity of the 'resurrection,' he replies with a quote from Exodus (3:6): 'I am the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac and the God of Jacob,' and combines it with a theological theorem: God is not the God of the dead but of the living (see 4 Macc. 7:19; 16:25). Strictly speaking, Jesus' answer does not prove the *bodily resurrection*. It rather shows that the patriarchs are not dead but are in some sense alive; thus, there must be some kind of continued existence after death in which the dead are like angels and do not marry. The Sadducees are mentioned in a similar context in Acts, where Paul plays upon the Sadducees' denial of afterlife beliefs in order to divide the Sanhedrin when he claims that he is being put on trial because of his belief in the 'resurrection' of the dead: περὶ ἐλπίδος καὶ ἀναστάσεως

(eds.), *Josephus, the Bible, and History*, Leiden: Brill, 1989, pp. 173–95; Günter Stemberger, *Pharisäer, Sadduzäer, Essener*, (Stuttgarter Bibelstudien 144), Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1991; Lester L. Grabbe, *Judaism from Cyrus to Hadrian*, vol. II *The Roman Period*, Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992, 463ff; Steve Mason, *Josephus and the New Testament*, Peabody: Hendrickson, 1992; Hillel Newman, *Proximity to Power and Jewish Sectarian Groups of the Ancient Period. A Review of Lifestyle, Values, and Halakhah in the Pharisees, Sadducees, Essenes, and Qumran*, (The Brill Reference Library of Judaism 25), Leiden: Brill, 2006.

[27] 'Keeping alive the name of the person' was not meant to ensure the individual's fame, but rather to ensure the future of the nation.

[28] Cf. Alan Hugh M'Neile, *The Gospel according to St. Matthew. The Greek Text with Introduction, Notes and Indices*, London, Melbourne & Toronto: Macmillan, New York: St. Martin's, 1965, p. 321.

νεκρῶν (Acts 23:6–9).[29] In that passage the author of Acts specifies that Sadducees claimed μὴ εἶναι ἀνάστασιν, μηδὲ ἄγγελον, μήτε πνεῦμα, but the Pharisees acknowledged τὰ ἀμφότερα (v. 8).

In the presentation of Acts, during his missionary activities Paul also encounters problems in connection with the beliefs concerning the resurrection.[30] In Acts 17:16–33 he preaches the good news to the Athenians. The author of Acts names adherents to two Hellenistic schools of philosophy, namely, the Epicureans and the Stoics, as being present among his audience. From their contemptuous and sarcastic reaction (vv. 18 and 32), it is clear that they have a problem with the idea of bodily resurrection, a concept totally strange to his Hellenistic listeners.[31] Paul disappointedly leaves them, but some people did join him, according to Acts (v. 34).

In his letters, too, Paul has to address issues concerning beliefs in the afterlife. In 1 Thes. 4:13–5:11, Paul wants to clarify a misunderstanding about the fate of those who have died.[32] Apparently, the Thessalonians were concerned that their dead would be in some way discriminated against at the second coming of Christ.[33] Paul assures the Thessalonian

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[29] See Samuel Tobias Lachs, *The Pharisees and Sadducees on Angels. A Reexamination of Acts XXIII.8*, in *Gratz College Annual of Jewish Studies* 6 (1975), pp. 35–42; David Daube, *On Acts 23. Sadducees and Angels*, in *JBL* 109 (1990), pp. 493–97; B.T. Viviano & Justin Taylor, *Sadducees, Angels, and Resurrection (Acts 23:8–9)*, in *JBL* 111 (1992), pp. 496–98; Floyd Parker, *The Terms "Angel" and "Spirit" in Acts 23,8*, in *Biblica* 84 (2003), pp. 344–65.

[30] On Paul's eschatology, see: Larry J. Kreitzer, *Jesus and God in Paul's Eschatology*, (JSNT Sup 19), Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1987, pp. 93–129; Martinus C. de Boer, *The Defeat of Death. Apocalyptic Eschatology in 1 Corinthians 15 and Romans 5*, (JSNT Sup 22), Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1988, pp. 181–83. Craig A. Evans, *Ascending and Descending with a Shout: Psalm 47.6 and 1 Thessalonians 4.16*, in Craig A. Evans & James A. Sanders (eds.), *Paul and the Scriptures of Israel*, (JSOT Sup 83; Studies in Scripture in Early Judaism and Christianity 1), Sheffield: JSOT, 1993, pp. 238–53; James D.G. Dunn, *The Theology of Paul the Apostle*, Edinburgh: Clark, 1998; Juhász, *Being with Christ*.

[31] Although Croy contests sarcasm, the text of v. 32 has traditionally been interpreted as a polite request for the deferment of further preaching on the subject of *ad Kalendas Graecas* (Croy, *Hellenistic Philosophies and the Preaching of the Resurrection*, pp. 21–39). See: Ernst Haenchen, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, (Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament 3), Göttingen: V&R, [15]1968, p. 464; G.W. Bromiley, art. *Stoics*, in *International Standard Bible Encyclopedia Revised*, vol. IV, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1988, p. 621.

[32] Joël Delobel, *The Fate of the Dead according to 1 Thessalonians 4 and 1 Corinthians 15*, in Raymond F. Collins (ed.), *The Thessalonian Correspondence*, (BETL 87), Leuven: UP-Peeters, 1990, pp. 340–47; Jan Lambrecht, *A Structural Analysis of 1 Thessalonians 4–5*, in Karl Paul Donfried and Johannes Beutler (eds.), *The Thessalonians Debate. Methodological Discord or Methodological Synthesis?*, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000, pp. 163–78.

[33] Ascough has recently proposed that the underlying issue of the passage was a concern over identity and belonging in the community: whether the dead members can still be considered as part of the community (Richard S. Ascough, *A Question of Death: Paul's Community-Building Language in 1 Thessalonians 4:13–18*, in *JBL* 123 (2004), pp. 509–30). For a discussion of the various suggestions that have been put forth by scholars about

community that those who died before the Parousia are in no way disadvantaged compared with those who will still be alive at the return of Christ. The dead will be resurrected, just like Jesus, who died but rose on the third day (4:14). When he returns, the dead in Christ will rise first (οἱ νεκροὶ ἐν Χριστῷ ἀναστήσονται πρῶτον) (v. 16), and the living will be taken up (ἁρπαγησόμεθα) together with them to be with the Lord forever (πάντοτε σὺν κυρίῳ ἐσόμεθα) (4:17).

1 Cor. 15 is the classic passage for the affirmation of the resurrection of the body.[34] Though far from being a systematic theological treatise on the issue, this is the place where Paul treats the subject most extensively. In v. 12 Paul rebukes those in the Corinthian community (ἐν ὑμῖν τινες) who denied the resurrection of the dead (ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν οὐκ ἔστιν).[35] For Paul, this makes no sense, because Jesus' resurrection is the *sine qua non* of the Christian faith. If there was no resurrection, Paul argues, then Christ was not resurrected and is dead, and the proclamation of the Gospel (κήρυγμα), as well as their faith, is in vain (κενός) (vv. 13–18). If there is no resurrection of the dead, Paul claims, then Christians are the most pitiable among all people (ἐλεεινότεροι πάντων ἀνθρώπων) (v. 19). In v. 20 Paul stops rebuking his antagonists and sets out his own notions: Christ is risen from the dead, and His resurrection has consequences for the faithful. In him all will be made alive (ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ πάντες ζῳοποιηθήσονται), just as all die in Adam (v. 22). This rising will take place at the end of the world, when Christ will return (ἐν τῇ παρουσίᾳ αὐτοῦ). As to the question of *how* the dead will rise, Paul does not give a straight answer. He speaks about a 'mystery' (μυστήριον) (v. 51) and uses the analogy of the grain that is sown (cf. Jn. 12:24). God gives to each kind of seed its own body (v. 38), which differs from what is sown. Similarly, the natural body (σῶμα ψυχικόν) is sown in corruption, in weakness, and in dishonour. But the

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the possible problem in the Thessalonian community, see: Charles A. Wanamaker, *The Epistles to the Thessalonians. A Commentary on the Greek Text*, (NIGTC), Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1990, pp. 164–66; Earl J. Richard, *First and Second Thessalonians*, (SP 11), Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1995, p. 232; Abraham J. Malherbe, *The Letter to the Thessalonians. A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, (AB 32B), New York: Doubleday, 2000, p. 264.

[34] Joël Delobel, *The Corinthian's (Un-)Belief in the Resurrection*, in Reimund Bieringer, Veronica Koperski & Bianca Lataire (eds.), *Resurrection in the New Testament*, FS Jan Lambrecht, (BETL 165), Leuven: UP, Leuven, Paris & Dudely: Peeters, 2002, pp. 343–55.

[35] There have been many theories put forth by scholars about the precise background of Paul's opponents in the Corinthian community (ranging from pre- or proto-Gnosticism to simple (neo)-Platonism) and their precise tenets. For a discussion of these, see: Delobel, *he Corinthian's (Un-)Belief in the Resurrection*, pp. 343–55.

spiritual body (σῶμα πνευματικόν), Paul affirms, will be raised in incorruption (ἐν ἀφθαρσίᾳ), in power (ἐν δυνάμει), and in glory (ἐν δόξῃ) (vv. 42–44; cf. Phil. 3:21). It will bear the image of the heavenly (τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ ἐπουρανίου) (v. 49). This future transformation from corruptible into incorruptible will also take place for those who will be alive at the Parousia: not everyone will die, but everyone will be changed (v. 51), and the mortal body (τὸ θνητόν) will have to put on immortality (ἀθανασίαν) (v. 53).[36]

It is evident that for Paul, faith in the resurrection is fundamental and indispensable for discipleship, and is the central element of his Christology. Denial of the resurrection means the denial of the Gospel, it means the renunciation of Christ, and it makes the *kerygma* pointless. On the other hand, Christ's resurrection is the guarantee for the believer of a future incorruptible life in the resurrected spiritual body after the Parousia, regardless of whether one is alive at the second coming of Christ or is already 'asleep in the Lord.' Neither in 1 Thessalonians nor in 1 Corinthians does Paul offer an answer to the question of what happens to the dead in the meantime. This was not an issue in either letter, and Paul's use of the word 'to sleep' (κοιμάομαι) (1 Cor. 15:18.51; 1 Thes. 4:13–15) does not necessarily imply that the dead are in an unconscious state.[37]

To conclude the survey of the biblical evidence on beliefs concerning some form of a post-mortem life, we come to a twofold observation. First, there is a common theme in both testaments, namely, the association of sin with death. Death has entered the world through the sin of Adam. But while in most of the OT the emphasis is put on the temporal reward or punishment, according to the NT, reward and punishment will be dispensed by Christ in a future, post-mortem life. Secondly, although there are passages in the OT that were unproblematically identified up to modern times as referring to either the bodily resurrection or the immortality of the soul, these texts are often contradictory and secondary. It is not personal immortality, the survival of the individual, which is important, but the survival of the chosen people, the community of Israel (cf. the Levirate marriage). The eschatological hope is focused on the nation, not the individual. In the NT, however, the resurrection of Jesus is the central point, in which the salvation of the individual is rooted. The resurrection of Christ implies the resurrection of each and every individual at the end times. Yet, the individual is part of the community and never stands

[36] On the variant readings of 1 Cor. 15:51, see *infra* on p. 135.
[37] Cf. Delobel, *The Fate of the Dead*, p. 347.

alone. Apart from texts referring to the resurrection, there are texts that traditionally have been understood as references to an intermediate state of the disembodied soul after death but prior to the end of the world.

Post-Mortem Existence in the Church Fathers

Throughout Christianity, questions concerning the afterlife have received much attention and have been frequently disputed. It is impossible to construct a coherent and comprehensive system of the pre-Nicean Fathers' theology on the post-mortem existence. Nonetheless, several common points can be observed. From the earliest days, the Fathers of the Church clearly affirmed the bodily resurrection.[38] They insisted on the veracity of Jesus' resurrection and on the corporal aspects of the future life after the resurrection at the second coming of Christ.[39] Also, the notion of a judgement is present in their writings: God rewards and punishes one's earthly deeds with heavenly bliss or the torments of Hell.[40] On the other hand, at least an implicit affirmation of the survival of the soul seems to be demonstrated from the very beginning.[41] To reconcile bodily resurrection

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[38] On the eschatological expectations of the Church Fathers, see: Adelin Rousseau, *L'éternité des peines de l'enfer et l'immortalité naturelle de l'âme selon saint Irénée*, in *NRT* 99 (1977), pp. 834–64; Adelin Rousseau, *L'éternité des peines de l'enfer et l'immortalité naturelle de l'âme selon S. Irénée*, in *NRT* 100 (1978), pp. 399–417; Luis F. Ladaria, *El Espíritu en Clemente Alejandrino. Estudio teologico-antropologico*, (Publicaciones de la Universidad Pontificia Comillas. Serie 1: Estudios 16), Madrid: Universidad Pontificia Comillas, 1980; Brian Daley, Horacio E. Lona & Josef Schreiner, *Eschatologie. In der Schrift und Patristik*, (Handbuch der Dogmengeschichte. 4: Sakramente, Eschatologie 7a), Freiburg: Herder, 1986; Paula Fredriksen, *Apocalypse and Redemption in Early Christianity. From John of Patmos to Augustine of Hippo*, in *Vigiliae Christianae* 45 (1991), pp. 151–83; Brian E. Daley, *The Hope of the Early Church. A Handbook of Patristic Eschatology*, Cambridge: UP, 1991; Caroline Walker Bynum, *The Resurrection of the Body in Western Christianity, 200–1336*, (Lectures on the History of Religions N.S. 15), New York: Columbia UP, 1995, pp. 21–114; Nicholas Constas, *'To Sleep, Perchance to Dream'. The Middle State of Souls in Patristic and Byzantine Literature*, in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 55 (2001), pp. 91–124; Andreas Merkt, *Das Fegefeuer. Entstehung und Funktion einer Idee*, Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2005.

[39] Cf. Clement I, *Ad Corinthios*, XXIV–XXVII; L,3; Ignatius, *Ad Smyrnaeos* III; Irenaeus, *Adversus haereses* V,7; Justin Martyr, *Dialogus cum Tryphone*, LXXX; Tatian, *Oratio ad Graecos* VI,1. Unless otherwise indicated, all patristic quotations are from the PG and PL sereies of Migne, checked against early modern and modern editions (critical or otherwise), when relevant. These editions are contained in the Bibligoraphy among the Primary Sources.

[40] Cf. Polycarp, *Ad Philippenses*, II; IV; Tatian, *Oratio ad Graecos* XIII,1 and XV,1.

[41] Cf. Clement I, *Ad Corinthios*, IX,1; XLV,8; Polycarp, *Ad Philippenses* IX,2; Justin Martyr, *Dialogus cum Tryphone*, LXII; Irenaeus, *Adversus haereses* V,4,1; 71,13; 13,3; Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata*, V,14.

and the survival of the soul, several solutions are proposed, generally allowing the souls of martyrs to enter Heaven immediately, with their bodies rejoining them upon the general resurrection at the end of the world. The wicked were believed to enter into the torments of Hell upon their death. It seems that in their treatment of the post-mortem-but-prior-to-resurrection situation of the soul, the Latin Church Fathers focused primarily on punishment and satisfaction in a judicial sense (paying off the debt to God). The Greek Fathers, rather, emphasized the cleansing of the soul by divinization through God's indwelling.[42] Accordingly, the idea of some kind of purgation of the unclean but worthy souls after death seems to become the accepted orthodox stance both in the East and the West. On the level of orthopraxis, the practice of praying for the dead is demonstrated from very early on.[43] Examples of addressing the saints for their intercession and remembering the heavenly 'birthday' of martyrs and collecting their relics can be also found in the Church Fathers and early archaeological evidence.[44]

The Fathers' position is often formulated in opposition to religious dissent and heterodox views. As a result, they are typically unsystematic and often contradictory. At the same time, their writings testify to the many problems with regard to beliefs concerning the post-mortem existence of the human person. A cursory reading of the pre-Nicean Fathers shows that they combated primarily on three fronts: Hellenistic pagan philosophy, Docetism, and Gnosticism. Polycarp (*c.*69–155) reports that some heretics denied the post-mortem judgement and the resurrection.[45] Justin refutes the idea of the transmigration of souls and the idea that the soul is not immortal in its own right.[46] Tatian (*c.*110/120–*c.*180) apparently believed that the soul by itself is not immortal (οὐκ ἔστιν ἀθάνατος [...] ἡ ψυχὴ καθ' ἑαυτήν), but can die and be dissolved together with the body if it does not know the truth (θνήσκει μὲν γὰρ καὶ λύεται μετὰ τοῦ σώματος μὴ

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[42] Owen F. Cummings, *Coming to Christ. A Study in Christian Eschatology*, Lanham, New York & Oxford: UP of America, 1998, p. 111.

[43] Cf. Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata*, IV,16; Cyprian, *Epistolae* LI, LVII, LXV, LXVI; Tertullian, *De corona militis*, III,3; Tertullian, *De monogamia*, X,5; Tertullian, *De exhortatione castitatis*, XI,1–2; Tertullian, *De anima*, LVIII Also, on the epitaphs and mortuary inscriptions from the earliest periods onwards, see: Robert Milburn, *Early Christian Art and Architecture*, Berkeley: UP California Press, 1988, pp. 36–38.

[44] Cf. *Martyrium Polycarpi* XVIII,2–3; Milburn, *Early Christian Art and Architecture*, p. 38.

[45] ὃς ἂν μεθοδεύῃ τὰ λόγια τοῦ κυρίου πρὸς τὰς ἰδίας ἐπιθυμίας καὶ λέγῃ μήτε ἀνάστασιν μήτε κρίσιν (Polycarp, *Ad Philippenses* VII,1. Cf. Clement I, *Ad Corinthios* 5,7).

[46] Justin Martyr, *Dialogus cum Tryphone*, IV–V.

γινώσκουσα τὴν ἀλήθειαν).[47] For Tatian, immortality of the soul can only be obtained by the union of the soul with the Divine Spirit (συζυγίαν δὲ κεκτημένη τὴν τοῦ θείου πνεύματος).[48] According to the report of Irenaeus (*c.*130–*c.*202) the Valentinians, followers of Valentinus (*c.*100–60), the best known and most influential Gnostic, believed that the souls of the righteous are purged of their animal nature after death before finding rest in the intermediate state (*requiescere in medietatis loco*, ἐν τῷ τῆς μεσότητος τόπῳ), that after purgation they are to be consorts of the spiritual angels (*sponsas futuros spiritalium Angelorum*, νύμφας ἀποδοθήσεσθαι τοῖς τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἀγγέλοις), and that only the Mother of the Gnostics can enter Heaven (*Pleroma*, πλήρωμα), where she will be married by her Saviour.[49] They held that attaining *gnosis* (the perfect knowledge of God) is the true salvation (i.e. the resurrection from the death of ignorance), which does not take place in the afterlife but must be experienced in the here and now.[50] They disallowed a resurrection that would affect the entire person (*universam reprobant resurrectionem*), and so they despised

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[47] Tatian, *Oratio ad Graecos*, XIII,1.

[48] Tatian, *Oratio ad Graecos*, XIII,1–2.

[49] καὶ ἐντὸς πληρώματος εἰσελθεῖν, καὶ ἀπολαβεῖν τὸν νυμφίον αὐτῆς τὸν Σωτῆρα (Irenaeus, *Adversus haereses* I,7) and "In consummatione enim dicentes ipsorum Matrem in Pleroma regredi, et recipre sponsum suum Salvatorem" (Irenaeus, *Adversus haereses* II,29). See also: Tertullian, *Adversus Valentinianos* I,32. Although "Gnosticism" as a scholarly construct has recently been questioned, the existence of a variety of religious movements that stress salvation through *gnosis* and hold cosmological and ethical dualism is undeniable. See: Edwin M. Yamauchi, *Pre-Christian Gnosticism. A Survey of Proposed Evidences*, Grand Rapids: Baker, ²1983; Charles W. Hedrick & Robert Hodgson, Jr. (eds.), *Nag Hammadi, Gnosticism, and Early Christianity*, Peabody: Hendrickson, 1986; Robert McLahlan Wilson, *Ethics and the Gnostics*, in Wolfgang Schrage (ed.), *Studien zum Text und zur Ethik des Neuen Testaments. FS zum 80. Geburtstag von Heinrich Greeven*, Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1986; Giovanni Filoramo, *A History of Gnosticism*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1990; Edwin M. Yamauchi, art. *Gnosticism*, in *DNTB*, pp. 414–18; Michael Allen Williams, *Rethinking 'Gnosticism.' An Argument for Dismantling a Dubious Category*, Princeton: UP, 1996; Karen L. King, *What is Gnosticism?*, Cambridge (MA): Harvard UP, 2003. On Valentinus and the Valentians, see: François Louis Marie Matthieu Sagnard, *La Gnose Valentinienne et le témoignage de Saint Irénée*, (Etudes de philosophie médiévale 36), Paris: J. Vrin, 1947; Bentley Layton, *The Gnostic Treatise on Resurrection from Nag Hammadi*, (Harvard Dissertations in Religion), Missoula: HTR, 1978; Bentley Layton (ed.), *The Rediscovery of Gnosticism, vol. 1: The School of Valentinus*, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1980; Bentley Layton (ed.), *The Rediscovery of Gnosticism. Proceedings of the International Conference on Gnosticism at Yale, New Haven, Connecticut, March 28–31, 1978*, 2 vols., (Studies in the History of Religions 41), Leiden, 1980–1981; R.T. Wallis & J. Bregman (eds.), *Neoplatonism and Gnosticism*, (Studies in Neoplatonism: Ancient and Modern 6), Albany: State of NY UP, 1992.

[50] Τὴν δὲ συντέλειαν ἔσεσθαι, ὅταν μορφωθῇ καὶ τελειωθῇ γνώσει πᾶν τὸ πνευματικὸν, τουτέστιν οἱ πνευματικοὶ ἄνθπωποι, οἱ τὴν τελείαν γνῶσιν ἔχοντες περὶ Θεοῦ, καὶ τῆς Ἀχαμώθ. (Irenaeus, *Adversus haereses*, I,6). Cf. *Gospel of Philip*, LVI,18–19, *Treatise on the Resurrection*, XLIX, 9–35 (English translation published in James McConkey Robinson (ed.), *The Nag Hammadi Library in English*, San Francisco: Harper Collins, rev1990).

'God's handiwork' (*despicientes plasmationem Dei*) and contradicted the orthodox faith and the Scriptures, Irenaeus remarked.[51] He condemned the Gnostic Cerinthus (Kerinthos), who distinguished between Jesus (as a human being) and Christ (as a spiritual being); Cerinthos taught that Christ had departed from Jesus before Jesus suffered on the cross, and that Jesus' resurrection has not yet taken place but is still to be expected.[52] Athenagoras (*c.*133–*c.*190) wrote a treatise on the resurrection renouncing contemporary pagan tenets, such as dissolution or transmigration of the soul after death.[53] Tertullian (°*c.*150/160, fl. 190–216), too, took a stand against the pagan philosophers. He pointed out the absurdity of believing in *metempsychosis* but being horrified by the idea of bodily resurrection.[54] The same Creator who created the person in the first place can resurrect his body again, he explained.[55] Tertullian defended the article of faith about Christ's descent into Hell (*infero*), which is a vast, deep place in the interior of the earth (*fossa terrae, et in alio vastitas*), to make the patriarchs and prophets partakers of Himself (*ut illic Patriarchas et Prophetas compotes sui faceret*).[56] This shows that the blessed no longer have to go there, and therefore there is a difference between 'heathens' and Christians, because the pagans put all souls into *hades*, while the Christians believe that the souls of the blessed ascend up to Heaven immediately after death, where Christ is seated at the Father's right hand.[57]

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[51] Irenaeus, *Adversus haereses* V,31.

[52] "Jesum autem subjecit, non ex Virgine natum (impossibile enim hoc ei visum est); fuisse autem Joseph et Mariæ filium similiter ut reliqui omnes homines, et plus potuisse justitia et prudentia, et sapientia ab hominibus. Et post baptismam descendisse in eum, ab ea principalitate quæ est super omnia, Christum figura columbæ; et tunc annuntiasse incognitum Patrem, et virtutes perfecisse: in fine autem revolasse iterum Christum de Jesu" (Irenaeus, *Adversus haereses* I,26. Cf. III,3.11). Οὗτος δὲ ὁ Κήρινθος ἀνόητος καὶ ἀνοήτων διδάσκαλος φάσκει πάλιν τολμήσας, Χριστὸν πεπονθέναι καὶ ἐσταυρῶσθαι, μήπω δὲ ἐγηγέρθαι. μέλλειν δὲ ἀνίστασθαι, ὅταν ἡ καθόλου γένηται νεκρῶν ἀνάστασις. (Epiphanius, *Adversus haereses*, I,28,6.) See also: Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica* III,28 and IV,14; Hyppolitus, *Refutatio omnium haeresium*, VII,33. On Kerinthos, see: G. Bardy, *Cerinthe*, in *Revue Biblique* 30 (1921), pp. 344–73; Benjamin G. Wright, *Cerinthus Apud Hippolytus. An Inquiry into the Traditions about Cerinthus's Provenance*, in *Second Century* 4 (1984), pp. 102–15; Mark Sidwell, *Cerinthus: 'A Deceiver and an Antichrist.'*, in *Biblical Viewpoint* 24 (1990), pp. 77–84; Charles E. Hill, *Cerinthus, Gnostic or Chiliast? A New Solution to an Old Problem*, in *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 8 (2000), pp. 135–172.

[53] Athenagoras, *De Resurrectione* X,5 and XII,3.

[54] "Si quaecunque ratio praeest animarum humanarum reciprocandarum in corpora, cur non in eandem substantiam redeant, cum hoc sit restitui, id esse quod fuerat?" (Tertullian, *Apologeticus adversus gentes pro christianis*, XLVIII,2). Cf. Tertullian, *De anima*, I,28–32.

[55] Tertullian, *Apologeticus adversus gentes pro christianis*, XLVIII,6.

[56] Tertullian, *De anima*, LV.

[57] Tertullian, *De anima*, LV.

Tertullian also refuted that the soul could sleep, because it is always in motion, always active, and never succumbs to rest—a condition that is alien to immortality.[58] Tertullian maintained that the bodily resurrection, although it can be traced remotely and confusedly in heathen teachings, is a Christian teaching (*fiducia Christianorum*).[59] He confuted the various heretical positions concerning the resurrection in his *De resurrectione carnis*. There, he explains that Christ refuted the Sadducees, who denied salvation for either the soul or for the body (*neque animae, neque carnis admittunt salutem*).[60] But Christ's answer to them affirmed the resurrection of the two natures of the human person (*resurrectionem utriusque substantiae humanae*).[61] Tertullian claims that he, too, has to address the Sadducees of his own time (*ad alios sadducaeos praeparamur*), just like those in the time of Christ who denied the resurrection.[62] Some of these, Tertullian reports, allow only for the resurrection of the souls because they despise the body (*agnoscunt resurrectionem, solius scilicet animae; aspernati carnem*).[63] These heretics are like the heathens because they vilify the flesh.[64] But true Christians respect the body, which was created prior to the soul, and which, together with the soul, forms the human being, the chief work in creation.[65] So at the judgement the body, too, will partake in the rewards or the punishments.[66]

The Alexandrian Fathers were likewise concerned with the question of the resurrection. Clement of Alexandria (*c.*150–*c.*215) refuted the preexistence of souls and claimed that sexual differentiation will disappear in the resurrection.[67] Origen (*c.*185–*c.*254) believed that at the end of the world all creatures (even the enemies of God) will return to the original harmony: a general and universal restoration (ἀποκατάστασις) will take place.[68] At the resurrection, the soul will create its own, suitable spiritual

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58 Tertullian, *De anima*, LVIII. Tertullian uses Aristotle's argument that the soul is actuality (Cf. Aristotle, *De anima*, II,1).

59 Tertullian, *De resurrectione carnis*, I and III.

60 Tertullian, *De resurrectione carnis*, XXXVI.

61 Tertullian, *De resurrectione carnis*, XXXVI.

62 Tertullian, *De resurrectione carnis*, II. Cf. Tertullian, *Adversus Marcionem*, IV,37.

63 Tertullian, *De resurrectione carnis*, II. He mentions the Valentinus, Apelles, Marcion, and Basilides.

64 Tertullian, *De resurrectione carnis*, IV.

65 Tertullian, *De resurrectione carnis*, V.

66 Tertullian, *De resurrectione carnis*, LVI.

67 Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata*, III,14; VI,12–13.

68 Origen, *De principiis*, I,6,1–3. Origen has been accredited with believing in universal salvation, viz. that in the general restoration even Satan would be saved. On his views on afterlife, see: L.R. Hennessey, *The Place of Saints and Sinners after Death*, in Charles

form for the body (cf. 1 Cor. 15).[69] Origen is unclear whether this 'spiritual body' is the ultimate or the penultimate stage of the soul in the ongoing process of self-transcending evolution (ἐπέκτασις).[70] Origen, as reported by Eusebius (431–594), encountered Arabian heretics who held that the human soul dies and perishes with the body at death and that body and soul will be renewed and resurrected together.[71] These heretics, who based their doctrine on the OT, believed that the soul is contained by the blood. Therefore, as the blood is shed or decomposed by death, the human soul, too, must die. Origen argued that the souls of the elect immediately enter Paradise unless they are not yet purified, in which case they pass into a state of punishment, a penal fire, which is to be conceived as a place of purification.[72] He also maintained that Christ, when he "became a soul, without the body" (i.e. after His death on the cross), dwelt among the incorporeal souls and converted some of them.[73] This has been taken later as reference to Christ's descent into Hell.[74] Origen was also the first to denounce Chiliasts as "visionaries, deluded fools, and what was worse,

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Kannengiesser and William L. Petersen (eds.), *Origen of Alexandria. His World and Legacy*, Notre Dame: UP, 1988, pp. 295–312; H.-J. Horn, *Ignis Aeternus. Une interprétation morale du feu éternel chez Origéne*, in *Revue des Études Grecques* 82 (1969), pp. 76–99; John R. Sachs, *Current Eschatology. Universal Salvation and the Problem of Hell*, in *Theological Studies* 52 (1991), pp. 227–54; John R. Sachs, *Apocatastasis in Patristic Theology*, in *Theological Studies* 54 (1993), pp. 617–40; Henri Crouzel, *L'exégése origénienne de 1 Cor 3.11–15 et la purification eschatologique*, in Jacques Fontaine & Charles Kannengiesser (eds.), *Epektasis. Mélanges patristiques offerts au Cardinal Jean Daniélou*, Paris: Beauchesne, 1972, pp. 273–83; Elizabeth A. Clark, *New Perspectives on the Origenist Controversy. Human Embodiment and Ascetic Strategies*, in *Church History* 59 (1990), pp. 145–62. For a discussion and the reception of the idea by the Reformers, see: C.A. Patrides, *The Salvation of Satan*, in *JHI* 28 (1967), pp. 467–478.

[69] Origen, *De principiis*, III,6, 4.

[70] Constas, *'To Sleep, Perchance to Dream'*, pp. 96–97. Cf. Daley, *The Hope of the Early Church*, p. 54. Cummings, *Coming to Christ*, p. 97.

[71] Ἄλλοι δ' αὖ πάλιν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀραβίας [...] οἳ ἔλεγον τὴν ἀνθρωπείαν ψυχὴν τέως μὲν κατὰ τὸν ἐνεστῶτα καιρὸν ἅμα τῇ τελευτῇ συναποθνήσκειν τοῖς σώμασιν καὶ συνδιαφθείρεσθαι, αὖθις δέ ποτε κατὰ τὸν τῆς ἀναστάσεως καιρὸν σὺν αὐτοῖς ἀναβιώσεσθαι. (Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, VI,37,1.)

[72] Augustine reiterates Eusebius' story: "dixerunt animas cum corporibus mori atque dissolvi et in fine saeculi utrumque resurgere. Sed hos disputatione Origenis praesentis et eos alloquentis celerrime dicit fuisse correctos" (Augustine, *De haeresibus liber unus ad Quodvultdeum Liber unus*, 83). Origen interpreted Paul's words in 1 Cor. 3:11–15 as referring to this post-mortem purification in several of his sermons (e.g. *Homilia 6 in Exodum, Homilia in Psalmum XXXVI, Homilia 25 in Numeros*, all in *PG* 12).

[73] Origen, *Contra Celsum*, II,43.

[74] For the tenet of Christ's Descent to Hell, see *infra* on p. 96.

literalists."[75] He intimated that these people, based on their Jewish interpretation of the Scriptures, adopted a superficial view of the letter of the law, and that they yielded to the indulgence of their own desires and lusts, and imagined the fulfilment of the future promises to be looked for in bodily pleasure and luxury.[76] Consequently, they say that after the resurrection people will marry and beget children, imagining that they will rebuild the earthly city of Jerusalem with the help of other nations that are given to them.[77]

Later centuries likewise struggled with the comprehension of the post-mortem existence. Epiphanius (*c.*310–403) discussed with Aerius the effectiveness and legitimacy of the prayers for the dead.[78] Further, he reported that Manichaeists denied the bodily resurrection, believed in the transmigration of souls, and taught that those who ate flesh were bound to return in the form of the animal they ate (e.g. a pig or a cow).[79] He also charged

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[75] Hans Bietenhard, *The Millennial Hope in the Early Church*, in *SJT* 6 (1953), p. 20. Justin Martyr (*Dialogus cum Tryphone*, LXXX), Irenaeus (*Adversus haereses*, V,31–35), Tertullian and many others had argued for some kind of literal interpretation of the thousand-year–long reign of Christ on earth together with the saints after their resurrection (cf. Rev. 20:3–7). On the Chiliasts, see: Johann Nepomuk Schneider, *Die chiliastische Doctrin und ihr Verhältniss zur Christ Glaubenslehre*, Schaffhausen: Hurter, 1859; Florentinus Alcaniz, *Ecclesia patristica et millenarismus. Expositio historica*, Granada: Caro, 1933; Bietenhard, *The Millennial Hope in the Early Church*, pp. 12–30; Robert L. Wilken, *Early Christian Chiliasm, Jewish Messianism, and the Idea of the Holy Land*, in *HTR* 79 (1986), pp. 298–307; Charles E. Hill, *Regnum Caelorum. Patterns of Future Hope in Early Christianity*, (Oxford Early Christian Studies), Oxford: Clarendon, 1992. On their influence in the Middle Ages, the Renaissance, and the Reformation period, see: Norman Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium. Revolutionary Millenarians and Mystical Anarchists of the Middle Ages*, New York: Oxford UP, ([1]1957) [rev.exp.]1990.

[76] Origen, *De principiis*, II,11,2. Cf. Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, III,39. The refusal of 'hedonistic' Chiliasm as a Jewish heresy became commonplace in Christian theology after Origen (cf. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica. Ad emendatiores editiones impressa et accuratissime recognita*, Suppl. qu. 81. art. 4 ad 4) and was repeated by the Reformers (e.g. in the *Augsburg Confession*, XVII,4; Calvin, *Institutiones religionis Christianae*, III,25,5).

[77] Origen, *De pricipiis*, II,11,2.

[78] Epiphanius, *Adversus haereses*, LXXV,2–7.

[79] "τὸν ἐσθίοντα σάρκας ψυχήν φασιν ἐσθίειν τὸν τοιοῦτον, καὶ εἶναι αὐτὸν ἔνοχον τοῦ καὶ αὐτὸν τοιοῦτό τι γενέσθαι, ὡς εἰ ἔφαγε χοῖρον, χοῖρον αὖθις γενέσθαι ἢ ταῦρον ἢ ὄρνεον ἤ τι τῶν ἐδωδίμων κτισμάτων. διὸ ἐμψύχων οὐ μετέξουσιν οἱ τοιοῦτοι" (Epiphanius, *Adversus haereses*, III,29). Mani taught that only the 'hearers' (not completely purified souls) are bound to metempsychosis, while the 'wicked' (sinners) are punished, and the 'elect' are shipped into the 'Land of Light.' The sect is condemned by many other Church Fathers, too (e.g. John of Damascus, Cyril of Jerusalem). Augustine, himself an ex-Manichaean, provides several interesting details on their teachings. See e.g. Augustine, *Contra Faustum Manichaeum libri triginta tres*, VI,3; XX–XXI; Augustine, *De Genesi ad litteram libri duodecim*, VII,11,17; X,13,22. The literature on Manichaeism is abundant. See e.g.: A.V. Williams Jackson, *The Doctrine of Metempsychosis in Manichaeism*, in *JAOS* 45 (1925), pp. 246–68; A.V. Williams Jackson, *A Sketch of the Manichean Doctrine concerning the Future Life*, in *JAOS* 50 (1930), pp. 177–98;

Origen with spiritualizing the resurrection and denying that the resurrected body is truly flesh.[80] The issue would be taken up again by Jerome, who defended the position that the resurrected body (*corpus*) is true flesh (*caro*) against John of Jerusalem.[81] For Jerome, the resurrection of the flesh and the immortality of the soul presuppose each other. In his *Commentary on Matthew*, he raised the question of what Jesus' intention was in using such an ambiguous citation in His discussion with the Sadducees in order to prove resurrection (Mt. 22:32).[82] Jerome remarked that although there are better texts in the Scriptures that prove the veracity of the resurrection (he quoted Is. 26:19 and Dan. 12:2), it would have been unwise (*stultum*) if Jesus had quoted them, since they are not found in the five books of Moses, which the Sadducees held exclusively to be authoritative. Therefore, Jesus proves the immortality of the soul on the basis of a citation from Exodus, Jerome explained, and from the immortality of the soul the bodily resurrection should follow.[83] In another controversy, Jerome defended the veneration of relics and the belief that the saints can be both in the tomb and with God at the same time.[84] Jerome also maintained that justification has to be achieved in this world because after death the souls of the departed can neither do good nor commit sin.[85] Nestorians

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Reinhold Merkelbach, *Mani und sein Religionssystem*, (Rheinisch-Westfälische Akademie der Wissenschaften Vorträge G 281) Opladen: Westdeutscher, 1986; Gernot Wiessner & Hans-Joachim Klimkeit (eds.), *Studia Manichaica. II. Internationaler Kongreß zum Manichäismus (6–10. August 1989, St. Augustin/Bonn)*, Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1992; Alexander Alexakis, *Was There Life beyond the Life beyond? Byzantine Ideas on Reincarnation and Final Restoration*, in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 55 (2001), pp. 155–77.

[80] Henry Chadwick, *Origen, Celsus, and the Resurrection of the Body*, in *HTR* 41 (1948), p. 85.

[81] Jerome, *Epistola*, CXXIV,10; Jerome, *Contra Ioannem Hierosolymitanum*, XXV–XVI.

[82] "Quaeritur itaque quid sibi uoluerit Dominus hoc proferre testimonium quod uidetur ambiguum uel non satis ad resurrectionis pertinens ueritatem: Ego sum Deus Abraham et Deus Isaac et Deus Iacob, et, quasi hoc prolato probauerit quod uolebat, statim intulerit: Non est Deus mortuorum sed uiuentium" (Jerome, *Commentaria in Evangelium Matthaei*, III,31). Cf. *supra* on p. 82.

[83] "Porro ad aeternitatem animarum probandam de Moyse ponit exemplum: Ego sum Deus Abraham et Deus Isaac et Deus Iacob, statimque infert: Non est Deus mortuorum sed uiuentium, ut cum probauerit animas permanere post mortem, neque enim poterat fieri ut eorum esset Deus qui nequaquam subsisterent, consequenter introduceretur et corporum resurrectio quae cum animabus bona malaue gesserunt" (Jerome, *Commentaria in Evangelium Matthaei*, III,32).

[84] Jerome, *Epistola*, CIX,1–2; Jerome, *Contra Vigilantium*, cols. 358–360.

[85] "Donec vivunt homines, posse eos justos fieri, post mortem vero nullam boni operis dari occasionem. Peccator enim vivens potest melior esse justo mortuo, si voluerit ad ejus transire virtutes" (Jerome, *Commentaria in Ecclesiasten, ad Paulam et Eustochium*, ad. IX,6).

and Jacobites believed that these souls sleep, i.e. lie unconscious without being punished or rewarded until the Day of Judgement, because punishment and reward have to be received in the same body in which the sins were committed and merits earned.[86] Macarius Magnes (fl. *c.*403) meets the opposition of the pagan philosophers in his *Apocriticus*.[87] On the occasion of the death of his brother Satyrus, Ambrose (*c.*340–97) warned against foolish speculations about the resurrection and the resurrected body but clearly asserted that prayer for the dead is helpful.[88] Ambrose distinguished between three kinds of death (spiritual, mystical, and physical), and he argued that physical death should not be feared and that all those who want to enter Paradise have to be cleansed by fire.[89] He also maintained that Scripture affirmed the immortality of the soul.[90] Basil the

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[86] Edward E. Salisbury, *On the Genuineness of the So-Called Nestorian Monument of Singan-Fu*, in *JAOS* 3 (1853), pp. 399–419; F. Gavin, *The Sleep of the Soul in the Early Syriac Church*, in *JAOS* 40 (1920), pp. 103–20. Cf. pseudo-epigraphic letter by St Cyril of Jerusalem to St Augustine, in which the unknown writer wrote, "Quaedam haeresis inter Graecos secta surrexit, quae ad Latinos usque devenit, quae suis nephandis nitebatur rationibus probare, quod animae beatorum usque ad universalis diem iudicii, in quo corporibus erunt iterum coniungendae, visione et cogitatione divina, in qua tota consistit beatitudo sanctorum, privabuntur, et dampnatorum animae similiter ad diem illum nullis cruciabuntur poenis. Quorum ratio talis erat. Sicut anima cum corpore meruit vel peccavit, ita cum corpore praemia recipit sive poenas" (*Cyrilli ad Augustinum, De miraculis Hieronymi*, II).

[87] See: C. Blondel (ed.), *Macarii Magnetis quae supersunt ex inedito codice*, Paris: Klincksieck, 1876.

[88] Ambrose, *De excessu fratris Satyri libri duo*, II,121. Yet in his work on the goodness of death, Ambrose wrote that David prayed for his sins to be remitted while he was alive because after death sins cannot be remitted. For nobody can enter everlasting life unless his or her sins are remitted: "Denique festinabat etiam sanctus David de hoc loco peregrinationis exire, dicens: Advena ego sum apud te in terra et peregrinus, sicut omnes patres mei [Ps 38,13]. Et ideo tanquam peregrinus ad illam sanctorum communem omnium patriam festinabat, petens pro hujus commorationis inquinamento remitti sibi peccata, priusquam discederet e vita. Qui enim hic non acceperit remissionem peccatorum, illic non erit. Non erit autem qui ad vitam aeternam non poterit pervenire, quia vita aeterna remissio peccatorum est" (Ambrose, *De bono mortis liber unus*, II,5).

[89] "Omnes oportet per ignem probari, quicumque ad paradisum redire desiderant; non enim otiose scriptum est, quod ejectis Adam et Eva de paradisi sede, posuit Deus in exitu paradisi gladium igneum versatilem [Gen 3,24]. Omnes oportet transire per flammas, sive ille Joannes Evangelista sit, quem ita dilexit Dominus, ut de eo diceret ad Petrum: Sic eum volo manere . . . quid ad te? Tu me sequere [Jn 21,22]. De morte ejus aliqui dubitaverunt, de transitu per ignem dubitare non possumus; quia in paradiso est, nec separatur a Christo. Sive ille sit Petrus, qui claves accepit regni coelorum, qui supra mare ambulavit, oportet ut dicat: Transivimus per ignem et aquam, et induxisti nos in refrigerium [Ps 65,12]. Sed Joanni cito versabitur igneus gladius; quia non invenitur in eo iniquitas quem dilexit aequitas. Si quid in eo vitii humani fuit, charitas divina decoxit; Alae enim ejus sicut alae ignis [Cant 8,6]" (Ambrose, *In psalmum primum enarratio*, Sermo XX,12). Cf. Ambrose, *In psalmum primum enarratio*, 38–40.

[90] Ambrose, *De bono mortis*, X,43. He used e.g. Jn. 10:18; Lk. 12:20; and Mt. 10:28.

Great (d. 379) is faced with the problem of perpetual bodily mutation.[91] Basil's death would give the incentive to Gregory of Nyssa (*c.*335–*c.*395), Basil's elder brother, to write his *De anima et resurrectione*, reflecting on the immortal nature of the soul and on bodily resurrection in a dialogue with their sister Macrina.[92] Gregory refuted atheism, the Epicurean dissolution of the soul into atoms, as well as the ideas of transmigration of the soul and the pre-existence of the soul: these concepts are self-contradictory and they result in immoral conclusions.[93] The soul is not subject to the laws of nature, is undimensional (ἀδιάστατος) by nature, and is immortal.[94] Upon death those souls that were detached from earthly desires and were purified by the love of Wisdom ascend to God. But the purgation (κάθαρσις) of the souls that adhered to carnal desires in life is a necessary requirement for their divinization (ὁμοίωσις πρὸς τὸ θεῖον).[95] Yet, Christian hope is vested not only in the immortality of the soul but also in the resurrection of the human person as a whole: soul and body together. For Gregory, the resurrection is the restoration of the human person to his or her original condition. The soul has an affinity to the body that ensures that the resurrected body will be recomposed of the same particles as the earthly body.[96] His namesake, Gregory of Nazianzen (*c.*325–89), will be frequently cited later for his reflection on the fate of the infants who die without baptism. He argued that such "unsealed" infants will be neither admitted to the glory of Heaven nor condemned to suffer punishment, since they are not wicked.[97] Consequently, there must be a third option, because if one does

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[91] Basil, *Homiliae in psalmos*, XLIV,1 and CXIV,5.

[92] On his views on the post-mortem existence, see Enrico Peroli, *Gregory of Nyssa and the Neoplatonic Doctrine of the Soul*, in *Vigiliae Christianae* 51 (1997), pp. 117–39; Jean Daniélou, *La résurrection des corps chez Grégoire de Nysse*, in *Vigiliae Christianae* 7 (1953), pp. 154–70; Henriette M. Meissner, *Rhetorik und Theologie. Der Dialog Gregors von Nyssa De anima et resurrectione*, (Patrologia. Beiträge zum Studium der Kirchenväter 1) Frankfurt a.M.: Lang, 1991; Constas, *'To Sleep, Perchance to Dream'*, pp. 97–98.

[93] Gregory of Nyssa, *Dialogus de anima et resurrectione*, 25A; 33C; 76C–D; 108B–128C.

[94] Gregory of Nyssa, *Dialogus de anima et resurrectione*, 69B.

[95] Gregory of Nyssa, *Dialogus de anima et resurrectione*, 89A–108C.

[96] Gregory of Nyssa, *Dialogus de anima et resurrectione*, 76A–77A.

[97] Gregory of Nazianzen, *Orationes*, XL,23. On the effect of Gregory of Nazianzen on later theology, see: Natalie Zemon Davis, *Gregory Nazianzen in the Service of Humanist Social Reform*, in *RQ* 20 (1967), pp. 455–64; Denis Meehan, *Editions of Saint Gregory of Nazianzus*, in *Irish Theological Quarterly* 18 (1951), pp. 205–19; Jan Sajdak, *Historia Critica Scholiastarum et commentatorum Gregorii Nazianzeni Accedit appendix de Pseudogregorianis et Gregorii Encomiis*, (Meletemata Patristica 1), Cracovie, 1914; Jan Sajdak, *Die Scholiasten der Reden des Gregor von Nazianz. Ein kurzgefasster Bericht über den jetztigen Stand der Forschung*, in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 30 (1929–1930), pp. 268–74; Friedhelm Lefherz, *Studien zu Gregor von Nazianz. Mythologie, Überlieferung, Scholiasten*, (Ph.D. dissertation),

not merit punishment, it does not follow that one would be worthy of being honoured, or vice versa: one who is not worthy of honour does not necessarily deserve to be punished.[98] Nonetheless, he argues for infant baptism only if there is any pressing danger, for it is better that these children should be unconsciously sanctified (ἀναισθήτως ἁγιασθῆναι) than depart "unsealed" and "uninitiated" (ἀπελθεῖν ἀσφράγιστα καὶ ἀτέλεστα).[99] Chrysostom (*c.*349–*c.*407) maintained that Christians should look forward to their death with joy and that the custom of prayers at mass to help the souls of the dead was instituted by the apostles themselves.[100]

The first official texts that professed Christ's descent into Hell as an article of faith were the Apostolic Creed (κατελθόντα εἰς τὰ κατώτατα)[101]

Bonn, 1958; Tadeusz Sinko, *De traditione orationum Gregorii Nazianzeni*, (Meletemata Patristica 2), Cracovie, 1917; Paul Gallay, *Les manuscrits des lettres de saint Grégoire de Nazianze*, (Collection d'études anciennes), Paris: Belles Lettres, 1957, pp. 105–11; Thomas Schmidt, *Les Commentaires de Basile le Minime. Liste révisée des manuscrits et des éditions*, in *Byzantion* 70 (2000), pp. 155–81.

[98] μήτε δοξασθήσεσθαι, μήτε κολασθήσεσθαι παρὰ τοῦ δικαίου κριτοῦ, ὣς ἀσφραγίστους μὲν, ἀπονήρους δέ [...] Οὐ γὰρ ὅστις οὐ κολάσεως ἄξιος, ἤδη καὶ τιμῆς· ὥσπερ οὐδὲ ὅστις οὐ τιμῆς, ἤδη καὶ κολάσεως. (Gregory of Nazianzen, *Orationes*, XL,23).

[99] Gregory of Nazianzen, *Orationes*, XL,28.

[100] Ἐπεὶ οὖν εὐθυμίας ἐσμὲν πεπληρωμένοι, διὰ τοῦτο ψάλλομεν ἐπὶ τοῖς νεκροῖς ψαλμοὺς θαῤῥεῖν ὑπὲρ τῆς τελευτῆς παρακελευομένους. Ἐπίστρεψον γὰρ, φησί, ψυχή μου εἰς τὴν ἀνάπαυσιν σου, ὅτι Κύριος εὐηργέτησέ σε. (Chrysostom, *De sanctis martyribus Bernice et Prosdoce virginibus, et domina matre earum, homilia panegyrica*, 3). See also Chrysostom, *In Epistolam ad Philippenses commentarius* I, Homilia 3,4.

[101] The so-called Apostolic Creed appeared first in its present form in the 6th century in the writings of Caesarius of Arles (d. 542): (cf. *Sermones*, *Homilia I De Paschate*; *Homilia XVII*). It is believed to be based on a creed going back to Apostolic times. Rufinus Aquileiensis' (*c.*345–410) *Commentary on the apostolorum* (*c.*407) contains a creed that is similar to the Apostolic Creed as it is known today, already having the article on Christ's descent into Hell (Rufinus Aquileiensis, *Commentarius in symbolum apostolorum*, 14–28). Rufinus confirms that this article was not present in the Creed of the Eastern Church or that of Rome in his time: *Sciendum sane est, quod in Ecclesiae Romanae Symbolo non habetur additum, descendit ad inferna: sed neque in Orientis Ecclesiis habetur hic sermo: vis tamen verbi eadem videtur esse in eo, quod sepultus dicitur.* (Rufinus Aquileiensis' *Commentarius in symbolum apostolorum*, 18.) An earlier form of the Apostolic Creed can be found in a letter by Marcellus of Ancyra (d. *c.*374) to Pope Julius I (pope 337–352) dating from 340 or 341 (the letter was preserved by Epiphanius in his *Adversus haereses*, LXXII), but this does not contain the article on Christ's descent to Hell. It is also absent in an earlier Roman baptismal liturgy (believed to be based on the same Creed as the Apostolic Creed) from around the turn of the 3rd century. See: Joseph Rawson Lumby, *The History of the Creeds. Ante-Nicene, Nicene and Constantinopolitan, the Apostolic Creed, the Quicunque Commonly Called the Creed of St. Athanasius*, Cambridge: Deighton and Bell, 1887; Alfred G. Mortimer, *An Historical and Doctrinal Exposition of the Apostles', Nicene, and Athanasian Creeds*, London: Longmans Green, 1902; D. Bruce Lockerbie, *The Apostle's Creed. Do You Really Believe It?*, Wheaton: Victor Books, 1977; Jaroslav Jan Pelikan, *Credo. Historical and Theological Guide to Creeds and Confessions of Faith in the Christian Tradition*, New Haven: Yale UP, 2003.

and the Athanasian Creed (*descendit ad inferos*), traditionally attributed to St Athanasius (*c.*293–373).[102] This tenet, attested to in the writings of some of the Fathers, was going to receive much attention in the Reformation period.[103]

For the Western Church, Augustine's (354–430) eschatological view summarized the accumulated insights of the previous centuries on the topic, and it not only constituted the orthodox teaching for centuries but influenced the Reformers thoroughly.[104] According to Augustine, when the human person dies, he or she is immediately judged. The separated souls of the saints rest in peace until the end of the world, while

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[102] DH 75 (DS 39). In its complete form, the *Athanasian Creed* (also known as the *Quicumque vult* for its first words, or *Fides Catholica* for its opening and concluding sentences) first appeared only around the 9th century. It is one of the four authoritative Creeds of the Catholic Church, also recognized as such by the Anglican and Lutheran Churches and by some other Protestant churches. The traditional ascription to Athanasius is now disproved, since the Creed was unknown in the Eastern Churches until the 12th century and its language and structure are Western. In modern times the *Quicumque vult* has been ascribed to Ambrose, Fulgentius of Ruspe, and Caesarius of Arles. It is now believed to have been composed in Southern France around the 5th century. See: literature in n. 100, and further: Andrew Ewbank Burn, *The Athanasian Creed and its Early Commentaries*, (Texts and Studies: Contributions to Biblical and Patristic Literature 4/1), Cambridge: UP, 1896; George Druce Winne Ommanney, *A Critical Dissertation on the Athanasian Creed*, Oxford: Clarendon, 1897; C.H. Turner, *A Critical Text of the Quicumque Vult*, in *Journal of Theological Studies* 11 (1910), pp. 19–28; Josef Stiglmayer, *Das 'Quicumque' und Fulgentius von Ruspe*, in *Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie* 49 (1925), pp. 341–57; Andrew Ewbank Burn, *The Authorship of the 'Quicumque vult'*, in *Journal of Theological Studies* 27 (1926), pp. 401–11; G. Morin, *L'origine du symbole d'Athanase*, in *Revue Bénédictine* 44 (1932), pp. 207–19; K.K. Kelley, *Athanasian Creed*, (The Paddock lectures 1962–1963), London: Black, 1964; Herbert W. Richardson & Jasper Hopkins, *On the Athanasian Creed*, in *HTR* 60 (1967), pp. 483–84; Volker Henning Drecoll, *Das Symbolum Quicumque als Kompilation augustinischer Tradition*, in *Zeitschrift für Antikes Christentum* 11 (2007), pp. 30–56.

[103] E.g. in the Christian apocryphal *Odae Salomonis*, XL,12; Jerome, *Commentaria in Ionam, ad* II,6–7; Irenaeus, *Adversus haereses*, IV,22,1; Gregory I the Great, *Moralia*, XXIX; Hilary of Poitiers, *De Trinitate*, III,15; Augustine, *De Genesi ad litteram libri duodecim*, XXXIII,63. See: Werner Bieder, *Die Vorstellung von der Höllenfahrt Jesu Christi. Beitrag zur Entstehungsgeschichte der Vorstellung vom sog. Descensus ad inferos*, (Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments 19) Zürich: Zwingli, 1949; Ralph V. Turner, *Descendit ad Inferos. Medieval Views on Christ's Descent into Hell and the Salvation of the Ancient Just*, in *JHI* 27 (1966), pp. 173–94. Christ's descent into Hell was most elaborately depicted by the apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus. For the tremendous effect this account had in the Middle Ages, see: William Henry Hulme, *The Middle English Harrowing of Hell and Gospel of Nicodemus*, (Early English Text Society, Extra Series 100), London: Oxford UP, 1907; Irene Rima Makaryk, *About the Harrowing of Hell*, Ottawa: Dovehouse Editions, 1989; Karl Tamburr, *The Harrowing of Hell in Medieval England*, Woodbridge: DS Brewer, 2007.

[104] On Augustine's views on the post-mortem existence, see: Robert J. O'Connell, *The Origin of the Soul in St. Augustine's Later Works*, New York: Fordham UP, 1987; Mamerto Alfeche, *Augustine's Discussions with Philosophers on the Resurrection of the Body*, Lovanii: Institutum Historicum Augustinianum, 1995.

those of the wicked enter into pain.[105] Although the deceased souls of the righteous already enjoy God's presence after death, this is not yet the beatific vision of God.[106] Augustine differentiated between lethal or grave sins (*peccata lethales, grandes, gravia*, or *capitalia*), which, unless duly repented of and remitted, are punished by damnation, and minute or minor sins (*peccata minuta*), which, although they do not merit damnation, if neglected can also lead to death.[107] He also differentiated between guilt or fault (*culpa*) and debt of punishment (*poena*): while guilt can be remitted, punishment is still to be suffered.[108] In this manner Augustine can assert that during the interim between death and resurrection, the souls are punished and purged for the sins they committed while on earth, but they may be helped by the prayers and alms of their friends and families, and that the Church prays and commands prayer for all who died in the Christian and Catholic family, even without naming them all, in

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[105] Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, XIII,8.

[106] Cf. Cummings, *Coming to Christ*, p. 100; Daley, *The Hope of the Early Church*, p. 138; Segal, *Life after Death*, p. 581.

[107] "Crimen autem est peccatum grave, accusatione et damnatione dignissimum" (Augustine, *In Ioannis Evangelium tractatus CXXIV*, XLI,9). "In dilectione autem ejus et in misericordia ejus qui ambulat, etiam liberatus ab illis lethalibus et grandibus peccatis, qualia sunt facinora, homicidia, furta, adulteria; propter illa quae minuta videntur esse peccata linguae, aut cogitationum, aut immoderationis in rebus concessis, facit veritatem confessionis, et venit ad lucem in operibus bonis: quoniam minuta plura peccata si negligantur, occidunt" (Augustine, *In Ioannis Evangelium tractatus CXXIV*, XII,14). "Peccata capitalia. Et quamvis Apostolus capitalia plura commemoraverit, nos tamen ne desperationem facere videamur, breviter dicimus quae sint illa: sacrilegium, homicidium, adulterium, falsum testimonium, furtum, rapina, superbia, invidia, avaritia; et, si longo tempore teneatur, iracundia; et ebrietas, si assidua sit, in eorum numero computatur. Quicumque enim aliqua de istis peccatis in se dominari cognoverit, nisi digne se emendaverit, et, si habuerit spatium, longo tempore poenitentiam egerit, et largas eleemosynas erogaverit, et a peccatis ipsis abstinuerit; illo transitorio igne de quo ait Apostolus, purgari non poterit, sed aeterna illum flamma sine ullo remedio cruciabit" (Augustine, *Sermo CIV De verbis Apostoli, I Cor. cap. III, 11–15, Fundamentum aliud nemo potest ponere, etc.*, 2). "Peccata minuta. Ab his immunis nemo. Animam non occidunt, sed foedant. Quae autem sint minuta peccata, licet omnibus nota sint, tamen quia longum est ut omnia replicentur, opus est ut ex eis vel aliqua nominemus" (Augustine, *Sermo CIV De verbis Apostoli, I Cor. cap. III, 11–15, Fundamentum aliud nemo potest ponere, etc.*, 3).

[108] "In duobus tuis malis, una est culpa, altera est poena: culpa est quod injustus es, poena est quia mortalis es" (Augustine, *Sermo CLXXI De verbis Apostoli, Gaudete in Domino semper, etc. Philipp., cap. IV,4–6*, III,3). In Roman Law, *poena* was used for penalty, which was technically the ransom that the injured person may demand from the wrongdoer. *Culpa* originally meant imputability, guilt, or liability but was also used later for negligence. See: Max Radin, *Fundamental Concepts of the Roman Law*, in *California Law Review* 12 (1924), pp. 481–95; Charles Fried, *The Lex Aquilia as a Source of Law for Bartolus and Baldus*, in *The American Journal of Legal History* 4 (1960), pp. 142–72.

a general commemoration.[109] Augustine asks his friends to join him in praying for the soul of his parents "at God's altar," because the pains of Purgatory are worse than any pain that can be felt or even imagined in this world.[110] This stage, however, is not definite. At the end of the world the dead bodies will be resurrected, and thus the joy of the righteous will be even greater in the "eternal Sabbath," while the torments of the wicked will become even worse because torture and reward will also affect the body.[111] In the resurrection the souls of the blessed will receive the bodies in which they laboured here on earth, and for which they will have been longing.[112] The saints will contemplate and praise God eternally, and together with the angels they will form the city of God.[113] The wicked, on the other hand, will be punished.[114] Against Origen, Augustine stresses that the punishment of the wicked will also be eternal, but its severity will differ according to the heinousness of the crimes.[115]

Augustine was also to play an important role with his methodology of interpreting the Scripture. He believed that the knowledge of languages, especially Greek and Hebrew, was necessary for true knowledge of the Bible.[116] This entails knowledge of tropes and other figures of speech, because the understanding of the figurative expressions only in the literal

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[109] "Verum et si aliqua necessitas vel humari corpora, vel in talibus locis humari nulla data facultate permittat, non sunt praetermittendae supplicationes pro spiritibus mortuorum: quas faciendas pro omnibus in christiana et catholica societate defunctis etiam tacitis nominibus eorum sub generali commemoratione suscepit Ecclesia; ut quibus ad ista desunt parentes, aut filii, aut quicumque cognati vel amici, ab una eis exhibeantur pia matre communi. Si autem deessent istae supplicationes, quae fiunt recta fide ac pietate pro mortuis, puto quod nihil prodesset spiritibus eorum quamlibet in locis sanctis exanima corpora ponerentur" (Augustine, *De cura pro mortuis gerenda ad Paulinum liber unus*, IV) Cf. Augustine, *Sermo CIV De verbis Apostoli, I Cor. cap. III, 11–15, Fundamentum aliud nemo potest ponere, etc.*, 4; Augustine, *Enchiridion ad Laurentium sive de fide, spe et charitate*, LXVII–LXIX, CX; Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, XXI,26). Although in Augustine's works the purging of the soul is not confined to a specific space, he earned the misleading title 'the Father of Purgatory.' Cf. Jacques Le Goff, *La naissance du purgatoire*, (Bibliothèque des histoires), Paris: Gallimard, 1981, p. 61.

[110] "Ille purgatorius ignis durior erit, quam quidquid potest in hoc saeculo poenarum aut cogitari, aut videri, aut sentiri" (Augustine, *Sermo CIV De verbis Apostoli, I Cor. cap. III, 11–15, Fundamentum aliud nemo potest ponere, etc.*, 2). Cf. Augustine, *Confessiones*, IX,35–36.

[111] Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, XIII,8; Augustine, *In Ioannis Evangelium tractatus CXXIV*, XLIX,10.

[112] Augustine, *Confessiones*, IX,37; XXII,26.

[113] Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, XXII,26.

[114] Initially Augustine seems to have favoured the idea that Hell was not a specific place (Augustine, *De Genesi ad litteram*, XII,26). At the end of his life he retracted this opinion (Augustine, *Retractiones*, II,24,2).

[115] Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, XXII,26.

[116] Augustine, *De doctrina christiana libri quatuor*, II,11.

sense is miserable slavery (*Scripturae figuratas locutiones ad litteram accipere servitus miserabilis*).[117] The same word can take on different meanings in different contexts, and Scripture itself contains not only examples of figures of speech but the very names as well (e.g. allegory: Gal. 4:24; enigma: Num. 12:8; and parable: Mt. 13:3).[118] He emphasized that obscure passages should be clarified by places where the sense in which they are used is more manifest, for it is safer to explain a doubtful passage by using other passages of Scripture than by using reason.[119] He also held that even when the intended meaning by the author remained undiscovered, more interpretations of the same words of Scripture were permissible as long as it could be shown from other passages of Scripture that any of the interpretations were in harmony with the truth.[120] In fact, Augustine argued, when the versions of the two different translators are compared, a more precise sense of the original text can be discovered.[121] The seven rules of interpretation for the Scripture established by the Donatist Tichonius (fl. *c.*370–90) are also preserved by the bishop of Hippo.[122]

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[117] Augustine, *De doctrina christiana*, III,5.

[118] Augustine, *De doctrina christiana*, III,25.29.

[119] "Ubi autem apertius ponuntur, ibi discendum est quomodo in locis intelligantur obscuris" (Augustine, *De doctrina christiana*, III,26). "Per Scripturas enim divinas multo tutius ambulatur; quas verbis translatis opacatas cum scrutari volumus, aut hoc inde exeat quod non habeat controversiam; aut, si habet, ex eadem Scriptura ubicumque inventis atque adhibitis testibus terminetur" (Augustine, *De doctrina christiana*, III,28).

[120] "Quando autem ex eisdem Scripturae verbis, non unum aliquid, sed duo vel plura sentiuntur, etiam si latet quid senserit ille qui scripsit, nihil periculi est, si quodlibet eorum congruere veritati ex aliis locis sanctarum Scripturarum doceri potest" (Augustine, *De doctrina christiana*, III,27. Cf. II,12).

[121] "Nunc autem collato interpretum sensu, probabilior occurrit sententia proprie" (Augustine, *De doctrina christiana*, II,12).

[122] "Tichonius quidam qui contra Donatistas invictissime scripsit, cum fuerit donatista, et illic invenitur absurdissimi cordis, ubi eos non omni ex parte relinquere voluit, fecit librum quem Regularum vocavit, quia in eo quasdam septem regulas exsecutus est, quibus quasi clavibus divinarum Scripturarum aperirentur occulta. Quarum primam ponit, De Domino et ejus corpore; secundam, De Domini corpore bipartito; tertiam, De promissis et Lege; quartam, De specie et genere; quintam, De temporibus; sextam, De recapitulatione; septimam, De diabolo et ejus corpore" (Augustine, *De doctrina christiana* III,30). Augustine explains them in detail in chapters 31–37. On Tichonius and his interpretation by Augustine, see: Tibor Fabiny, *Augustine's Appropriation and/or Misunderstanding of Tyconius' idea of the Bipartite Church*, in Paul Michel & Hans Weder, *Sinnvermittlung. Studien zur Geschichte von Exegese und Hermeneutik*, Zürich: Pano, 2000, pp. 143–60; Tibor Fabiny, *Tyconius kettős egyházról alkotott elképzelésének ágostoni átvétele és/vagy félreértelmezése. Kettős ige, kettős egyház, kettős szabály*, in *Tyconius tanulmányok*, (Hermeneutikai füzetek 26), Budapest: Hermeneutikai Kutatóközpont, 2001, pp. 2–25.

Post-Mortem Existence in the Theology of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance

During the Middle Ages four intertwined tendencies can be observed in the Western Church in connection with notions about death and the possibility of an afterlife: (1) a prevalent fascination with post-mortem existence in general—and the fate of the souls in Purgatory in particular—manifested in legends and mystical writings, as well as in the increasing popularity of the veneration of saints and their relics and of the suffrages for the souls of the dead (attested to by many bequests); (2) speculative Scholastic theology ruminating on issues of the afterlife, fertilized by the rediscovery of Aristotle's philosophy (a rediscovery stimulated by medieval Arabic philosophers) in the 13th century, which prompted commentaries on Aristotle's works, engendering the birth of the Averroistic school as well as the highly elaborate systematic theology of Thomas Aquinas; and (3) the appearance of heterodox movements and religious radicals denying some aspects of the teaching of the Church. Consequently, (4) a series of official proclamations were promulgated that stipulated the belief in growing detail in the language of contemporary philosophy.

Faced with a profusion of cases of premature death due to wars, famines, plagues, or crimes, the medieval person developed a natural curiosity into the post-mortem existence of humankind. This was typical not only of theologians but also of the lay population. This medieval fascination with the post-mortem state of the souls led to myriad legends and popular stories of souls suffering in Purgatory.[123] These descriptions "were, in a sense, the prelude to the greatest medieval work of graphic imagination relating to the subject, Dante's *Purgatory*, the second book of the *Divine Comedy*."[124]

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[123] Werner Verbeke, Daniël Verhelst & Andries Welkenhuysenk (eds.), *The Use and Abuse of Eschatology in the Middle Ages*, (Mediaevalia Lovaniensia. Series 1. Studia, 15), Leuven: UP, 1988; Kieran Nolan, *The Immortality of the Soul and the Resurrection of the Body according to Giles of Rome. A historical study of a 13th century theological problem*, (Studia ephemeridis 'Augustinianum,' 1) Rome: Augustinianum, 1967.

[124] Art. *Purgatory*, in IS *Encyclopaedia of Death and Dying*. On the theological aspects of issues concerning afterlife in Dante's work, see: Nancy Lindheim, *Body, Soul, and Immortality. Some Readings in Dante's Commedia*, in *MLN* 105, (1990), pp. 1–32; Hiram Peri, *The Original Plan of the Divine Comedy*, in *JWCI* 18 (1955), pp. 189–210; Manuele Gragnolati, *Experiencing the Afterlife. Soul and Body in Dante and Medieval Culture*, (William and Katherine Devers Series in Dante Studies), Notre Dame: UP, 2005; Christian Moevs, *The Metaphysics of Dante's Comedy*, (Reflection and Theory in the Study of Religion), Oxford: UP for the American Academy of Religion, 2005.

Although in the beginning the exact location of Purgatory was not determined, later it was thought to be in the vicinity of Hell.[125]

The popular interest in the fate of the souls can be found in the visions of medieval mystics, too. William of St Thierry (*c.*1085–*c.*1148), Bernard of Clairvaux (1090–1153), Joachim of Fiore (*c.*1135–1202), Gertrud of Helfta (1256–1301), Julian of Norwich (*c.*1342–1416), and Catherine of Genoa (1447–1510) gave mystical descriptions and visions of post-mortem existence, souls in Purgatory, and eschatological events.[126]

The mystical philosophical and theological writings of Nicholas of Cusa (1401–64) were going to play an important role in the Reformers' theology.[127] In his sermons *Quem Deus suscitavit, solutis doloribus inferni* (on Acts 2:24) and *Qui per spiritum sanctum semetipsum obtulit* (on Heb. 9:14), Cusanus expounded upon his notions about Christ's descent into Hell.[128] The German Cardinal interpreted Psalm 30:11–12 as referring to Christ's descent into Hell in terms of agony, namely, Christ's own experience of being dead.[129] Christ's humanity was not dissolved in His death because

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[125] The Venerable Bede (*c.*672–735) described a vision of a beautiful Heaven and a lurid Hell with adjacent temporary abodes. (Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, IV,19). Hugh of St Victor (*c.*1078–1141), *De Sacramentis christianae fidei*, II,4, left the question open. Petrus Lombardus (*c.*1100–1160) placed it next to Hell under the earth: *Sententiae in IV libris distinctae*, IV,XXI,1. Albert the Great (*c.*1200–80) located it in "superiorem partem inferni" (*Commentarii in IV Sententiarum Petri Lombardi*, dist. XXI, art. 6). See also: Helen Foxhall Forbes, *Diuiduntur in Quattuor: The Interim and Judgement in Anglo-Saxon England*, in *Journal of Theological Studies* 61 (2010), pp. 659–84.

[126] See: Bynum, *Resurrection of the Body*, pp. 156–99; Bernard McGinn, *St. Bernard and Eschatology, in Bernard of Clairvaux. Studies Presented to Dom Hean Leclerq*, Washington (DC): Cistercian Publications, 1973.

[127] On the views of Nicholas of Cusa on issues of afterlife, see: Rudolf Haubst, *Die Christologie des Nikolaus von Kues*, Freiburg: Herder, 1956, pp. 276–304; Peter J. Casarella, *Cusanus: The Legacy of Learned Ignorance*, Washington (DC): Catholic UP of America, 2006; Nancy J. Hudson, *Becoming God. The Doctrine of Theosis in Nicholas of Cusa*, Washington (DC): Catholic UP of America, 2007.

[128] Nicholas of Cusa, *Excitationes* X, n *Opera Nicolai Cusae Cardinalis* ed. Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples, Paris: Henri Estienne, 1514, fo. 176^{r-v}. See also his theological and philosophical writings *De docta ignorantia*, III,7, and *De visione Dei*, XXIII.

[129] Calvin suggests a similar interpretation of the descent into Hell in his *Psychopannychia* (1534, published in 1542: CR V. 224; tr. Calvin, *Tracts* III. 628). Pico della Mirandola explained the *descensus* also in terms of Christ's agony. Luther adopted the view that Christ, as God and man, literally entered into Hell. See Johan August Dietelmeier, *Historia dogmatis de Descensu Christi ad inferos litteraria*, Nürnberg, Altorf, esp. pp. 160–91. See also: Calvin, *Institutiones religionis Christianae*, II, XVI,10. On the use and interpretation of Cusanus in the German Reformation, see: Markwart Herzog, *"Descendit ad inferos": Strafleiden oder Unterweltkrieg? Ein Beitrag zur Wirkungsgeschichte der Höllenfahrtlehre des Nikolaus von Kues in den Bistümern Freising und Naumburg (1525/26)*, in *Theologie und Philosophie* 71 (1996), pp. 334–69.

His humanity was hypostatically united with the divinity in one person (*humanitas fuit unita divinitati in una persona*) as an immortal unity (*per unionem ad divinitatem fuit immortalis*, as proved by His resurrection) and remained so even after His death; yet according to His human nature (*per unionem formalem ad hominem*), His body and soul could spatially and temporarily separate from each other (*cessavit esse unio corporis at animae*).[130] Therefore, Christ experienced death, descended into Hell (*ad inferna*), and suffered together with the souls in Hell.[131] In His descent, Christ's soul acquired the full knowledge of death (*scientia mortis*), in which the souls in Hell are completely abandoned by God. These souls through direct experience (*via cognoscentiae*) behold death (*visio mortis*) eternally. According to the Cardinal, this is what the expression 'the second death' in Rev. 20:14 means: from which there is no escape. Because for Cusanus Hell was not a place but an inner condition, and because His suffering enclosed (*complicat*) all pain in death, Christ's afflictions in Hell were the greatest conceivable suffering, the consummate penalty (*poena consummata*).[132] In this freely chosen act of solidarity, Christ kept glorifying the Father as he had done in His earthly life. When Christ

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[130] *Sermo*, LXXVI, and *Sermo*, XXVII published in Josef Koch, *Untersuchungen über Datierung, Form, Sprache und Quellen. Kritisches Verzeichnis sämtlicher Predigten*, (Cusanus-Texte, 1, Predigten, 7, Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse, 1941–1942,1), Heidelberg: Winter, 1942, pp. 65 and 75. Republished in Nicolai De Cusa, *Opera omnia*, vol. XVII *Sermones II*, (1443–1452), eds. Rudolf Haubst & Hermann Schnarr, Hamburg, 1983. See also Nicholas of Cusa, *De docta ignorantia* III,7; Nicholas of Cusa, *De visione Dei*, XXIII. With his emphasis on the hypostatic union, Cusanus was reacting to the controversy about the Precious Blood of Christ between the Dominicans and the Minorites (1462–63). There the question was whether the Blood of Christ shed during his passion and reassumed at his resurrection should be adored as the Blood of the Son of God during the three days (*triduum mortis*) that it was separated from the Divinity of Christ. The Dominicans argued for the affirmative, while the negative was held by the Minorites. On the controversy, see: Livarius Oliger, *Johannes Kannemann, ein deutscher Franziskaner aus dem 15. Jahrhundert*, in *Franziskanische Studien* 5 (1918), pp. 39–67, at p. 46; Johannes Heuser, *'Heilig Blut' in Kult und Brauchtum des deutschen Kulturraumes. Ein Beitrag zur religiösen Volkskunde*, Ph.D. thesis, University of Bonn, 1948, pp. 77–78; *The Commentaries of Pius II. Books X–XIII*, trans. Florence Alden Cragg, (Smith College Studies in History 43), Northampton, 1957, pp. 703–29; Silvano Bracci (ed.), *San Giacomo della Marca nell'Europa del '400. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi, Monteprandone, 7–10 settembre 1994*, (Centro studi Antoniani 28), Padua: Centro di Studi Antoniani, 1997; arts. *James of Brescia* and *St. James of the Marches* in IS *CE*.

[131] Cusanus introduces an idea of the co-suffering of Christ with the sinners in this realm. This notion later became the basis for the exchange of attributes (*communicatio idiomatum*) between Christ and the sinners in Hell in Luther's theology of the descent, but in the theology of the medieval Cardinal Christ never adopts the active role of a sinner.

[132] Cf. Augustine's position *supra* on p. 99.

was risen, he was liberated from the torments of Hell (*solutis doloribus inferni*).[133]

The literary genre of *ars moriendi*, pious practical guides on 'how to die well' that became extremely popular in the 15th century, also testify to the widespread interest in death and post-mortem existence.[134] These books in the original Latin and their vernacular translations into almost all Western European languages feature prominently among the incunabula and the early printed books of the 16th century, and would be popular in Early Modern times as well.

The fascination with the fate of the deceased was not merely an intellectual curiosity, but a matter of practical concern arising from a strong communal conviction. According to the teaching of the Church, there is a spiritual solidarity within the *communio sanctorum* between the *Ecclesia Militans* (Christ's Church on earth), the *Ecclesia Triumphans* (the saints already in Heaven), and the *Ecclesia Penitens* (the souls of the deceased in Purgatory): Christians may be physically separated from each other by death, yet they remain united in one Church and can support each other in prayer. This solidarity rests on the basis of prayers to the saints (Church Triumphant) for their intercession on behalf of the living. Many popular saints were thus revered and invoked for their help in everyday life. Their relics were venerated, their feasts were celebrated, and pilgrimages were undertaken to places of importance in their lives in order to appeal for their assistance. In their turn, the living (Church Militant) offered their prayers to alleviate and shorten the sufferings of the souls in Purgatory (Church Suffering). The celebration *par excellence* of this spiritual solidarity of the *communio sanctorum* between the Church Triumphant and the Church Militant was the consecration of the Pantheon in Rome to the

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133 Nicholas of Cusa, *Excitationes*, X, fo. 176^{v}.

134 On the *ars moriendi*, see: Nancy Lee Beaty, *The Craft of Dying. A Study of the Literary Traditions of the Ars Moriendi in England*, (Yale Studies in English 175), New Haven: Yale UP, 1970; Marieluise Dusch, *De veer Utersten. Das Cordiale de quattuor novissimis von Gerard von Vliederhoven in mittelniederdeutscher Überlieferung*, (Niederdeutsche Studien, 20) Cologne: Böhlau, 1975; N.F. Blake, art. *Ars Moriendi*, in Joseph R. Strayer (ed.), *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, vol. 1, New York (NY): Scribner, 1982, pp. 547–48; Chris Coppens, *De Ars Moriendi, een traditie van stervensbegeleiding en troost*, Leuven: Drukk. HH. Harten, 1984; Florence Bayard, *L'art du bien mourir au XVe siècle. Étude sur les arts du bien mourir au bas Moyen Age à la lumière d'un Ars moriendi allemand du XVe siècle*, (Traditions et croyances), Paris: Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 1999; Austra Reinis, *Reforming the Art of Dying. The Ars Moriendi in the German Reformation (1519–1528)*, (StAndrews), Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007. Cf. also Gerard van der Vlyderhoven's *Cordiale de quator novissimus* (*c.*1380–96).

Blessed Virgin and all the martyrs on 13 May 610 by Pope Boniface IV, establishing the Feast of All Holy Martyrs.[135] With the foundation by Pope Gregory III (pope 731–41) of an oratory in St Peter's for "the relics of the holy apostles and of all saints, martyrs and confessors, of all the just made perfect who are at rest throughout the world," the date of the feast was moved to 1 November.[136] In 835, Pope Gregory IV (pope 827–44) decreed the celebration of the Feast of All Saints on 1 November for the entire Church. Pope Sixtus IV (pope 1471–84) added the octave to the feast. The Feast of All Souls (2 November)—the expression of the spiritual solidarity of the *communio sanctorum* when the Church Militant prays for the release from sufferings of the Church Suffering (the souls in purgation)—was first established by abbot Odilo (962–1049) in the Benedictine monasteries under Cluny's authority in the late 10th century.[137] From Cluny the custom spread and became popular in the 13th century. When Rome introduced the feast into the calendar for the entire Church, the date was retained so that the Communion of all of the saints might be celebrated together.

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[135] In the writings of the Church Fathers, earlier celebrations of the martyrs and saints can also be seen (art. *All Saints' Day* in IS *CE*).

[136] Art. *All Saints' Day*, in E.A. Livingstone & Frank Leslie Cross (eds.), *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, Oxford: UP, ³1997, pp. 41–42.

[137] "Sanctus Pater generale propositum per omnia monasteria sua constituit, ut sicut in capite Kalendarum Novembrium festivitas agitur Omnium Sanctorum, ita etiam insequenti die, memoria generaliter ageretur pro requie omnium fidelium animarum; privatim et publice missae cum psalmis et eleemosynis celebrarentur, omnibus supervenientibus pauperibus eleemosyna multipliciter daretur" (Iotsaldus, *Vita Sancti Odilonis*, II,13). More recently: Johannes Staub (ed.), *Vita des Abtes Odilo von Cluny*, (Monumenta Germaniae historica. Scriptores 7. Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum separatim editi 68) Hanover: Hahn, 1999. According to Iotsaldus, Odilo was moved by the report of a hermit who had heard demons complaining about the efficacy of prayers and almsgiving in liberating souls from their suffering (*orationibus religiosorum hominum, et eleemosynis pauperum,* [...] *multoties per Dei misericordiam ab eorum poenis liberarentur animae damnatorum*). Iotsaldus also recounts the story about the soul of the deceased Pope Benedict VIII (pope 1012–24), who to his surprise found himself not enjoying the splendour of light, but confined in the shade (*non splendore lucid, sed poenarum teneretur in umbris*). Benedict appeared to a friend and asked for the prayers of Odilo and his monastery. After the petition had been forwarded to Odilo, Benedict appeared again to express his gratitude to the abbot for his release from the chaos (Iotsaldus, *Vita Sancti Odilonis*, II,14). On Odilo of Cluny, see: L.M. Smith, *Cluny and Gregory VII*, in *EHR* 26 (1911), pp. 20–33; Raymond Oursel (ed.), *Les saints abbés de Cluny. Écrits de l'abbé Bernon et des saints Odon, Odilon, Hugues*, (Les écrits des saints), Namur: Ed. du soleil levant, 1960; Jacques Hourlier, *Saint Odilon, abbé de Cluny*, (Bibliothèque de la RHE 40), Louvain: RHE, 1964; Johannes Staub, *Studien zu Iotsalds Vita des Abtes Odilo von Cluny*, (Monumenta Germaniae historica. Studien und Texte 24), Hanover: Hahn, 1999.

The popular interest in death and post-mortem existence undoubtedly influenced the medieval Scholastic theologians in their exploration of the issues of afterlife. Scholastic theologians studied the questions of how individuality is retained in the interim state of the soul, whether the soul is a substance, whether there remains a connection between body and soul after the dissolution of the body, whether the soul has any corporal aspects, whether it can feel physical pain (inflicted by physical fire), and whether it has spatial dimensions or can be localized somewhere. They elaborated further on the nature of post-mortem existence; the corporality of resurrection; the age, sex, size, and colour of the resurrected body; what mutilated bodies will be like when resurrected; the details of the reassembly or reconstruction of the particles; what will happen to lost hair and cut fingernails; whether it is possible to posses an authentic relic of Christ's teeth; etc. They were fascinated with problems such as how the bodies of the damned can be burned but not destroyed, whether aborted foetuses will be resurrected, whether the incorporeal devils suffer from the physical fire of Hell, how victims of cannibalism or people digested by wild animals will be resurrected, etc.[138]

While in the 12th century the schoolmen focused mainly on resurrection and the qualities of the resurrected body, in the 13th century the 'Aristotelian revival' shifted the emphasis to survival of the soul.[139] This shift of interest can be seen in the increasing attention paid to the cleansing of impure souls. Although the idea of purging the souls after death as temporal punishment or legal satisfaction, as described in Augustine, was repeatedly acknowledged in the West by, among others, Gregory the Great (540–604), Petrus Lombardus, Bonaventure, and the entire Scholastic theology, it is only in the 13th century that the doctrine on the state and purpose of the post-mortem purgation (which by then was localized in 'spatial' terms) was fully developed.[140] This purgation was understood

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[138] Cf. Petrus Lombardus, *Sententiae in IV libris distinctae*, IV,dist. 43–44. Hugh of St Victor, *De Sacramentis*, I,6; II,17; Guibert of Nogent, *De pignoribus sanctorum*, I; John Scotus Eriugena, *De divisione naturae*, V,20.23; Anselm of Laon in the *Liber Pancrisis* as published in Odon Lottin, *Psychologie et morale aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles*, vol. 5, Gembloux: J. Duculot, 1959, pp. 35–36. On the eschatology of Petrus Lombardus, see Jospeh De Ghellinck, *Le mouvement théologique de douzième siècle. Sa préparation lointaine. Avant et autour de Pierre Lombard. Ses rapports avec les initiatives des canonistes. Études, recherches et documents*, (Museum Lessianum. Section historique 10), Bruges: De Tempel, 1948, pp. 213–77.

[139] Bynum, *Resurrection of the Body*, p. 135.

[140] "An post mortem purgatorius ignis sit. Gregorius. In Evangelio dicit Dominus: Ambulate dum lucem habetis (Jn 12,35). Per Prophetam quoque ait: Tempore accepto exaudivi te, et in die salutis adjuvi te (Is 49,8). Quod Paulus apostolus exponens, dicit: Ecce nunc

as the cleansing of the venial sins and the payment of the debt of temporal punishment for those mortal sins that had been remitted in life. Suffrages of the Church for the dead (masses, vigils, prayer, and indulgences) could shorten the period of purgation of the souls or lessen their pain.

In this shift towards an interest in the fate of the soul, two medieval Arab philosophers exercised major influence in the 13th century. Both Avicenna and Averroes stood in the Aristotelian tradition but arrived at

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tempus acceptabile, ecce nunc dies salutis (2 Cor 6,2), Salomon quoque ait: Quodcumque potest manus tua facere, instanter operare, quia nec opus, nec ratio, nec scientia, nec sapientia erit apud inferos, quo tu properas (Ecc 9,10). David quoque ait: Quoniam in saeculum misericordia ejus (Ps 105(106),1; 117(118),1–4.29). Ex quibus nimirum sententiis constat quia qualis hinc quisque egreditur, talis in judicio presentatur. Sed tamen de quibusdam levibus culpis esse ante judicium purgatorius ignis credendus est, pro eo quod Veritas dicit, quia si quis in sancto Spiritu blasphemiam dixerit, neque in hoc saeculo remittetur ei, neque in futuro (Mt 12,31). In qua sententia datur intelligi quasdam culpas in hoc saeculo, quasdam vero in futuro posse laxari. Quod enim uno negatur, consequens intellectus patet, quia de quibusdam conceditur. Sed tamen, ut praedixi, hoc de parvis minimisque peccatis fieri posse credendum est, sicut est assiduus otiosus sermo, immoderatus risus, vel peccatum curae rei familiaris, quae vix sine culpa vel ab ipsis agitur, qui culpam qualiter declinare debeant sciunt; aut in non gravibus rebus error ignorantiae, quae cuncta etiam post mortem gravant, si adhuc in hac vita positis minime fuerint relaxata. Nam cum Paulus dicat Christum esse fundamentum, atque subjungat: Si quis superaedificaverit super hoc fundamentum, aurum, argentum, lapides pretiosos, ligna, fenum, stipulam; uniuscujusque opus quale sit, ignis probabit; si cujus opus manserit quod superaedificavit, mercedem accipiet; si cujus opus arserit, detrimentum patietur; ipse autem salvus erit, sic tamen quasi per ignem (1 Cor 3,12–13). Quamvis hoc de igne tribulationis in hac nobis vita adhibitio possit intelligi, tamen si quis hoc de igne futurae purgationis accipiat, pensandum sollicite est quia illum per ignem dixit posse salvari, non qui super hoc fundamentum, ferrum, aes, vel plumbum aedificat, id est peccata majora, et idcirco duriora, atque tunc jam insolubilia; sed ligna, fenum, stipulam, id est peccata minima atque levissima, quae ignis facile consumat. Hoc tamen sciendum est, quia illic saltem de minimis nihil quisque purgationis obtinebit, nisi bonis hoc actibus in hac adhuc vita positus, ut illic obtineat, promereatur" (Gregory the Great, *Dialogi de vita et miraculis patrum Italicorum et de aeternitate animarum*, IV,39). Cf. Gregory the Great, *Dialogi de vita et miraculis patrum Italicorum et de aeternitate animarum*, IV,55; Gregory the Great, *In septem psalmos poenitentiales expositio*, Expositio Tertii Pslami, 1; Gregory the Great, *Moralium Libri XXXV*, I,5,8; Caesarius of Arles, *Sermo* 3. *De Paschate*; Petrus Lombardus, *Sententiae in IV libris distinctae*, IV,dist. 43–50; St Bonaventure, *Commentaria in Quatuor Libros Sententiarum*, IV, dist. xx, p. 1, a.1, qq. i–iv; Anselm, *Cur Deus Homo*, II; Alulfus Tornacensis, *Expositio Novi Testamenti. Expositio super primam epistolam B. Pauli ad Corinthios*, c. 12; Hugh of St Victor, *De Sacramentis*, II,16,4; St Bernard, *Sermones de diversis*, XLII. De quinque negotiationibus et quinque regionibus, 5. For a discussion, see: R.R. Atwell, *From Augustine to Gregory the Great. An Evaluation of the Emergence of the Doctrine of Purgatory*, in *JEH* 38 (1987), pp. 173–86; Foxhall Forbes, *Diuiduntur in Quattuor*, pp. 659–84; Aaron Milavec, *The Birth of Purgatory. Evidence of the Didache*, in *Proceedings* 12 (1992), pp. 91–104; Gerhard Ludwig Muller, *Purgatory*, in *Theology Digest* 33 (1986), pp. 31–36; Robert Ombres, *Images of Healing. The Making of the Traditions Concerning Purgatory*, in *Eastern Churches Review* 8 (1976), pp. 128–38; Théodore Silverstein, *Visio Santi Paul. The History of the Apocalypse in Latin, Together with Nine Texts*. London: Christophers, 1935.

different conclusions with regard to the nature of the soul. While Avicenna held to the immortality of the individual soul, Averroes rejected it. Their writings were translated into Latin and they gave an impetus to new speculations about the fate of the dead and led to the renewed interest in Aristotelianism.[141] This interest was exemplified by the Averroestic schools and philosophers.[142] Conversely, theologians such as William of Auvergne (1190–1249) tried to 'rescue' Aristotle from the 'Arabians.'[143]

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[141] The common claim that Aristotle and Plato had been lost for the West but their scholarship was preserved and reintroduced through Arabic translations is not entirely true. Most of Aristotle's works were translated directly from the Greek (e.g. by William of Moerbeke; *c.*1215–86), and only exceptionally by way of an Arabic intermediary. Plato's *Republic*, the only work preserved in Arabic translation, was not translated into Latin. In England, Aristotle was read in the original by Robert Grosseteste (*c.*1175–1253) and Roger Bacon (*c.*1214–94). Nonetheless, the Latin translation of the Arabic commentaries on the Arabic translations based on some Syriac or Hebrew version of the Greek text did give an impetus to Western interest in Aristotle. Cf. Bernard G. Dod, *Aristoteles Latinus*, in Norman Kretzmann, *The Cambridge History of Later Medieval Philosophy from the Rediscovery of Aristotle to the Disintegration of Scholasticism, 1100–1600*, Cambridge: UP, 1982, pp. 45–79; Peter Dronke, *A History of Twelfth-Century Western Philosophy*, Cambridge: UP, 1988; Fernand Van Steenberghen, *The Philosophical Movement in the Thirteenth Century*, Edinburgh: Nelson, 1955.

[142] E.g. Siger of Brabant (Sygerius *c.*1240–80) and Boethius of Dacia (fl. 13th century) who claimed that the resurrection of the body was philosophically impossible but admitted by faith (cf. the Averroistic principle of double truth). See: Fernand Van Steenberghen, *Les oeuvres et la doctrine de Siger de Brabant*, Brussels: Palais des Académies, 1938; Martin Grabmann, *Die Sophismataliteratur des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts mit Textausgabe eines Sophisma des Boetius von Dacien. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Einwirkens der aristotelischen Logik . . . mittelalterlichen philosophischen Disputation*, (Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie und Theologie des Mittelalters. Texte und Untersuchungen 36, 1), Münster: Aschendorff, 1940; Zdzislaw Kuksewicz, *De Siger de Brabant à Jacques de Plaisance. La théorie de l'intellect chez les Averroistes latins des XIIIe et XIVe siècles*, Wroclaw: Ossolineum, 1968; Pierre Mandonnet, *Siger de Brabant et l'Averroïsme latin au XIIIme siècle*, Geneva: Slatkine, 1976; Roland Hissette, *Enquête sur les 219 articles condamnés à Paris le 7 mars 1277*, (Philosophes médiévaux 22), Louvain: Publications Universitaires de Louvain, 1977; Boetius of Dacia, *The Sophisma 'Every Man Is of Necessity an Animal'*, in Norman Kretzmann & Eleonore Stump (eds. & trans.), *The Cambridge Translations of Medieval Philosophical Texts*. vol. 1 *Logic and the Philosophy of Language*, Cambridge: UP, 1988; Sigerius de Brabantia, *De dubbele waarheid*, notes by Henri Krop, (Geschiedenis van de wijsbegeerte in Nederland 1), Baarn: Ambo, 1992.

[143] On William of Auvergne's position on issues concerning afterlife, see: Georg Bülow (ed.), *Des Dominicus Gundissalinus Schrift von der Unsterblichkeit der Seele nebst einem Anhänge, enthaltend die Abhandlung des Wilhelm von Paris (Auvergne) De immortalitate animae*, (Beiträge zur Geschichte des Philosophie des Mittelalters 2,3). Münster: Aschendorff, 1897; Joseph Kramp, *Des Wilhelms von Auvergne 'Magisterium divinale'*, in *Gregorianum* 1 (1920), pp. 538–613; *Gregorianum* 2 (1921), pp. 42–103 and pp. 174–95; Alfred Vanneste, *Nature et grâce dans la théologie de Guillaume d'Auxerre et de Guillaume d'Auvergne*, in *ETL* 53 (1977), pp. 83–106; Alan E. Bernstein, *Esoteric Theology. William of Auvergne on the Fires of Hell and Purgatory*, in *Speculum* 57 (1982), pp. 509–31; Alan E. Bernstein, *Theology between Heresy and Folklore. William of Auvergne on Punishment*

His position on the purgatorial fire and Hell was to help shape the Reformers' position. According to him, Hell is a place where nothing detracts from the torment of the damned (*nihil in inferno vacet a tormento eorum, qui creatori placere et servire recusaverunt*), and where all of the sins ever committed against God are perfectly avenged.[144] He believed that the fear of infernal punishment was a great social utility because it deterred sinners from sinning.[145] The pains of Purgatory, on the other hand, will complete the expiation of those sins not fully atoned for in life. "Thus the pains of purgatory have their beginnings in the anguish of penance, which, if it is not completed in life, is perfected in purgatory."[146] Since this process of purification begins with penance and ends in the pains of Purgatory, William held that Purgatory, too, has a deterrent effect, as the fear of purgatorial pains induces sinners to repent sooner and to complete their penance in this life.[147] William maintained that the pains of Purgatory and the torments of Hell that affect the separated souls are to be understood as

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after Death, in *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History* 5 (1982), pp. 3–44; Stephen Marrone, *William of Auvergne and Robert Grosseteste. New Ideas of Truth in the Early Thirteenth Century*, Princeton: UP, 1983; William of Auvergne, *The Immortality of the Soul* [*De Immortalitate animae*], trans. Roland Teske, (Medieval Philosophical Texts in Translation, 30), Milwaukee: Marquette UP, 1991.

144 William of Auvergne, *De universo corporali et spirituali*, I, 100 (p. 665(673)b C); cf. William of Auvergne, *De moribus*, p. 211a C. His collected works were published in: William of Auvergne, *Guilielmi Alverni, episcopi Parisiensis, . . ., Opera omnia, quae hactenus impressa potuerunt, tomis duobus contenta, reconditissimam rerum humanarum, ac divinarum doctrinam abundè complectentia, ac proinde bonarum artium, ac scientiarum studiosis, maximè verò theologis, ac divini verbi concionatoribus, apprimè necessaria/ nunc demum in hac posteriori editione ab innumeris errorum chiliadibus expurgata, instaurata, elucidata, atque fide integra ad authoris sensum recognita, ut ex praefatione ad lectorem aperius intelligetur per Ioannem Dominicum Traianum Neapolitanum.*, Venetiis: Ex Officina Damiani Zenari, 1591. Modern reprint is based on the 1674 Paris edition: William of Auvergne, *Opera omnia*, Frankfurt, 1963. Page numbers refer to the latter edition.

145 "Credulitas ipsius [inferni] utilis est valde, et errores circa ipsum noxij, et impedientes correctiones hominum a vitiis suis, et perversitate morum suorum" (William of Auvergne, *De universo corporali et spirituali*, p. 665(673)a B).

146 Bernstein, *Esoteric Theology*, p. 511. Cf. William of Auvergne, *De universo corporali et spirituali*, p. 678a H.

147 "Manifestum est in quibusdam animabus multa restare purganda post mortem corporum suorum, antequam purgationem hic compleverint, quae poenitentia est secundum doctrinam Christianam [. . .] Necesse est restare, ut compleant id, quod restat, et deest de purgatione sua; quare et locus, ut haec fiant, necessarius est, et hic est, quem purgatorium dicunt" (William of Auvergne, *De universo corporali et spirituali*, p. 676b G). "Multas poenitentias in vita ista non compleri, quapropter necesse est, ut post hanc vitam compleantur" (William of Auvergne, *De universo corporali et spirituali*, p. 677b C). "Necesse est eas perficere in vita illa coeptam in praesenti expurgationem" (William of Auvergne, *De universo corporali et spirituali*, p. 677b D).

corporeal fire.[148] Yet, this fire is not comparable to the physical fire of this world, for this post-mortem fire torments the soul but does not consume the body. "It is the metaphorical fire of passion, desire, anguish. William did not use the term metaphor, but he stated that there is no actual fire or heat in the soul."[149] Just as God could send fire and brimstone to punish Sodom and Gomorrah (Gen. 19:24) and could punish the pharaoh and his people with fire (Ex. 9:23), it is possible for God to create a fire that avenges all of the injuries ever committed against him, William argued.[150] And just as God could address Moses in a fire that did not consume the burning bush (Ex. 3:2), William maintained, God could also create a fire that can torment the souls of the wicked and avenge their sins.[151]

The most elaborate and systematic treatment of questions concerning the afterlife in this Aristotelian revival is found in the *Summa Theologica* of Saint Thomas Aquinas (*c.*1225–74), which became the standard doctrine for centuries.[152] He thoroughly incorporated Aristotle's philosophy

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[148] "Non igitur abhorreant, aut mirentur, si ignis corporalis aliquis est, qui animas humanas et in corporibus, et a corporibus separatas torquere valeat" (William of Auvergne, *De universo corporali et spirituali*, p. 680b F).

[149] Bernstein, *Esoteric Theology*, p. 513.

[150] "Si pluvia ignis, et sulphuris creata fuit a justissimo creatore propter vindicandam Dei pariter, et naturae injuriam, et contumeliam in gentes sodomorum: quanto fortius propter omnes injurias, et contumelias Dei altissimi fuit creatus ignis, qui universaliter omnes vindicet?" (William of Auvergne, *De universo corporali et spirituali*, p. 680b G).

[151] "Si juxta legem Hebraeorum igni qui prophetae ipsorum in rubo apparuit, vel datum, vel ablatum est contra naturam suam propriam, et ipsius rubi, vel forsitan novus ignis talis ab omnipotente creatore creatus est tunc, materiam combustibilem, in qua esset, non combureret, quomodo non verisimile est, ut propter exercendam tantam Dei justitiam talis ignis creatus sit, qui torquere possit animas impiorum, et vindicare in eis injurias Deo altissimo irrogatas?" (William of Auvergne, *De universo corporali et spirituali*, p. 680b G).

[152] In 1312 the constitution *Fidei catholicae* of the General Council of Vienne rejected all views that denied that the rational soul is the form of the body: "Porro doctrinam omnem seu positionem temere asserentem, aut vertentem in dubium, quod substantia animae rationalis seu intellectivae vere ac per se humani corporis non sit forma, velut erroneam ac veritati catholicae inimicam fidei, praedicto sacro approbante Concilio reprobamus: definientes, ut cunctis nota sit fidei sincerae veritas ac praecludatur universis erroribus aditus, ne subintrent, quod quisquis deinceps asserere, defendere seu tenere pertinaciter praesumpserit, quod anima rationalis seu intellectiva non sit forma corporis humani per se et essentialiter, tamquam haereticus sit censendus" (DH 902 (DS 481)). On the views of Thomas Aquinas on the afterlife, see: Johannes Mundhenk, *Die Seele im System des Thomas von Aquin. Ein Beitrag zur Klärung und Beurteilung der Grundbegriffe der thomistischen Psychologie*, Hamburg: Meiner, 1980; Robert Ombres, *The Doctrine of Purgatory According to St. Thomas Aquinas*, in *The Downside Review* 99 (1981), pp. 279–87; Robert Pasnau, *Thomas Aquinas on Human Nature. A Philosophical Study of Summa Theologiae 1a 75–89*, Cambridge: UP, 2002; Peter Joseph, *The Risen Body in St Thomas Aquina's Scriptum super sententiis and Summa contra gentiles*, doct. diss. Pontificia Universitas Gregoriana, Facultas Theologiae, Roma, 2003.

into his own theology. According to Thomas, the human person is the unity of soul and body: the body is the matter and the soul is the form of the human person, according to the Aristotelian system of *hylomorphism*.[153] The soul, however, is incorruptible; it does not die at death but survives the body and retains its rational functionality.[154] This separate state of the soul from the body is not a natural state, because the soul is an incomplete reality without the body.[155] Therefore, the soul has a natural tendency to unite with the body, and in the interim the soul awaits the resurrection, when it will be completed. Upon death, the soul is judged immediately in a particular judgement, which determines its fate during the interim between death and the final resurrection at the end of the world: Heaven or Hell, unless it needs to be cleansed.[156] Those who are already purified in life enter immediately into the *visio beatifica*. They can obtain favours for the living; hence, Aquinas recommended praying to them for their intercession.[157] Those who are in need of purification from the effects of venial sins or the temporal punishments of their remitted sins are purged before they are allowed into the beatific vision. During their purgation, souls can be assisted by prayer or the Eucharist celebrated on their behalf.[158] The damned enter into the fires of Hell upon the particular judgement. Their lot is irreversible; the damned cannot be helped. There is another category of dead for Aquinas: those who died before the coming of Christ and the infants who die without baptism. Since baptism is necessary for salvation, they cannot enter into the beatific vision, but they are not damned either. Aquinas believed that these individuals are in a special place situated at the verge of Hell; hence, he called it "Limbo" (*limbus*). The saints of the OT had been kept in *Limbus Patrum* since their death, whence they were liberated by Christ's coming, while the unbaptised children will stay in

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153 Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, I. qu. 75. art. 1–7; qu. 76, art. 1–8.

154 Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, I. qu. 75. art. 6.

155 Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, Suppl. qu. 75. art. 1–3. Cf. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Contra Gentiles*, IV,79. "The Supplement intended to complete the Summa, is put together with scissors and paste from pieces cut out of Aquinas's writings on the Sentences [of Petrus Lombardus] (especially Bk. 4)" (James A. Weisheipl, *Friar Thomas d'Aquino*, Washington (DC): Catholic UP of America, 2corr. and add.1983), p. 362). Nevertheless, the *Supplement* was perceived in the 16th century as an authentic representation of Thomas Aquinas' ideas.

156 Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, Suppl. qu. 69. art. 2. Cf. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Contra Gentiles*, IV,91.

157 Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, Suppl. qu. 72. art. 1–3. Cf. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Contra Gentiles*, IV,91.

158 Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, Suppl. qu. 71. art. 1–14. Cf. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Contra Gentiles*, IV,91.

Limbus Infantium eternally.[159] At the end of the world, Christ judges the whole of humankind at the general judgement.[160] The whole world will be renewed, and the resurrected body will be immortal and incorruptible. After the resurrection no further purgation is possible. The bliss of the blessed will be even greater, for their souls will be united with their bodies.[161] The damned will be eternally committed to Hell, which lies beneath the earth.[162]

Thomas Aquinas' position on the threefold destiny of the soul after death and the solidarity between the Churches Militant, Suffering, and Triumphant is closely connected to his soteriology, ethics, hamartiology, and sacramentology.[163] Thomas, rooted in medieval Scholastic theology, differentiated between the twofold effect of sin: guilt (*culpa*) and punishment (*poena*).[164] A further distinction was made between mortal (*peccatum mortale*) and venial (*peccatum veniale*) sins.[165] In the sacrament of penance, three acts are involved: contrition (*contritio cordis*), confession (*confessio oris*), and satisfaction (*satisfactio operis*).[166] By God's grace,

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159 Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, Suppl. qu. 69. art. 4–6. Although the *Catechism of the Catholic Church* (1992) still left the question open (cf. nos. 1257–61), the *International Theological Commission*, originally commissioned by Pope John Paul II, states that "the many factors that we have considered [...] give serious theological and liturgical grounds for hope that unbaptized infants who die will be saved and enjoy the beatific vision." Nonetheless, it emphasizes "that these are reasons for prayerful hope, rather than grounds for sure knowledge" (*The Hope of Salvation for Infants Who Die without Being Baptized*, ITC, April 22, 2007).

160 Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, III. qu. 59. art. 5; qu. 88. art. 1. Cf. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Contra Gentiles*, IV,96.

161 Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, Suppl. qu. 93. art. 1. Cf. *Summa Contra Gentiles*, III,61.

162 Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, Suppl. qu. 97. art. 7; qu. 99. art. 3.

163 See: William A. van Roo, *Grace and Original Justice according to St. Thomas*, (Analecta Gregoriana 75; Analecta Gregoriana. Series Facultatis Theologicae. Sectio A 13) Rome: Universitas Gregoriana, 1955; Romanus Cessario, *Christian Satisfaction in Aquinas*, Washington (DC): UP America, 1982; Romanus Cessario, *The Godly Image. Christ and Salvation in Catholic Thought from Anselm to Aquinas*, (Studies in Historical Theology 6), Petersham: St Bede's Publications, 1990; Romanus Cessario, *St. Thomas Aquinas on Satisfaction, Indulgences, and Crusades*, in *Medieval Philosophy and Theology* 2 (1992), pp. 74–96; M.F. Johnson, *St. Thomas and the 'Law of Sin'*, in *Recherches de Théologie et Philosophie Médiévale* 67 (2000), pp. 90–106; Romanus Cessario, *Aquinas on Christian Salvation*, in Thomas Weinandy, Daniel Keating & John Yocum (eds.), *Aquinas on Doctrine. A Critical Introduction*, London: T&T Clark, 2004, pp. 117–37.

164 Augustine had already differentiated between the two: see *supra* on p. 99.

165 Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, II-I. qu. 88. art. 1. He refers to Augustine's distinction between lethal and minute sins. See *supra* on p. 98. On the Scholastic authors, see *supra* on p. 107.

166 "Sic igitur requiritur ex parte poenitentis, primo quidem, voluntas recompensandi, quod fit per contritionem; secundo, quod se subiiciat arbitrio sacerdotis loco Dei, quod

through contrition of the heart and auricular confession, absolution from guilt (*culpa*) can be obtained. But justice demands that the damage caused should be repaired; thus, satisfaction should be made for the temporal punishment (*poena*).[167] Satisfaction has a double purpose, namely, to pay the debt caused by the committed sin (punitive purpose) and to serve as a remedy in order to avoid future sin (restorative purpose).[168] It can be achieved by means of penitential works done either during this life or in Purgatory.[169] The purification of the soul in Purgatory constitutes the expiation of punishment required for entering glory.[170] In other words, works of satisfaction purify the person to reconcile himself or herself with God and prepare him or her for the beatific vision. Indeed, penitential works such as prayer, fasting, and almsgiving gradually heal the malady of the soul from the effects of sin.[171] The *Doctor Angelicus* also maintained that the saints performed works of satisfaction exceeding the requirements of their debts, and that these 'superfluous' merits together with Christ's vicarious satisfaction for humankind, stored in the Church's Treasury (*thesaurus ecclesiae*, cf. Ws. 7:14), are common property of the Church and can be dispensed in the form of indulgences to the various

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fit in confessione; tertio, quod recompenset secundum arbitrium ministri Dei, quod fit in satisfactione. Et ideo contritio, confessio et satisfactio ponuntur partes poenitentiae" (Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, III. qu. 90. art. 2).

[167] In baptism, however, both guilt and punishment are washed away: "in Baptismo, ubi fit plena remissio peccatorum et quantum ad culpam et quantum ad poenam" (Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, III. qu. 84. art. 1).

[168] Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, Suppl. qu. 13. art. 2. Cf. "satisfactio et est punitiva in quantum est actus vindicativae iustitiae, et est etiam medicativa, in quantum est quoddam sacramentale" (Thomas Aquinas, *Questiones de quolibet*, II, qu. 8 art. 2. ad 3).

[169] Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, Suppl. qu. 15. art. 1. In connection with Aquinas' speculations about the question of whether a crusader receives full indulgence even if he dies before having reached the Holy Land, Cessario rightly remarks that "the power of Christ's love works differently in one who is still a member of the church on earth than it does in one who has died. The need for spiritual discipline and reformation of life implies that the first one must continue on as part of the church on earth, for death marks the end of a person's deliberate involvement in the process of salvation. And since the good works of one individual do not appreciate another's spiritual discipline, Aquinas counsels penance even for the individual who does survive the crusade. Even though the successful completion of the indulgenced work replaces the punitive satisfaction, the crusader still needs to do penance for spiritual growth and maturity" (Cessario, *St. Thomas Aquinas on Satisfaction, Indulgences, and Crusades*, p. 94).

[170] "Purgatio animae per poenas purgatorii non est aliud quam expiatio reatus impedientis a perceptione gloriae: et quia per poenam quam unus sustinet pro alio, potest reatus alterius expiari, ut dictum est, non est inconveniens, si per unius satisfactionem alius purgetur" (Thomas Aquinas, *Scriptum super libros sententiarum magistri Petri Lombardi Episcopi Parisiensis*, Lib. IV, Dist. 45, qu 2. art. 2 qu^{cula} ad 3).

[171] Thomas Aquinas, *Questiones de quolibet*, II, qu. 8 art. 2.

individuals who remain united in the bond of charity with the Church.[172] But the foundation of indulgences is essentially Christological, for it is ultimately the satisfaction of Christ that remains the principal source of the *thesaurus ecclesiae*, because Christ's suffering suffices.[173] The dispensation of this treasure belongs to the Pope because he is the person who is in charge of the whole Church, since the Lord gave the keys of the kingdom of Heaven to Peter (Mt. 16:19).[174] The ultimate ground for the possibility of sharing in the good works associated with Christ and the saints is the union in charity.[175] Accordingly, from a juridical point of view, "indulgences constitute commutations of satisfactory works attached to particular deeds, such as prayers, pilgrimages, or other burdensome actions, including the risky and painful undertaking of military combat" (i.e. crusades).[176] Therefore, an indulgence can replace satisfaction insofar as it is punitive, because the punishment suffered by someone else is imputed to the person who receives the indulgence, and consequently the debt of punishment is removed.[177] Yet, an indulgence does not replace satisfaction insofar as it is remedial, since the disposition to sin due to prior sins still remains, the cure for which necessarily requires the works of satisfaction.[178] Aquinas underlines that indulgences are completely

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[172] Thomas Aquinas, *Questiones de quolibet*, II, qu. 8 art. 2; Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, Suppl. qu. 25. art. 1. On the development of the teaching of the *thesaurus ecclesiae*, see: Carl J. Peter, *The Church's Treasures (Thesauri Ecclesiae) Then and Now*, in *Theological Studies* 47 (1986), pp. 251–72. On Aquinas' understanding of 'merit,' see: Joseph Wawrykow, *On the Purpose of 'Merit' in the Theology of Thomas Aquinas*, in *Medieval Philosophy and Theology* 2 (1992), pp. 97–116.

[173] "Nec ad hoc requiritur aliquis labor; quia sufficit labor passionis Christi" (Thomas Aquinas, *Questiones de quolibet*, II, qu. 8 art. 2 ad 3). See also: Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Contra Gentiles* IV,55. Cf. Cessario, *St. Thomas Aquinas on Satisfaction, Indulgences, and Crusades*, pp. 91 and 95–96.

[174] Thomas Aquinas, *Questiones de quolibet*, II, qu. 8 art. 2; Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, Suppl. qu. 25. art. 1.

[175] "Omnes qui sunt in caritate, sunt quasi unum corpus; et ita bonum unius redundat in omnes, sicut manus deservit toti corpori, et similiter quodlibet corporis membrum" (Thomas Aquinas, *Questiones de quolibet*, II, qu. 7 art. 2). Cf. "Ratio autem quare valere possunt, est unitas corporis mystici, in qua multi operibus poenitentiae supererogaverunt ad mensuram debitorum suorum et multas etiam tribulationes injuste sustinuerunt, per quas multitudo poenarum poterat expiari" (Thomas Aquinas, *Scriptum super libros sententiarum*, Lib. IV, Dist. 20, qu. 1, art. 3 qu^{cula} 1).

[176] Cessario, *St. Thomas Aquinas on Satisfaction, Indulgences, and Crusades*, pp. 82–83.

[177] "Indulgentia ergo supplet locum satisfactionis, in quantum est punitiva: quia scilicet poena quam alius sustinuit, imputatur isti ac si ipse sustinuisset, et ideo reatus poenae tollitur" (Thomas Aquinas, *Questiones de quolibet*, II, qu. 8 art. 2 ad 3).

[178] "[Indulgentia] non succedit in locum satisfactionis in quantum est medicativa, quia adhuc remanent pronitates ad peccandum derelictae ex priori peccato, ad quas sanandas

useless for those who have committed a mortal sin and have not repented, for true contrition and confession are demanded as conditions *sine qua non* for gaining all indulgences; they only benefit those who have exercised contrition and confessed their sins.[179] He also stresses the point that only God can forgive the offence of sin (*culpa*). Therefore, when the Pope gives a plenary indulgence, this indulgence should not be applied to the offence (*culpa*), but only to the totality of punishments (*poena*): for example, the man who accepted the crusader's cross will not suffer punishment (*poena*) for his sins, provided that he had achieved the full remission of the offence of sin (*culpa*) through contrition and confession.[180] In short, three conditions have to be met for an indulgence to be beneficial and valid: "(1) the work must involve a cause pertaining to the honour of God or the needs of the Church; (2) the indulgence must be established by a duly constituted authority; (3) the one who receives the indulgence must already enjoy that union of charity in which the whole reality of the church consists."[181]

Although Aquinas' theology of indulgences represented the orthodox position and was repeatedly confirmed by ecclesiastical authorities, his Christological foundation and soteriological perspective were lost on many Christians of his age and of subsequent centuries, and indulgences were reduced in practice to a mercantile view of redemption "as a spiritual deposit-and-withdrawal system for building up heavenly merits, as if they were so much interest in a bank account."[182] At first, indulgences were dispensed to those who did penitential works, of which the most commendable was almsgiving, expressing the solidarity of the believers.[183] In order to distribute alms most effectively, official managers of indulgences, so-called *questors* (*pardoners* in popular parlance) were appointed

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necessarius est labor satisfactionis" (Thomas Aquinas, *Questiones de quolibet*, II, qu. 8 art. 2 ad 3).

[179] Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, Suppl. qu. 27. art. 1.

[180] Thomas Aquinas, *Questiones de quolibet*, II, qu. 8 art. 2 ob.1.

[181] Cessario, *St. Thomas Aquinas on Satisfaction, Indulgences, and Crusades*, pp. 87–88.

[182] Cessario, *St. Thomas Aquinas on Satisfaction, Indulgences, and Crusades*, p. 77.

[183] "[Da] te igitur elemosinam ut omnia munda sint vobis, quia elemosina a morte liberat, peccata purgat, et facit invenire vitam aeternam. Sicut aqua ignem ardentem extingit, ita elemosina peccato resistit" (J.T. Fowler (ed.), *Memorials of the Church of SS. Peter and Wilfrid, Ripon*, vol. 2, (Publications of the Surtees Society 88), Durham: Surtees Society, 1886, p. 83). On the historical development of indulgences, see: Francis Edward Hagedorn, *General Legislation on Indulgences*, (The Catholic University of America. Canon Law Studies 22), Washington (DC): Catholic UP of America, 1924; Bemhard Poschmann, *Der Ablaß im Licht der Bußgeschichte*, Bonn: Peter Hanstein, 1948; Alfred L. Kellogg & Louis A. Haselmayer, *Chaucer's Satire of the Pardoner*, in *PMLA* 66 (1951), pp. 251–77.

whose job was to collect alms and redistribute it among the most needy. Questors were not allowed to absolve sins (remit *culpa*), only to dispense indulgences for the temporal punishment (*poena*) of confessed sins. Nor were they allowed to sell indulgences, but only to collect alms in order to redistribute them to the widest circle of beneficiaries. Abuses, however, developed throughout the centuries, and pardoners were reported to have claimed impertinently to absolve '*a culpa et a poena*.'[184] Although several pieces of legislation were passed to eradicate abuses, ecclesiastical authorities had trouble carrying these out, especially when charity work, the financial interest of the Church, or the realization of valuable ventures (e.g. the building of hospitals, bridges, or churches) was concerned.[185]

But it was not just the practice of indulgences that was problematic. During the Middle Ages several individuals and groups with heterodox beliefs arose who questioned the teachings of the Church on the post-mortem existence. The Waldensians or 'Poor Men of Lyons' (followers of Peter Waldo or Pierre de Vaux, d. 1218) denied the existence of Purgatory and the validity of suffrages for the dead, and they apparently doubted the resurrection of the flesh and that the risen Christ truly ate and drank in the same flesh in which he ascended into Heaven.[186] The Gnostically inspired movements of Paulicians (7th–8th c.), Bogomils (10th c.), and Cathars (Albigensians; 11th–13th c.), with a strong Manichaean dualistic view, regarded the material world as the creation of a lesser God, and thus

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[184] E.g. Clement V's catalogue of the abuses practiced by questors testifies to such an abuse: "et aliqui ex ipsis [...] a poena et a culpa [...] absolvant: nos, abusus huiusmodi [...] aboleri volentes" (*Corpus Iuris Canonici*, ed. Aemilius Friedberg, Leipzig: Tauchnitz, 1922, II, 1190). Cf.: "That pardoners frequently if not usually absolved 'a poena et a culpa' cannot be doubted, but such absolution was an abuse and occupies an important place in Clement V's catalogue of the abuses practiced by pardoner" (Kellogg & Haselmayer, *Chaucer's Satire of the Pardoner*, p. 252).

[185] "Enforcement, however, was a very different matter. Churches and bridges were built, the poor fed, the sick healed, all on the proceeds of indulgences. If those proceeds failed, construction of the church stopped, the care of the sick ceased. There was always a temptation on the part of the regular clergy who operated the great hospitals to avoid the regulations that their collectors be brothers 'idonei et bone conversationis' and to employ less worthy but more productive brothers. There was likewise pressure to farm out collection rights to groups of professional questors who were willing to pay a good round sum for making unrestricted use of the indulgences granted the hospital" (Kellogg & Haselmayer, *Chaucer's Satire of the Pardoner*, p. 258). For an overview of the efforts to eliminate abuses, see: Hagedorn, *General Legislation on Indulgences*; Kellogg & Haselmayer, *Chaucer's Satire of the Pardoner*, pp. 251–59.

[186] Cf. Antoine Dondaine, *Aux origines du Valdéisme. Une profession de foi de Valdes*, in *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 16 (1946), pp. 231–32; Bynum, *Resurrection of the Body*, p. 215; Walter L. Wakefield & Austin Patterson Evans, *Heresies of the High Middle Ages*, (Records of Western Civilization), Irvington: Columbia UP, 1991, pp. 206–08.

despised the body, from which the soul had to be freed. They believed that Christ had no real body and did not die or rise. Other Cathars held that Christ's body was left behind at the ascension and rotted away.[187] They also rejected Hell and Purgatory, held that the veneration of the saints and relics was idolatry because the body will never rise, and adopted the idea of the transmigration of souls.[188] The Amauricians (or Almaricians, followers of Amaury of Bène d. *c.*1206) denied the reality of the body (in fact, they denied the reality of anything except the spirit), and accordingly allowed all sorts of license to the body and claimed that the Holy Spirit was the resurrection.[189] Similar ideas were held later by the heretics of Free Spirit. In 1270 the University of Paris condemned thirteen propositions, including the corruption of the soul (as a form of the human person) at death and the denial of the possibilities that the separated soul could suffer from corporeal fire and that God can give incorruptibility and immortality to corruptible and mortal beings.[190] In England the Lollards—the followers of John Wycliffe (*c.*1324–84)—and in Central Europe the Hussites—the followers of John Huss (*c.*1370–1415)—called into question the veneration of the saints.[191] Although Wycliffe accepted the need for a post-mortem purgation of the souls, he contested that it could be localized.

The first part of the 14th century even witnessed a 'papal heresy,' when the opinion of Pope John XXII (1249–1334) on the beatific vision and the post-mortem fate of the soul caused theological controversy.[192] Starting on

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[187] Bynum, *Resurrection of the Body*, p. 218.

[188] Wakefield & Evans, *Heresies of the High Middle Ages*, pp. 269–70 and 301–46.

[189] Johannes Huber, *Johannes Scotus Erigena. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Philosophie und Theologie im Mittelalter*, Munich: Lentner, 1861, pp. 434–35; Germaine C. Capelle, *Autour de Décret de 1210 3. Amaury de Bène. Étude sur son panthéisme formel*, (Bibliothèque thomiste 16. Section historique 14), Paris: Vrin, 1932, pp. 89–111; Heinrich Fichtenau, *Ketzer und Professoren. Häresie und Vernunftglaube im Hochmittelalter*, Munich: C.H. Beck, 1992; Hans Thijssen, *Master Almaric and the Almaricians. Inquisitorial Procedure and the Suppression of Heresy at the University of Paris*, in *Speculum* 71 (1996), pp. 43–65.

[190] Heinrich Seuse Denifle (ed.), *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis sub auspiciis Consilii generalis Facultatum Parisiensium. Ex diversis bibliothecis tabulariisque collegit et cum authenticis chartis contulit Henricus Denifle, auxiliante Aemilio Chatelain*, Brussels: Culture et civilisation, 1964, pp. 486–87.

[191] Wycliffe accepted the veneration of the Blessed Virgin. On the Lollards' view on apocalyptic themes, see: Curtis V. Bostick, *The Antichrist and the Lollards. Apocalypticism in Late Medieval and Reformation England*, (SMRT 70), Leiden: Brill, 1998.

[192] "Nenhum dos autores consultados defende que o papa João XXII quis definir algo quando falou em suas homilias sobre a visão beatífica. Ao contrário, baseados nas palavras do próprio papa, afirmam que este emitiu a sua opinião sobre esta matéria, como teólogo privado" (Antonio Augusto Brum Hofmeister, *Benedictus Deus. Aproximação ao conteúdo escatológico dogmaticamente definido pelo Papa Bento XII na Constituição de 1336*, Promotor: Eduardo da Silva Santos, Master's thesis,Universidade Católica Do Rio Grande

All Saints' Day in 1331, the Pope expressed his position in six sermons given over the course of several years (1331–33) that the souls of the righteous go into Abraham's bosom, or *sub altari Dei*, and do not enjoy the beatific vision (*visio facie ad faciem*) of the Lord until after the Last Judgement and the resurrection of their bodies.[193] His suggestion, never expressed as an *ex cathedra* teaching, could be understood as an implicit questioning of the possibility of the intercessions of saints and scandalized the *sensum fidei* of most of his contemporaries enciting reactions all over Europe.[194] Counter to the Pope, twenty-nine theologians of the Faculty of Theology of *Sorbonne* declared that the souls of the blessed were indeed elevated to the beatific vision immediately after death (2 January 1334).[195] Other

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Do Sul—Pucrs, Porto Alegre: s.n., 2004, p. 14, n. 15). On the views of Pope John XXII and the controversy about the beatific vision, see also: Decima Douie, *John XXII and the Beatific Vision*, in *Dominican Studies* 3 (1950), pp. 154–74; Anneliese Maier, *Zwei unbekannte Streitschriften gegen Johann XXII. aus dem Kreis der Münchener Minoriten*, in *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae* 5 (1967), pp. 41–78; Anneliese Maier, *Schriften, Daten und Personen aus dem Visio-Streit unter Johann XXII.*, in *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae* 9 (1971), pp. 143–86; John XXII, *Nouveaux textes de Jean XXII sur la Vision béatifique*, in *RHE* 66 (1971), pp. 401–11; Marc Dykmans, *Les sermons de Jean XXII sur la vision béatifique. Texte précédé d'une introduction et suivi d'une chronologie de la controverse avec la liste des écrits pour et contre le pape*, (Miscellanea Historiae Pontificiae 34), Rome: Presses de l'Université Grégorienne, 1973; Josep Gil, *La benaurança del cel i l'ordre establert. Aproximació a l'escatologia de la Benedictus Deus*, Barcelona: Herder, 1984; Christian Trottmann, *Deux interprétations contradictoires de Saint Bernard: les sermons de Jean XXII sur la vision béatifique et les traités inédits du cardinal Jacques Fournier*, in *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome* 105 (1993), pp. 327–79; Christian Trottmann, *La vision béatifique. Des disputes scolastiques à sa définition par Benoît XII*, (Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 289), Rome: École française de Rome, 1995; Eva Luise Wittneben, *Bonagratia von Bergamo. Franziskanerjurist und Wortführer seines Ordens im Streit mit Papst Johannes XXII*, (SMRT 90), Leiden: Brill, 2003, *passim*, esp. pp. 370–77.

193 "Animae ergo sanctae ante diem iudicii sunt sub altare, id est, sub consolatione et protectione humanitatis Christi; sed post diem iudicii ipse elevabit eas, ut videant ipsam divinitatem et secundum hoc dicentur ascendere supra altare" (John XXII, *Sermo in Festivitate Omnium Sanctorum*, II, 7 in Dykmans, *Les sermons de Jean XXII sur la vision béatifique*, p. 96)).

194 Trottmann, *Deux interprétations contradictoires*, p. 327. The Pope did not call into question the private judgement or the consciousness of the souls after death but proposed that the reward or punishment of the deceased will only be attributed when the souls are joined with their bodies. Cf.: "Joan XXII va sostenir, els últims anys de la seva vida, una lluita aferrisada per a defensar una opinió—la 'seva' opinió com a teòleg—sobre l'ajornament de la visió beatífica dels benaurats fins el Dia del Judici Universal. Per a situar correctament l'anomenada opinió de Joan XXII, cal començar dient que el papa mai no havia dubtat del judici immediat a la mort i d'un començament de recompensa o de càstig (cel o infern) per als qui moren en gràcia de Déu o en pecat mortal" (Gil, *La benaurança del cel i l'ordre establert*, p. 47).

195 The theologians were of the opinion that the Pope should have propounded his doctrine only "recitando," and not "determinando, asserendo, seu etiam opinando." John XXII assembled his consistory to reply to the Paris theologians. They regarded the Pope's

opponents of the pope's theological position included among others Guillaume Durand de Saint-Pourçain, bishop of Meaux, the Neapolitan king Robert of Anjou, (writing under his title "king of Jerusalem and of Sicily), Juan III de Aragón y Anjou, archbishop of Toldeo and Latin Partiarch of Alexandria, Cardinal Annibale Gaetani di Ceccano, bishop of Frascati and former archbishop Naples, as well as Jacques Fournier, John XXII's successor, the later pope Benedict XII.[196] The controversy eventually subsided when John XXII retracted his former position one day before his death and declared that the purified departed souls are admitted into Heaven and enjoy the beatific vision immediately upon their death.[197]

The subject of the immortality of the soul received much attention from the philosophers over the course of the 14th and 15th centuries. The incentive was given by the Greek Platonist Georgius Pletho (*c.*1355–1452).[198] He argued in his *De differentiis* (1439), the book that inaugurated the celebrated Plato-Aristotle controversy of the Renaissance, that Averroes was a false interpreter of Aristotle when he claimed that the latter believed in the mortality of the soul.[199] The question remained much debated throughout the entire 15th century.[200] The most systematic treatment of the question was presented by the Humanist Marsilio Ficino (1433–99), the most prominent and most influential philosopher of the Italian

answer as a sign of papal absolutism, spoke of "the new heretic, Jacques de Cahors," and reiterated emphatically their demands for the convocation of a general council to try the Pope, which was prevented by the death of the Pope (Dykmans, *Les sermons de Jean XXII sur la vision béatifique*, p. 186).

196 Trottmann, *Deux interprétations contradictoires*, pp. 327–28.

197 "Animae purgatae separatae a corporibus sunt in caelo, caelorum regno et paradiso et cum Christo in consortio angelorum congregatae et vident Deum de communi lege ac divinam essentiam facie ad faciem clare, in quantum status et condicio compatitur animae separatae" (*Ne super hiis* (sic) (DH 990–91)).

198 Georgius Pletho (alias Gemistus) sparked the interest of the Italian Humanists of the *quattrocento* in the study of Plato, and according to Marsilio Ficino, Pletho was behind the foundation of the famous Platonic Academy by Cosimo de' Medici. On his life and works, see: C.M. Woodhouse, *George Gemistos Plethon. The Last of the Hellenes*, Oxford: Clarendon, 1986; Polymnia Athanassiadi, *Byzantine Commentators on the Chaldaean Oracles. Psellos and Plethon*, in Katerina Ierodiakonou (ed.), *Byzantine Philosophy and Its Ancient Sources*, Oxford: UP, 2002, pp. 237–52; George Karamanolis, *Plethon and Scholarios on Aristotle*, in Ierodiakonou, *Byzantine Philosophy and Its Ancient Sources*, pp. 253–82.

199 Bernadette Lagarde, *Le 'De Differentiis' de Pléthon d'près l'autographe de la Marcienne*, in *Byzantion* 43 (1973), p. 321.

200 See Paul Oskar Kristeller, *Eight Philosophers of the Italian Renaissance*, Stanford: UP, 1966; Giovanni Di Napoli, *L'immortalità dell'anima nel Rinascimento*, Turin: Società editrice internazionale, 1963.

Renaissance.[201] The main work of the Italian Humanist was his *Theologia Platonica. De animarum Immortalitate*, published in 1482 in Florence, in which he argues for the immortality of the soul based on his Christianized Neo-Platonic view.[202] Following Pletho, Ficino opposed the Averroists' denial of personal immortality.[203] Death is the liberation of the immortal soul from the body (*mors est animae a corpore liberatio*), he argued.[204] The life after this life is a continuation of the earthly life: after death, the soul preserves its inclination as reward or punishment.[205] Despite his dualistic Neo-Platonist anthropology, Ficino also embraced the idea of the resurrection of the body. This, in his understanding, is by no means the revival of the earthly body but the re-creation of a most pure body (*purissimum corpus*) at the end of the world.[206]

In 1516, Pietro Pomponazzi's *Tractatus de immortalitate animæ* (Bologna, 1516) also addressed the question of immortality.[207] Pomponazzi denied the possibility that the immortality of the soul could be proved on

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[201] Ficino translated many Greek authors, mainly Neo-Platonists, into Latin: among others, Hesiod, Homer, Plotinus, Porphyry, and Pythagoras. Most importantly, he prepared the first complete translation of the extant works of Plato into Latin, which was in use until the 19th century. Ficino held Plato to be a precursor of Christ whose works should be read in church. On his life and philosophy, see: Nesca A. Robb, *Neoplatonism of the Italian Renaissance*, New York: Octogon Books, 1968; Kristeller, *Eight Philosophers of the Italian Renaissance*; Michael J.B. Allen, Valery Rees & Martin Davies (eds.), *Marsilio Ficino. His Theology, His Philosophy, His Legacy*, (BSIH 108), Leiden: Brill, 2002.

[202] Marsilio Ficino, *Theologia Platonica. De animarum Immortalitate*, in modern edition: *Théologie platonicienne de l'immortalité des âmes*, 3 vols., ed. and trans. Raymond Marcel, Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1964–70.

[203] On Ficino's eschatological views, see: Jörg Lauster, *Marsilio Ficino as a Christian Thinker*, in Allen, *Marsilio Ficino. His Theology, His Philosophy, His Legacy*, pp. 45–69, esp. 64–67; Charles Trinkaus, *In Our Image and Likeness. Humanity and Divinity in Italian Humanist Thought*, (Ideas of Human Nature Series), Chicago: UP, 1970, pp. 468–75; Michael J.B. Allen, *Marsilio Ficino on Plato, the Neoplatonists and the Christian Doctrine of the Trinity*, in *RQ* 37 (1984), pp. 555–84.

[204] Ficino, *Theologia Platonica*, I,8. (ed. Marcel III, p. 143).

[205] Ficino, *Theologia Platonica*, XVI,8. (ed. Marcel XVIII, p. 227). See also: Lauster, *Marsilio Ficino as a Christian Thinker*, p. 65.

[206] Ficino, *Theologia Platonica*, XVI,8. (ed. Marcel XVIII, p. 227).

[207] For the views of the Italian Pietro Pomponazzi (Pomponatius, *alias* Peretto, 1462–1525), see: A.H. Douglas, *The Philosophy and Psychology of Pietro Pomponazzi*, Cambridge: UP, 1910 [facsimile reprint, Hildesheim: Olms, 1962]; E. Gilson, *Autour de Pomponazzi: problématique de l'immortalité de l'âme en Italie au début du XVIe siècle*, in *Archives d'Histoire Doctrinale et Litteraire du Moyen Âge*, 36 (1969), pp. 163–279; E. Kessler, *The Intellective Soul*, in C.B. Schmitt, Q. Skinner, E. Kessler & J. Kraye (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy*, Cambridge: UP, 1991, pp. 485–534; E. Kessler, *Pietro Pomponazzi. Zur Einheit seines philosophischen Lebenswerk*, in T. Albertini (ed.), *Verum et factum. Beiträge zur Geistesgeschichte und Philosophie der Renaissance zum 60. Geburstag von Stephan Otto*, Frankfurt a.M.: Peter Lang, 1993, pp. 397–420.

rational grounds. Pomponazzi was declared a heretic in Venice and his book was burned publicly in 1516. Pomponazzi responded with a more detailed statement of his position in his *Apologia Petri Pomponatii* (1517) the following year and in his *Defensorium adversus Augustinum Niphum* (1519) two years later. Under the influence of the writings of Alexander of Aphrodisias,[208] Pomponazzi maintained that only the *intellectus agens*, which he identified with God, is one and the same in every person. The intellective soul is the same as the sensitive soul, and is therefore mortal. In death, it becomes deprived of the body upon which it depends for its object (*dependet a corpore ut obiecto*). Accordingly, it can no longer act and must perish with the body. Pomponazzi also denied the possibility of miracles, and the efficacy of prayer and relics.[209] He claimed that these were merely inventions to enforce morality. Based on the doctrine of 'double truth,' Pomponazzi nonetheless held that his views were true in philosophy but false in theology.

These proposed ideas of the theologians and philosophers as well as the heretical movements provoked a series of official declarations of the Church defining the questions concerning post-mortem life in ever more detail. Peter Waldo was required to confess in 1180 or 1181 that the resurrection will be of "this flesh and no other," that Christ's sufferings in the body were real, that he truly ate and drank in the same flesh that ascended into Heaven, and that alms and prayers benefited the dead.[210] The Fourth Lateran Council promulgated in 1215 the creed *Firmiter credimus*, declaring that the human person is composed of flesh and a rational soul (*ex anima rationali et humana carne compositus*), and that at the Last Judgement the souls will be rewarded with eternal glory with Christ (*cum Christo gloriam sempiternam*) or perpetual torment with the devil (*cum diabolo poenam perpetuam*) according to their deeds (*secundum opera sua*).[211] The Council asserted that all will rise with their own individual bodies, which they now wear (*omnes cum suis propriis resurgent corporibus quae nunc gestant*).[212] Simony was condemned, as was the abuse of indulgences and relics.[213] The Council did not make a pronouncement on the interim state

[208] Olaf Pluta, *Der Alexandrismus an den Universitäten im späten Mittelalter*, in *Bochumer Philosophisches Jahrbuch für Antike und Mittelalter* 1 (1996), pp. 81–109. For Alexander of Aphrodisias, see *supra* on p. 86.

[209] Martin Pine, *Pomponazzi and the Problem of "Double Truth,"* in *JHI* 29 (1968), p. 163.

[210] Wakefield & Evans, *Heresies of the High Middle Ages*, pp. 204–06.

[211] DH 801 (DS 429).

[212] DH 801 (DS 429).

[213] DH 818–20 (DS 440).

of the soul. In his bull in 1254 Pope Innocent IV (pope 1243–54) gave the first official designation *Purgatorium* to the place of purgation and differentiated it from Hell as a destination, depending on whether one died in mortal sin with or without the satisfaction of penance (*animas illorum, qui, suscepta paenitentia, ea non peracta, vel qui sine mortali peccato, cum venialibus tamen et minutis decedunt*).[214] Innocent refers to Mt. 12:32 and 1 Cor. 3:13–15 as the biblical proofs for the existence of purgatorial fire, which, as he points out, is also held by the Orthodox Church (*ipsi Graeci vere ac indubitanter credere ac affirmare dicantur*). The souls in Purgatory can be helped by suffrages (*posse suffragiis Ecclesiae adiuvari*). Yet, capital crimes cannot be cleansed, and the souls who died without penitence will be eternally tormented (*aeternae gehennae ardoribus perpetuo cruciatur*). But the souls of baptized children and those having died in the state of grace pass immediately into the eternal home (*ad patriam protinus transvolant sempiternam*).[215] In 1274, the Council of Lyons repeated the assignation of the souls to Heaven, Purgatory, or Hell immediately after death. The Council confirmed the efficacy of suffrages, masses, prayers, and alms in helping the souls in Purgatory.[216] On the Day of Judgement everyone will have to appear before the tribunal of Christ with their resurrected bodies to render an account of what they have done.[217] In 1312, the Council of Vienne stated that the intellectual soul is the form of the body.[218] The successor of Pope John XXII, Benedict XII (pope 1334–42), reiterated the position taken in his predecessor's final statement of retraction in the bull *Benedictus Deus* (29 January 1336), and decreed definitely (*in perpetuum valitura Constitutione auctoritate Apostolica diffinimus*) that purified souls enjoy the beatific vision immediately, even before the general judgement (*etiam ante resumptionem suorum corporum et iudicium generale*).[219] They are in Heaven with Christ and the angels (*sunt et erunt in caelo, caelorum regno et paradiso caelesti cum Christo, sanctorum Angelorum consortio congregatae*), where the divine essence immediately manifests itself plainly,

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214 "Nos, quia locum purgationis huiusmodi dicunt non fuisse sibi ab eorum doctoribus certo et proprio nomine indicatum, illum quidem iuxta traditiones et auctoritates sanctorum Patrum 'Purgatorium' nominantes volumus, quod de cetero apud ipsos isto nomine appelletur" (DH 838 (DS 456)).

215 DH 839 (DS 457).

216 "Ad poenas huiusmodi relevandas prodesse eis fidelium vivorum suffragia, Missarum scilicet sacrificia, orationes et eleemosynas et alia pietatis officia, quae a fidelibus pro aliis fidelibus fieri consueverunt secundum Ecclesiae instituta" (DH 855 (DS 464)).

217 DH 856 (DS 464).

218 DH 902 (DS 481). See *supra* on p. 110 n. 152.

219 DH 1000 (DS 530).

clearly, and openly to them (*divina essentia immediate se nude, clare et aperte eis ostendente*), and in this vision they enjoy the divine essence (*sic videntes eadem divina essentia perfruuntur*).[220] At the general judgement human persons with their bodies will have to render an account of their deeds before the tribunal of Christ.[221] A century later, the Council of Ferrara-Florence (1438–39) recapitulated the official teaching on the fate of the souls: the penitent souls that die without fulfilling their penance have to be purified after death, and the living faithful can assist them in this process.[222] The immaculate or completely purified souls are immediately received into Heaven, where they contemplate the triune God in His essence (*intueri clare ipsum Deum trinum et unum, sicuti est*) but in various degrees according to their merits (*pro meritorum tamen diversitate alium alio perfectius*).[223] Lastly, the souls in a state of mortal sin or subject to original sin descend into Hell, where they are punished with torments.[224] The immortality of the soul was promulgated at the Fifth Lateran Council (1512–17).[225] During Session VIII (1513), the council fathers condemned all that held the soul to be mortal: *Damnamus et reprobamus omnes asserentes animam intellectivam mortalem esse*.[226]

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[220] DH 1000 (DS 530).

[221] DH 1002 (DS 531).

[222] DH 1304 (DS 693). Cardinal Julian Cesarini (1398–1444) referred to *inter alios* Gregory the Great (see *supra* on p. 106), Basil the Great (see *supra* on p. 94), and Gregory of Nyssa (see *supra* on p. 95). On the Council's position on afterlife, see: James Jorgenson, *The Debate over the Patristic Texts on Purgatory at the Council of Ferrara-Florence, 1438*, in *St. Vladimir Theological Quarterly* 30 (1986), pp. 309–34; Giuseppe Alberigo (ed.), *Christian Unity. The Council of Ferrara-Florence 1438/39–1989*, (BETL 97), Leuven: UP, 1991; Joseph Gill, *The Council of Florence*, Cambridge: UP, 1959; Joseph Gill, *Personalities of the Council of Florence and Other Essays*, Oxford: Blackwell, 1964; Laurence J. James, *Byzantine Realpolitik and the Effects of Hesychasm Upon the Eastern Church Following the Council of Florence-Ferrara (1438–1445)*, in *PBR* 11 (1992), pp. 67–76; Michael S. Azkoul, *St. Gennadius Scholarius and the Latin Theological Tradition. An Introduction*, in *PBR* 10 (1991), pp. 167–72.

[223] DH 1305 (DS 693).

[224] DH 1306 (DS 693).

[225] Kristeller, *Eight Philosophers of the Italian Renaissance*, p. 47. On the history of the Fifth Lateran Council see: Carl Stange, *Luther und das fünfte Laterankonzil*, (StaS 24), Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1928; Nelson H. Minnich, *The Fifth Lateran council (1512–17). Studies on Its Membership, Diplomacy and Proposals for Reform*, (Variorum Collected Studies Series 392), Aldershot: Variorum, 1993.

[226] During Session X (4 May 1515), the council fathers also treated the matter of the printing press. They declared that the invention and improvement of the printing press had happened with the assistance of God, and that it had brought "many benefits to men and women" because "it is possible to possess a great number of books at small expense." These permit people to devote themselves to scholarly studies. But since there had been scandals caused by books "containing errors opposed to the faith as well as pernicious

To conclude our survey of the views of post-mortem beliefs in the Middle Ages and in the Renaissance, we can observe that theologians were not the only ones to show interest in the subject; philosophers and lay people also manifested concerns. Various positions were formulated: while philosophers concentrated on the metaphysical aspects of the post-mortem existence, the lay people and popular heterodox movements were concerned with the practical aspects of such beliefs. Thomas Aquinas was undoubtedly the foremost theologian of the era and his whose influence was felt for centuries. His theology constituted a balanced mix of *orthodoxy* and *orthopraxis* formulated in the language of the philosophy of his time based on Aristotle's writings. The official pronouncements of the Church show an incorporation of his theological language and the Aristotelian philosophy.

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views contrary to the Christian religion and to the reputation of prominent persons of rank," the council decreed that all printed books should be examined before publication. Other subjects treated at the council were: the condemnation and rejection of the decrees of the *conciliabulum* of Pisa (1511), the abrogation of the French Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges, peace among Christian rulers, church reform, and the defence of the faith against heresies. The council republished the bull of Julius (1505–06), which stated that simony invalidated a papal election.

CHAPTER THREE

VIEWS ON POST-MORTEM EXISTENCE IN THE EARLY REFORMATION PERIOD

Introduction

To understand the debate between William Tyndale and George Joye, it is essential to put it into its proper historico-theological context, namely, an ongoing theological dialogue resulting from the attempt of the early Reformers to reformulate the Christian faith by returning to what they understood as the original message of the Bible. This attempt by the early 16th-century theologians, which touched on all subjects of theology—dogmatics, ethics, liturgy, pastoral theology, cannon law, and even church history, ultimately all rooted in exegesis—was particularly productive on issues concerning some aspects of the post-mortem existence, even if the subject is treated systematically only subsequent to the Tyndale–Joye debate. It is clear from the previous chapter that this interest in post-mortem existence in the early Reformation period was neither unique nor without precedent. What was new, however, in the early Reformation period was the unanimous rejection of previous Scholastic theology by Protestant authors. In trying to establish a new, exclusively biblical foundation of the theology of post-mortem existence, the Reformers articulated opinions that bore similarities to many earlier propositions. These similarities, in most cases, were not the result of direct dependence, but their Catholic partners in the dialogue were keen to point them out, and in that regard it is useful to connect the position of the Reformers with the previously formulated standpoints.

The presentation of this ongoing theological quest will start with Wessel Gansfort's views on post-mortem existence. Although he lived before the Reformation and was not a Reformer, his works were published during the early Reformation period and influenced Luther and other Protestant writers profoundly. After Gansfort's ideas come the views of Catholic Reformer Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples. In his theology, an evolution can be detected from the defence of Catholic teaching to the profession of a more Protestant point of view. The positions taken by Martin Luther, Andreas Karlstadt, Gerhard Westerburg, Philipp Melanchthon, Huldrych Zwingli, Martin Bucer, Bartholomäus Westheimer, Heinrich Bullinger, Simon

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Fish, William Tracy, John Frith, and William Roye are then discussed. Of the reactions by Catholic apologists to the Protestant propositions, only the views of Thomas More and John Fisher are reviewed in some detail (together with a summary of a number of Catholic books defending Purgatory), as only these were relevant to the Tyndale–Joye debate. Finally, a short summary of the theology of the Anabaptists (a movement rather than a single author) is presented, as they, too, played a role in the controversy. The section discussing this group of radical Reformers is placed at the end of the chapter due to the fact that they were treated by their contemporaries as outsiders from mainstream Christianity. Both their theological views and their threatened position in society were to play an important role in the Tyndale–Joye debate.

A few methodological remarks should help the reader in following the train of thought in this chapter. (1) The ideas will be discussed by author rather than chronologically or thematically. Although this makes it more difficult to see an evolution and establish the interrelatedness of the ideas proposed (the presentation of which is not possible within the scope of this work), it will be easier to identify individual influences on the Tyndale–Joye debate itself and will make the identification of sources and judgements on their use easier. (2) None of the authors discussed treat post-mortem existence in a systematic or comprehensive way during the period examined. Protestant authors usually treated the subject of post-mortem existence in commentaries, sermons, or other, more general works. Consequently, their positions are not always clear, and not every aspect of such beliefs is covered. Their Catholic opponents usually reacted to the disputed positions, and their treatment of the question is focused only on those aspects that are called into question. It will therefore be impossible to present an all-embracing and complete picture of the authors. Also, points that bore little or no relevance to the debate were left out of consideration. (3) Although it may seem at times circumstantial, some attention will be paid to a number of *ad hominem* arguments made in various debates in the era. The reason for doing so is to familiarize the reader with the tone of such debates at that time so he or she is able to make better assessments of *ad hominem* arguments in the Tyndale–Joye debate.

Wessel Gansfort

In his known works, all dating from the last ten years he spent in his home town of Groningen, the Frisian theologian Jan Wessel Gansfort (or Goesport *c.*1410–89), a former student of Thomas à Kempis (1380–1471),

held some controversial views with regard to the infallibility of the Pope and of the ecumenical councils, and he questioned the spiritual effect of indulgences.[1] His ideas became influential among the early 16th-century Reformers and played an important role in shaping Protestant views on issues that included Purgatory and the afterlife.[2] Gansfort is therefore often seen as a precursor of Luther.[3]

One of his most influential writings was a collection of theses, random lists of propositions, parts of letters, and various sections of commentary

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[1] On his life and theology, see: C. Ullmann, *Johann Wessel, ein Vorgänger Luthers. Zur Characteristik der christlichen Kirche und Theologie in ihrem Uebergang aus dem Mittelalter in die Reformationszeit*, Hamburg: Perthè, 1834; B. Bähring, *Johann Wessels Leben*, 1846; Ödön Fizély, *Wessel Gansfort, eine dogmengeschichtliche Untersuchung*, Léva: Nyitrai, 1911; Edward Waite Miller, *Wessel Gansfort. Life and Writings*, 2 vols. Principal works trans. by Jared Waterbury Scudder, New York & London: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1917; Albert Hardenberg, *Life of Wessel of Groningen*, in Miller (ed.), *Wessel Gansfort, Life and Writings*, vol. 2, pp. 317–47; Maarten van Rhijn, *Studien over Wessel Gansfort en zijn tijd*, 1933; H.J.J. Wachters, *Wessel Gansfort*, (Kerkelijke geschiedenis 593; Voorloopers der hervorming 4), Mariënburg: Geert Groote Genootschap, 1940; L.D. Snyder, *Wessel Gansfort and the Art of Meditation*, Diss. Cambridge (MA), 1966; Heiko Augustinus Oberman (ed.), *Forerunners of the Reformation. The Shape of Late Medieval Thought Illustrated by Key Documents*, Philadelphia: Fortress, ([1]1966) 1981; Fokke Akkermann, Gerda Huisman & Arjo Vanderjagt, *Wessel Gansfort (1419–1489) and Northern Humanism*, (BSIH 40), Leiden: Brill, 1993; Arjo Vanderjagt, *Wessel Gansfort (1419–1489) and Rudolph Agricola (1443?–1485). Piety and Hebrew*, in Gudrun Litz, Heidrun Munzert & Roland Liebenberg (eds.), *Frömmigkeit—Theologie—Frömmigkeitstheologie. Contributions to European Church History*. FS für Berndt Hamm zum 60. Geburtstag, (SHCT 124), Leiden: Brill, 2005, pp. 159–72.

[2] Most of Gansfort's manuscripts were burned after his death. (Hardenberg, *Life of Wessel of Groningen*, p. 335). Those that were preserved in his correspondence were collected and later taken by Gansfort's confrère, Johannes Rhodius (Hinne Rode, d. *c.*1535), rector of the St Jerome School of the Brethren of Common Life in Utrecht, together with the Dutch lawyer Cornelis Hoen's treatise on the Lord's Supper, to Luther in Wittenberg in the winter of 1520–21 to affect Luther's position on the Eucharist. Later, Rhodius took them to Zwingli, Oecolampadius, and Bucer. See: Otto Clemen, *Hinne Rode in Wittenberg, Basel, Zürich und die frühesten Ausgaben Wesselscher Schriften*, in *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 18 (1898), pp. 346–72; Cebus Cornelis de Bruin, *Hinne Rode*, in *Het Sticht van Binnen en van Buijtenen. Bundel Opstellen over de Geschiedenis van de Provincie Utrecht, Aangeboden aan dr M.P. van Buijtenen bij diens Zeventigste verjaardag*, Utrecht: Vereniging Oud-Utrecht, 1981, pp. 191–208; Cornelis Andries Tukker, *Zwingli en de Nederlanden*, in Willem Balke, Willem van't Spijker, Cornelis Andries Tukker & Klaas Maarten Witteveen, *Zwingli in vierderlei perspectief*, Utrecht 1984, pp. 103–35; Otto J. de Jong, *Nederlandse kerkgeschiedenis*, Nijkerk [3]1985, pp. 87 and 91–92; James Tanis, *East Friesland and the Reformed Reformation*, in *Calvin Theological Journal* 26 (1991), pp. 313–49, esp. 319–21; Bart Jan Spruyt, *Ketter aan het Binnenhof. Cornelis Hoen en zijn tractaat tegen de transubstantiatieleer*, Heerenveen: Groen, 1997.

[3] Some of his unconventional but not necessarily heretical insights were misunderstood and radicalized by the Reformation. On major theological issues he maintained the Catholic teaching (e.g. freedom of will, veneration of the Blessed Virgin and the saints, merits of good works, the necessity of both Scripture and Sacred Tradition, etc.). His books were placed on the index long after his death, and Gansfort himself was never silenced or questioned.

grouped together under the title *Dr. Wesselus de Purgatorio. quis & qualis sit ignis purgatorius. De statu & profectu animarum post hanc vitam*.[4] The collection starts with three sets of axiomatic dogmatic propositions. The first set of 20 propositions concerns papal authority and jurisdiction in general, the second set of 13 propositions relates to papal authority with regard to indulgences, and the third set of 32 propositions affects the economy of grace and afterlife, including propositions on the *Thesaurus Ecclesiae* and on Purgatory.[5] One of these propositions (no. 25) is that neither the authority of prelates nor the validity of the sacraments can constitute immunity to sin.[6] In his next proposition (no. 26), Gansfort claimed that if someone cannot obtain immunity to sin for himself, neither can he decree impunity.[7] It is not difficult to see how these words can be taken as a denial of the interrelatedness of the Militant and the Suffering Churches.[8] Gansfort then argued that in order to be properly called a state of purgation, Purgatory has to purge one of impurities (*sordes, hoc est, peccata*).[9] Thus, Purgatory is a fire, but not so much a tormenting fire as a purging one, cleansing the inner person or the soul. Through death the soul is liberated from its captive prison, but it still has to be purged of the impurities that cling to it even after it has been released from the flesh.[10] Gansfort believed that this is the fire of which Paul wrote in 1 Cor. 3:11–15—the fire that will cleanse every person's works. It is clear, Gansfort argues, that Paul speaks here metaphorically, and not of a physical building with earthly materials of hay, wood, or straw which can be burned by natural fire. It is therefore just as clear that the fire of which Paul speaks cannot be physical fire.[11]

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[4] The collection of Gansfort's teachings entitled *Farrago* was published with Luther's foreword in Wittenberg at the beginning of 1522. Modern reprint: Wessel Gansfort, *Opera, Facsimile of the Edition Groningen 1614*, Nieukoop: de Graaf, 1966 [hereafter: Gansfort, *Opera omnia*]. The collection concerning Purgatory (*Dr. Wesselus de Purgatorio. quis & qualis sit ignis purgatorius. De statu & profectu animarum post hanc vitam*) is found on pp. 826–52.

[5] On indulgences and the *thesaurus ecclesiae*, see *supra* on p. 112.

[6] "25. Neq[ue] Prelatorum auctoritas, neq[ue] sacramentorum veritas in hac vita immunem constituunt à peccato" (Gansfort, *Opera omnia*, p. 829).

[7] "26. Qui non potest immunem à peccato reperire, non potest impunem decernere" (Gansfort, *Opera omnia*, p. 829).

[8] Cf. Craig Koslofsky, *Separating the Living from the Dead: Wessel Gansfort and the Death of Purgatory*, in *Essays in Medieval Studies* 10 (1993), p. 132.

[9] "29. Purgatorium, ut si verè purgatorium sit, oportet ut sordes purget" (Gansfort, *Opera omnia*, p. 829).

[10] "Purgatorius ignis est, qui interioris hominis sordes etia[m] carne soluti comitantes purgat potiùs, quàm torquet" (Gansfort, *Opera omnia*, p. 829).

[11] Gansfort, *Opera omnia*, p. 835.

Furthermore, Gansfort declares, physical pain or suffering by itself does not purify. Christ suffered a thousand times, yet he was not purified.[12] Nor will Lucifer ever be purged, despite his eternal torments.[13] No physical fire can therefore purify; only spiritual fire purges the soul. The fire that purges the soul is therefore not physical, but rather the passion of fiery love (*zelus ardentis amoris*) towards God. The purging is then not so much penal, but rather a spiritual process (*spirituale potiùs, quàm suppliciale*) by which one grows gradually in the love of God (*nisi augeatur, non purgatur*).[14] The state of the deceased is therefore not at all unpleasant, but rather fortunate, for there is no torment perpetrated by the devil and his angels at all.[15] This is what Paul hints at when he comforts the Thessalonians about the fate of the deceased in 1 Thes. 4:13. This, Gansfort claimed, is also the state of transition from imperfection into perfection of which Augustine, Gregory the Great, and William of Auvergne wrote.[16] If one understood this blissful state of the souls in Purgatory (which is a state rather than a place), one would rejoice for them.[17] For in this miserable world, Gansfort describes, we do everything as if by lamplight (*ad lumen lucernæ*). But Purgatory is "the dawn of the approaching day which the happy wayfarers (the deceased, who are absolved from all their infirmities) traverse until the sun shall clearly rise before them."[18] Passing through Purgatory is a gradual enlightenment for the souls until they reach the full light and behold God's presence.

He also taught that this illuminative purging is necessary for everyone, even the saints. Thus, Gansfort denied that the saints would enter into Paradise immediately after this life without first being purged. Once purged, the saints will reach a far better and more perfect state than Adam and Eve had in the Garden of Eden.[19] Furthermore, this purging will take place

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[12] "Omnium optimus, omnium pijssimus Dominus Iesus, mille cruciatus pertulit, nullatenùs tamen purgatus" (Gansfort, *Opera omnia*, p. 838).

[13] "Lucifer æternos cruciatus perferet, nullatenùs purgabitur" (Gansfort, *Opera omnia*, p. 838).

[14] Gansfort, *Opera omnia*, pp. 833 and 838.

[15] "In statu igitur non misero, non sub virga lictoris, aut in igne præparato diabolo & angelis ejus sed sub disciplina Patris instituentis, & eorum quotidiano profectu gaudentis" (Gansfort, *Opera omnia*, p. 834).

[16] Gansfort, *Opera omnia*, pp. 829, 834, and 837. For Augustine, see *supra* on p. 99. For Gregory the Great, see *supra* on p. 106. For William of Auvergne, see *supra* on p. 108.

[17] "Sunt igitur in tali statu quam si sciremus gauderemus" (Gansfort, *Opera omnia*, p. 834).

[18] "Solvente ab omnibus infirmitatibus [. . .] transeunt in illucescente[m] & adspirantem diem felices viatores, donec eis conspicuus oriatur sol" (Gansfort, *Opera omnia*, p. 856).

[19] Gansfort, *Opera omnia*, pp. 833 and 860.

neither in Hell nor in Heaven, but in *Paradise*.[20] Paradise and Purgatory are the same, for Paradise (as opposed to Heaven) is the medium between the sinners and the enlightened.[21] When Christ told the repenting Good Thief on the cross that he would be with Jesus on that day in Paradise, he meant in "Purgatory," Gansfort explained.[22]

It is often claimed that because of this celestial and blissful view of Purgatory, Gansfort believed that the souls in Purgatory were cut off from the living Church and that the suffrages for the deceased had no meaning and were not desirable.[23] That would mean that Gansfort separated the Church Militant on earth from the Church Suffering in Purgatory. Gansfort, however, claimed just the contrary. He asserted that having been released from this miserable life, he would want what God would want of him. And God would want him to proceed from the dawn of the approaching day into the light of the rising sun. He would have to pray for this, and this is also what the angels are praying for on behalf of the dead.[24] We also pray for the angels so that their blessed desire for us would be effective. And that is also what the entire Church is praying for, or at least what it should be praying for, Gansfort asserted.[25] And the deceased, on their part, pray for us that we shall be introduced into their happy society and that our prayers either for them or for ourselves will be more productive.[26] In other words, Gansfort not only did not deny the interrelatedness of the Churches Militant and Suffering, but emphatically asserted their union, extending it even to the angels.

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[20] "In hac luce purgari post mortem in conspectu Domini preciosam, hujus purgationis purgatorium locum credo paradisum"; "in pugatorio, hoc est, in paradiso"; and "congruentissimus igitur locus purgationi huic paradisus" (Gansfort, *Opera omnia*, pp. 833, 857, and 863, respectively).

[21] "Paradisus enim medius est debitores & comprehensores" (Gansfort, *Opera omnia*, p. 860).

[22] "Latro de cruce paradisum accepit purgatorium, quia interim adhuc viator" (Gansfort, *Opera omnia*, p. 833).

[23] E.g. "This point leads to Gansfort's central argument: intercession for the souls in Purgatory is both undesirable and impossible. No one should want to free souls from this Purgatory of enlightenment, and intercession of the Church is, in any case, useless" (Koslofsky, *Separating the Living from the Dead*, p. 133).

[24] "Volet autem, ut ex illucescente die in lumen solis orientis procedam. Hoc orare debebo. Idipsum orant angeli pro defunctis" (Gansfort, *Opera omnia*, p. 856).

[25] "Oramus etia[m] & nos pro angelis, quando oramus ut eorum beata desideria de nobis fiant efficacia. Idipsum orat Ecclesia tota, vel orare debet" (Gansfort, *Opera omnia*, p. 856).

[26] "Orant pro nobis defuncti, ut in illoru[m] felicem societatem traducemur [...] Defuncotrum pro nobis, quàm nostra felicior oratio, vel pro nobis, vel pro illis" (Gansfort, *Opera omnia*, p. 856).

Gansfort, however, did criticize a certain contemporaneous Catholic practice of prayers for the souls in Purgatory. In these prayers the believer prayed for the dead as if they were still wayfarers because they sought and found not, and they called and were not answered (cf. Can. 5:6). In other words, the dead are identified with the bride in the Song of Songs. Of her, however, it is said that she is beautiful (*tota pulchra*) and spotless (*immaculata*; Can. 4:7), which cannot be said of the dead souls who are being purged. Therefore, Gansfort claimed, this prayer, albeit one emanating from piety, contains errors and is undesirable.[27] Even piety does not justify the confusion of prayer with errors. But prayers for the sanctification and illumination of the souls, and that they may soon reach the full light and may behold all treasures of the house of God in Christ, are desirable to be offered to God by the miserable ones (*miserabiles*, i.e. the living). Such prayers are already being offered by the blessed angels and by the happy ones (*felices*, i.e. the dead) themselves, Gansfort accentuated.[28] He claimed that such prayers offered wisely and righteously ascend and appear before God like incense (cf. Rev. 8:3f), and these prayers for the dead are called the baptism in the Holy Spirit, which the primitive Church practiced on behalf of the dead (1 Cor. 15:29).[29]

It is clear from what has been said that Gansfort believed in the possibility of growth and progress for the human soul after death. In the process of purification, the soul is drawn to God by a diminishment of selfish love of the soul towards itself and a growth of love towards God. But he went a step further. For the Frisian theologian, the possibility of the soul growing and evolving after death also entails that the souls of those who never heard the Gospel during their earthly life will get a chance to know the Gospel after the physical death of the body. This is what the first letter of Peter refers to when it says that the Gospel was proclaimed even to the dead, in order that they might be judged as the persons in the flesh but live according to the spirit (*propter hoc enim et mortuis evangelizatum est ut iudicentur quidem secundum homines in carne vivant autem secundum Deum spiritu*. 1 Pt. 4:6).[30] Gansfort was convinced that only those to whom the Gospel has been preached can be justifiably condemned.[31]

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[27] "De tali ego dixi oratione me dubitare, si velle[m] pro me defuncto fieri devotoru[m] orationes" (Gansfort, *Opera omnia*, p. 856).

[28] Gansfort, *Opera omnia*, p. 856.

[29] Gansfort, *Opera omnia*, pp. 856–57.

[30] Gansfort, *Opera omnia*, p. 846.

[31] "21. Quòd soli evangelisati per magnum Evangelist am idoneè dispositi sunt, ut æterno judicio judicentur" (Gansfort, *Opera omnia*, p. 846).

The purpose of Christ's descent into Hell (1 Pt. 3:18–22) was precisely to preach the Gospel to all who died before Christ and who are to be judged by Christ, in order that they may be justly judged through the preaching of Christ himself.[32] Nonetheless, not every soul will be saved, because there are souls that reject the Gospel even when given this second chance.[33]

To conclude the survey of Gansfort's position on the post-mortem existence, a final remark should be made. While speaking about the state of the soul after death, Gansfort used the verb 'to sleep' (*dormire*) twice. He applied it to describe the rest of Lazarus' soul at Abraham's bosom (*Vere dilecti, vere dato somno dormientes in pace in idipsum, & requiescentes*) and in his exhortation to pray for the deceased (*quemadmodum pro illis, ita pro dormientibus exorare*).[34] Despite occasional claims to the contrary, there is nothing to suggest that he would have believed that souls were unconscious after death, or that he would have believed in what later became known as 'soul sleep' (*psychosomnolence*).[35] From Gansfort's description of the gradual purification process and growth in the love of God, it is obvious that he conceived the souls of the departed to be active. It is therefore safe to conclude that Gansfort's use of the expression 'to sleep' is simply an allusion to the biblical usage of the word.[36]

Erasmus

Erasmus' influence on the theology of the early Reformation period is immeasurable. His call to put the Bible into the hands of the common people, exemplified by the "ploughboy" (an idea popularized by Tyndale), had been followed by Luther, Tyndale, Joye, and many other translators. With his bilingual Greek-Latin NT editions, Erasmus supplied a readily available Greek text for these fresh vernacular translations. His choice of words, departing from the accepted parlance and attracting much criticism from traditionalist circles, was echoed not only in the new Protestant

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[32] "Omnes ergo per Christum judicandi ante per ipsum Christum, ut justè judicentur, praedicantem evangelisabuntur" (Gansfort, *Opera omnia*, p. 845).

[33] "14. Quòd illi evangelisati, post quàm Christus venit & evangelisavit, sinon credant, excusationem non habent de peccato" (Gansfort, *Opera omnia*, p. 846).

[34] Gansfort, *Opera omnia*, pp. 849 and 851, respectively.

[35] E.g. Williams, *The Radical Reformation* ([1]1962)[3rev] 1992, p. 197.

[36] Some of the advocates of the idea of soul sleep were already interpreting Gansfort in such a way during the Reformation period.

translations but also in some Catholic Erasmian vernacular Bibles.[37] His works were read and praised by the Reformers. His views on post-mortem existence therefore bear great significance for our study of the topic. In this regard, the clarifications of his motives in establishing, translating, and expounding upon the text of 1 Cor. 15:51 will receive particular attention, as Erasmus' translation of the passage featured in three controversies, which accused him of "taking away resurrection" and questioned his orthodoxy. His *Explanatio symboli apostolorum*, an explanation of the Apostolic Creed and published in 1533, gives him the opportunity to explain the Catholic standpoint on the topic in detail. This book will be referred to by Joye in his *Apologye*, and is therefore of special interest to us.

In early 1519 Erasmus published his *Paraphrases in the Two Letters of Paul to Corinthians* in Leuven at the press of Dirk Martens.[38] The preliminary matters included a dedicatory preface in the form of a letter dated 5 February to Érard de la Marck (1472–1538), prince-bishop of Liège (1506–38). In this prefatory letter Erasmus gave an account of the letters to the Corinthians. He described how in Paul's time worldly (Greek) philosophy opposed the idea of resurrection of the dead, which, according to Erasmus, Paul believed to be the "foundation and the crown of our belief" (*caput ac basis est nostræ professionis*).[39] In spite of Paul's effort, Erasmus continued, this heresy still existed in Erasmus' own time, "for in Italy every year in sermons before the people they try to defend the resurrection, thinking that they will be home and dry on this question, once they can show that Aristotle did not entirely abolish the immortality of the soul."[40] Apparently the sermons were ineffective, because "there are men, and particularly men in high worldly station, who live as if they have no belief whatever in a future life."[41] Erasmus continued by lamenting the fact that Paul has not written about such questions as

[37] See e.g. Arblaster, Cats. 59, 60, 61, 66, 67, 80, 81, and 84 in *TT*, pp. 118–19, 123–24, and 133–37; Latré, Cat. 92 in *TT*, pp. 148–49; Juhász, Cats. 89, 90, 102, and 103 in *TT*, pp. 142–43; 159–61.

[38] Erasmus, *Paraphrasis in duas epistolas Pauli ad Chorintos*, Leuven: Dirk Martens, 30 January 1519. The book was reprinted in March 1519 in Basel by Froben.

[39] Allen, III, no. 916 on p. 488, English trans.: *CWE* VI, p. 246.

[40] "Apud Italos quotannis in publicis concionibus conantur asserere resurrectionem, existimantes rem in portu forte, si docuerint Aristotelem non sustulisse prorsus immortalitatem animarum" (Allen, III. no. 916 on p. 488. English trans.: *CWE* VI, p. 246).

[41] "Certe, quod est in propatulo, sic viuunt quidam, presertim potentes in hoc mundo, quasi de futuro seculo nihil omnino credant" (*ibidem*).

> whether souls exist separate from the body and where they exist; whether they enjoy the glory of immortality; whether souls of the wicked are in torment now, whether our prayers or other good actions are of any service to them, whether an indulgence from the pope frees them all of a sudden from punishment.[42]

Had God revealed the truth about these questions to us through Paul, there would not be so many people who "are in doubt on these points, or at any rate dispute about them."[43] Hinting probably at Pomponazzi, Erasmus' remark testifies to the fact that the question was not at all settled, in spite of the doctrinal pronouncements.[44]

Erasmus' attention to the issues of resurrection and afterlife is certainly not coincidental. His orthodoxy concerning the resurrection in his text and translation of 1 Cor. 15:51 was questioned by at least three persons. Writing from Leuven in the summer of 1520, Erasmus himself relates the story of one of these attacks to both Hermann von dem Busch (1468–1534) and to Martin Luther.[45] In what follows, I will follow Erasmus' account in these letters. On a spring day in 1519, Dr. Henry Standish, who had been opposing Erasmus' NT translation for some time, was preaching in St Paul's Churchyard in London.[46] Erasmus reports that during his sermon, Standish "suddenly forgot all decency and charity" (the topic on which he had started to preach) and began to "rave" against Erasmus' NT translation.[47] In his sermon he repeated his critique of Erasmus' rendering Jn. 1:1 with *In prin-*

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[42] "An extent animæ semotæ a corpore, et vbinam extent, an fruantur immortalitatis gloria, an impiorum animæ iam nunc crucientur, an eis subueniant nostræ preces aut alia benefacta, an indulgentia summi Pontificis subito liberentur a pœnis" (*ibidem*).

[43] "Super hisce rebus ambigere, aut certe disputare" (*ibidem*).

[44] For Pomponazzi, see *supra* on p. 120. For the pronouncements of the Church, see *supra* on pp. 121–123.

[45] Erasmus to Hermann von dem Busch, on 31 July 1520, Leuven, published in Allen, IV, n. 1126 on pp. 309–18; Erasmus to Martin Luther on 1 August [1520], published in Allen, VIII, n. 1127[a] on pp. xlvi–xlviii. On Hermann von dem Busch, see: Hermann Joseph Liessem, *Hermann van dem Busche. Sein Leben und seine Schriften*, Nieuwkoop: De Graaf, 1965; Walter Friedensburg, *Geschichte der Universität Wittenberg*, Halle (Saale): Max Niemeyer, 1917, *passim*, esp. p. 72. Erasmus stayed in Leuven upon the request of Charles V, who appointed Erasmus as councillor and obliged him to live within travelling distance of the court at Brussels (see: Allen, no. 370).

[46] On Henry Standish (d. 1535), bishop of St Asaph (1518–35) as well as the warden and subsequently the provincial of the Minorites at London, see: Andrew G. Little, *The Grey Friars in Oxford*, (OHS 20), Oxford: Clarendon, 1891, reprint: Whitefish: Kessinger Publishing, 2006, pp. 271–74; Frederick Maurice Powicke, *Reformation in England*, London: Oxford UP, 1942, pp. 17–18; Philip Hughes, *Reformation in England*, vol. 1 *The King's Proceedings*, London: Hollis & Carter, 1954, pp. 151–54.

[47] "Cunque sermonem exorsus esset a charitate, subito pudoris omnis simul et charitatis oblitus, cœpit debacchari in nomen ac famam meam" (Allen, IV, p. 310).

cipio erat sermo instead of the traditional phrase *In principio erat verbum*.[48] Later the same day, Standish was dining at court.[49] Sir Thomas More and the royal chaplain, John Stokesley, sat at the table with him and provoked him to discuss this passage and Erasmus' choice of words. When More pointed out to him that the Vulgate uses *sermo* in Wis. 18:15, Standish still expressed his aversion to Erasmus' books, which made him fear destructive heresies and disastrous schisms. When pressed to speak more specifically, Standish named three items "counting the points out on his fingers."[50] His three points were (1) Erasmus' taking away the resurrection, (2) making the sacrament of matrimony worthless, and (3) holding false views on the Eucharist.[51] When he was asked to prove his points, Standish referred to Erasmus' rendering of 1 Cor. 15:51.[52] The second half of this verse in the Vulgate reads as follows: *omnes quidem resurgemus sed non omnes inmutabimur* (all of us will rise, but not all of us will be changed). This reading reflects a Greek text (πάντες μὲν ἀναστησόμεθα, οὐ πάντες δὲ ἀλλαγησόμεθα) for which there is no extant attestation, but a very similar reading is found in the Greek of the *prima manus* of the 6th-century Codex Claromontanus (D* 06): πάντες ἀναστησόμεθα, οὐ πάντες δὲ ἀλλαγησόμεθα.[53] Since this codex was not consulted by Erasmus, and since his five Greek manuscripts were unanimous, he accepted their reading in the continuous text: πάντες μὲν οὐ κοιμηθησόμεθα, πάντες δὲ ἀλλαγησόμεθα.[54] He rendered this reading

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[48] Standish had been criticizing Erasmus' choice of wording since the publication of the Greek-Latin NT. (See Erasmus to Peter Barbirius on 17 July 1517, published in Allen, III, n. 608, on p. 21.)

[49] Since his support of the King in Convocation on the issue of 'criminous clerks' (the punishment of clerics by lay tribunals) in December 1515, Standish had enjoyed the favour of Henry VIII, who first appointed him bishop (1518), and later ambassador to Hamburg (1524) and examiner of heretics (1525).

[50] Allen, IV, p. 312.

[51] "'Primum' inquit 'Erasmus tollit resurrectionem. Deinde nihili facit sacramentum matrimonii. Postremo male sentit de Eucharistia'" (*ibidem*). Standish only expounds upon the first accusation, but not the others.

[52] In his 1522 edition of the NT, Erasmus mentions in the annotations to 1 Cor. 15:51, that his Latin translation of this verse procured accusations against him. Without mentioning Standish, Lee (see *infra* p. 141), or Nicholas Baechem of Egmont (see *infra* p. 142) by name, he intimates that he was accused of taking away the resurrection: "Alter in corona frequenti nobilium & eruditorum hominum apud summos principes, impegit, quod tollerem resurrectionem, propterea quod concederem non asseuerarem, aliquos in aduentu domini non morituros" (Erasmus, NT, 1535, p. 518).

[53] The reading is also attested to in Latin by various mss of the *Itala*, and by many, mainly Western Church Fathers (*inter alios* Marcion, Tertullian, Jacob of Nisibis, Ambroisaster, Hilary, Ambrose, Augustine, and John of Damascus).

[54] Erasmus made use of the 11th-century Cod. 2817, the 12th-century Codd. 1 and 2815, and the 15th-century Cod. 2816. This reading is also attested to by the second corrector

into Latin with *Non omnes quidem dormiemus, omnes tamen immutabimur* (not all of us will fall asleep but all of us will be changed).

Erasmus was certainly not the first in the West to argue for this reading. The Florentine diplomat and Humanist scholar Gianozzo Manetti (1396–1459) had translated the passage earlier by combining two of the attested readings in the following paradoxical way: *Omnes quidem resurgemus, sed non omnes immutabimur. Omnes quidem non dormiemus. Omnes autem immutabimur*.[55] His work, however, remained in manuscript form and was in all probability unknown to Erasmus. Later, independently from Manetti, the Italian Humanist Lorenzo Valla (*c.*1406–57) cited the passage in his *Annotations*, adhering even more closely to the Greek word order, in the following way: *omnes quidem non dormiemus, sed omnes immutabimur*.[56] Erasmus, who edited Valla's work and thus knew it thoroughly, rather follows Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples' (*c.*1450–1536) translation more closely but without acknowledgement.[57] Lefèvre had rendered the text in his translation of the Pauline Corpus with the following words:

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of the Codex Claromontanus (D^2 06), by Ψ, 075, and by a number of later mss in the Byzantine textual tradition (𝔐). The reading without the particle μέν (i.e.: πάντες μὲν οὐ κοιμηθησόμεθα, πάντες δὲ ἀλλαγησόμεθα) is supported by a wide range of mss. This is considered today as "the reading which best explains for the origin of the others" (Bruce Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament*, London & New York: UBS, 1971, *ad locum*, p. 568). Based on the arguments of transcriptional probability, as well as external and internal evidence, this last reading is printed in all contemporary text critical editions. On these and yet other variant readings of this verse and their textual critical evaluation, see also: Phillip Oppenheim, *1 Kor. 15,51. Eine kritische Untersuchung zu Text und Auflassung bei den Vätern*, in *Theologische Quartalschrift* 112 (1931), pp. 92–135; Alberto Vaccari, *Il testo 1 Cor. 15,51*, in *Biblica* 13 (1932), pp. 73–76; Kurt Aland, *Text und Textwert der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments. 2. Die Paulinischen Briefe*, vol. 2/2, (Arbeiten zur neutestamentlichen Textforschung 17), Berlin: de Gruyter, 1991, pp. 317–21; Juhász, *Being With Christ*, pp. 28–31.

[55] Cited by Andrew J. Brown in *ASD* VI/3, p. 327. But Paul Arblaster has rightly pointed out that "medieval manuscripts sometimes give textual variants in a 'run-on' fashion, often separating them only with an interlinear ⁊ for *vel*—something not all editors are aware of" (private communication).

[56] Lorenzo Valla, *Laurentii Vallensis … In latinam noui testamenti interpretationem ex collatione græcorum exemplarium adnotationes apprime vtiles*, ed. Desiderius Erasmus Roterodamus, Jodocus Badius, Paris: Iehan Petit, 1505.

[57] On Lefèvre, see *infra* on p. 152. De Jonge suggested that the verbal similarities between Erasmus and Lefèvre are not sufficient to determine that Erasmus borrowed from Lefèvre (Henk Jan de Jonge, *The Relation of Erasmus' Translation of the New Testament to that of the Pauline Epistles by Lefèvre d'Étaples*, in *Erasmus in English*, no. 15 (1987–88), pp. 2–7). But Andrew J. Brown argues that "there is a heightened suspicion that Erasmus' translation owed an unacknowledged debt to Lefèvre's work" (*ASD* VI/3, p. 15). According to Brown, this "borrowing" does not amount to outright "plagiarism," since "it was a matter of borrowing a word here, and a phrase there" (*ibidem*). On concepts of copyright, 'plagiarism,' etc., see *infra* on p. 328.

non omnes quidem dormiemus, omnes autem immutabimur.[58] But neither Valla's nor Lefèvre's work aroused the sort of opposition that Erasmus had to face on account of his work.

In his letter to von dem Busch, Erasmus points to the annotations in his NT. In the annotations he reviewed the variant readings of the verse together with the available Patristic evidence for those readings from Jerome, Theophylactus, Chrysostom, Tertullian, Origen, Ambrose, and Augustine.[59] One of his motives to put the uncommon reading in the continuous text is a consequence of a principle of textual criticism: *lectio difficilior potior*.[60] In the second edition of his NT (1519), Erasmus adds a comment to the annotations on this verse where he explicitly formulates the principle: whenever there are various readings attested to by the ancient authorities, he writes in 1519, there is always one that seems to be more respectable, viz. the one that at first sight seems more absurd. For this more absurd reading is likely to offend an insufficiently knowledgeable or inattentive reader by its apparent absurdity, and so the offended copyist altered the text, Erasmus explained.[61] In the following edition (1522) he corroborates his preference for the more difficult reading with arguments of intrinsic probability. This is most likely what has happened, Erasmus writes: the reader, who was not aware of the fact that Paul was talking here about the resurrection of the just, was probably

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[58] Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples, *S. Pauli epistolae XIV ex Vulgata, adiecta intelligentia ex graeco, cum commentariis*, Paris: Henri Estienne, 1512. Facsimile edition printed in Stuttgart: Frommann-Holzboog, 1978.

[59] Jerome, *Ad Minervium et Alexandrum monachos*; Chrysostom, *In Epistulam ad Romanos*, XI; Tertullian, *De resurrectione carnis* XLII; Origen, *Contra Celsum*, V; Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, XX,20 and *De octo quaestionibus Dulcitii*, qu. III,3.

[60] On Erasmus' practice of textual criticism, see: Jerry H. Bentley, *Erasmus' Annotations in Novum Testamentum and the Textual Criticism of the Gospels*, in *ARg* 67 (1976), pp. 48–49; Jerry H. Bentley, *Biblical Philology and Christian Humanism. L. Valla and Erasmus as Scholars of the Gospels*, in *SCJ* 8 (1977), pp. 9–28; Jerry Bentley, *Erasmus, Jean Le Clerc and the Principle of the Harder Reading*, in *RQ* 31 (1978), pp. 309–21; Jerry H. Bentley, *Humanists and Holy Writ. New Testament Scholarship in the Renaissance*, Princeton: UP, 1983, pp. 153–58; Jan Leendert Hartog Krans, *Beyond What Is Written. Erasmus and Beza as Conjectural Critics of the New Testament*, Ph.D. dissertation, University of Amsterdam (available through Zutphen: Wöhrmann Print Service), 2004.

[61] "Et quoties ueteres fatentur lectionem esse diuersam, semper mihi suspectior esse solet ea quæ prima specie uidetur absurdior, ut consentaneum sit, lectorem uel parum eruditum, uel parum attentum, offensum absurditatis imagine, mutasse scripturam" (Erasmus, NT, 1535, p. 517; *ASD* VI,8, p. 310). On the difficulty of translating "suspectior" in this sentence, see Krans, *Beyond What Is Written*, pp. 43–45. Krans suggests that a 'non' is missing from the sentence, but his conjecture is not necessary, since the meanings 'to look up,' 'to esteem,' 'to respect,' and 'to admire' of the verb *suspicio* are widely attested to (cf. Charlton T. Lewis & Charles Short, *A Latin Dictionary*, Oxford: Clarendon, 1879, *ad vocem*).

puzzled when reading that everyone shall be changed (*immutabimur*), since the 'change' (*immutatio*) of which Paul speaks refers to "the transition to blissful immortality."[62] The inattentive reader was then at more of a loss when he continued to read Paul's words in the following sentence, where he writes: "and the dead will rise incorruptible, and we will be changed" (*et mortui resurgent incorrupti et nos immutabimur*). But this sentence is only an apposition to the previous sentence, spelling out the difference between those who died before the coming of Christ (these individuals will rise incorruptible) on the one hand, and those still alive at the coming of Christ on the other. The latter, although they will not die, will be changed into the same state of immortality as those who had died and will be resurrected at the second coming.[63] Erasmus appeals to the reader for judgement: "Vides optime lector quàm hic nihil sit quod in me debeat reprehendi."[64]

Nonetheless, Erasmus emphasizes that he did not reject any of the readings, but he opts to translate the reading that is found in the Greek manuscripts that were available to him. He stresses that Jerome knew about this 'bizarre' reading, and that this is the way Theophylactus and Chrysostom cite the passage. Also, Origen's words point to such an understanding of the passage. Erasmus indicates that intrinsic evidence, too, can corroborate this reading, for Paul was clearly expressing his expectation of being alive at the return of Christ (cf. 1 Thes. 4:15). The reading of the Vulgate, which is followed by Augustine, does not contradict the reading found in the Greek manuscripts, Erasmus explains. The reading, which maintains that we will all rise (*omnes quidem resurgemus*), refers to the deceased, and it means that although everyone will rise on the last day, the change that some of us will not undergo (*sed non omnes immutabimur*) concerns entering into bliss (*immutari sit proprium transeuntis ad vitam beatam*); this follows Augustine's explanation of the verse.[65] This reading therefore suggests that only the just will be changed, for only they will enter into heavenly bliss.

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[62] "Siquidem immutationem hic appellat transitum ad felicem immortalitatem" (Erasmus, NT, 1535, p. 518).

[63] "Nec animaduertit Paulum hic separasse pios mortuos à pijs uiuis: quum ait, Et mortui resurgent incorrupti, sentit de pijs qui iam ante Christi aduentum obdormierant in Christo, quum addit, Et nos immmutabimur, explicat id quod paulo ante cœperat dicere, Non omnes quidem dormiemus, sed omnes immutabimur" (Erasmus, NT, 1535, p. 518).

[64] Erasmus, NT, 1535, p. 518.

[65] Erasmus, NT, 1535, p. 516.

But for Erasmus, accepting the more difficult reading does not mean that the traditional reading or any other reading would necessarily be false. The variant reading, of which Augustine himself exhibits knowledge—that all of us will fall asleep, but not all of us will be changed (*omnes quidem dormiemus, sed non omnes immutabimur*)—can also be accepted, Erasmus suggests, for all of us will die, but not all of us will enter into glory. Finally, the third variant reading—that not all of us will fall asleep, but all of us will be changed (*omnes quidem non dormiemus, sed omnes immutabimur*)—can also be accepted, as the first part of the sentence refers to those who will be alive at the second coming of Christ, while the second part of the sentence refers only to the just, as Origen understood the passage, Erasmus maintains.[66] Two seemingly contradictory sentences can be true at the same time. Erasmus elucidates this seeming contradiction with the following example: one's statement, speaking about the theologians in Leuven, that "all theologians are sincere," does not contradict someone else's statement that "not all theologians are sincere" if the latter assertion is spoken about theologians in general.[67] Also, Jerome affirms that the living will be transformed into the glory of immortality (*uiui transformentur ad gloriam immortalitatis*) in his letter to Mercella (third question).[68] This does not mean that Paul believed that some people will not die. The living will die all of a sudden in the rapture and will be immediately revived.[69] Paul's point is therefore about the deceased, who will be resurrected just like the seed that is sown in the earth. Erasmus then quotes a pseudo-Augustinian writing to confirm that there can be a difference in opinion on what happens to the persons still alive at the second coming of Christ, but that these differing views should

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[66] "Siquidem totus hic sermo non ad omnes homines communiter, sed ad iustos proprie pertinet" (Erasmus, NT, 1535, p. 517). In his *Apologia*, Erasmus adds the possibility that the first part of the sentence might refer to Elijah or Enoch, who have been said to be transferred alive to Heaven: "Cum igitur *Paulus* explicaturus modum resurrectionis dixisset, non omnes quidem morituros, (sive hoc dictum sit propter *Eliam* & *Enoch*, sive propter eos quos adventus *Christi* deprehendet vivos) sed tamen omnes immutandos ad immortalitatem, & eos qui revixerint, & eos quos subitus adventus *Christi* deprehenderit in vita, quod in genere proposuerat, pergit explanare disctinctius" (*LB* IX. col. 436).

[67] "Nec hoc magis mirum, quàm si duo simul uerum dicant, quum alter pronunciet omnes theologos esse synceros, de Louaniensibus sentiens: alter, non omnes theologos esse synceros, de cunctis in genere sentiens" (Erasmus, NT, 1535, p. 517).

[68] Erasmus, NT, 1535, p. 517.

[69] "Credamus uiuos in subito in ipso raptu morituros ac reuicturos" (Erasmus, NT, 1535, p. 517).

not necessarily be considered heretical opinions unless they are proposed with heretical purposes.[70]

But let us return to Erasmus' account of Standish's charges against him. When More enumerates these Patristic arguments to the bishop, Standish is forced to admit that the variant reading presented by Erasmus was indeed known to Jerome and to the 'early' and 'orthodox' Church Fathers; but Jerome, Standish maintained, "restored the original Hebrew" in his translation.[71] For, Erasmus explains, Standish believed that Jerome, just as he did with the OT, translated this passage in the Pauline corpus from Hebrew sources.[72] To expose Standish's stupidity, the royal chaplain John Stokesley asks Standish to repeat "this idiocy" (*ille stolidam*), and (to ensure full attention) he asks for royal permission to formulate an answer on such a grave matter. When he is granted leave to answer, Stokesley professes that he can hardly formulate an apt answer to such an argument because he cannot possibly suppose that Standish "would be so deranged" that he could believe that the Pauline epistles were first written in Hebrew, when even a schoolboy knows that they were written in Greek.[73] Why would Jerome change the communal reading from Hebrew books, Stokesley asks, when it is customary to base the changes on the sources, and nobody has ever claimed to have seen those letters written in Hebrew?[74] At this point the stupidity (*stultam*) and absurdity (*absurdam*) of Standish's position were clear to all present, Erasmus writes, but Stokesley kept repeating and

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[70] "Verum quia sunt & alij æque catholici & eruditi uiri, qui credunt anima in corpore manente, immutandos ad incorruptionem & immortalitatem eos qui in aduentu domini uiui sunt, & hoc eis imputari pro resurrectione ex mortuis, quod mortalitatem immutatione deponant, non morte, quo libet quis acquiescat modo, non est hæreticus, nisi ex contentione hæreticus fiat. Sufficit enim in ecclesiæ lege carnis resurrectionem credere futuram de morte" (Erasmus, NT, 1535, p. 517). The *Liber de dogmatibus ecclesiastibus* is now universally attributed to Gennadius of Marseilles (fl. end of 5th century). Erasmus quotes chapter 6 (*PL* 42, col. 1215 = *PL* 58, col. 983). For Augustine's view, see *supra* on p. 100.

[71] "Fassus est esse verum, et hanc lectionem recenseri a veteribus orthodoxis, et nominatim ab Hieronymo: 'sed hoc' inquit 'Hieronymus reposuit ex Hebreo'" (Allen, IV, p. 313).

[72] "Audierat vir egregius Hieronymum quædam ex Hebreorum fontibus restituisse in Vetero Testamento, et putabat idem habere locum in Paulinus Epistolis" (Allen, IV, p. 313).

[73] "'Profecto' inquit, 'non satis video quibus rationibus isti argumento possit occuri, aut quid responderi debeat pro ipsius dignitate. Neque enim opinior R.P. vsqueadeo delirare vt exisitimet eas epistolas primum Hebraice scriptas fuisse, cum pueri quoque sciant a Paulo Græce scriptas esse" (Allen, IV, p. 313).

[74] "Quod autem fuisset illud Hieronymi consilium ex Hebræis voluminibus mutantis publicam lectionem, cum ex fontibus id fieri soleat, cumque nemo testetur has epistolas vlli visas Hebraice descriptas?" (Allen, IV, p. 313).

emphasizing his argument to the point that Henry felt pity for so much idiocy (*tantæ stoliditatis*) exhibited in the midst of such exalted people and changed the subject.[75]

Erasmus' personal remarks on Standish are not very amiable, to say the least. What could be more insane, Erasmus asked, than to accuse him of taking away the resurrection by changing in one place the word *resurrectio*, when Paul confirms it in so many passages?[76] In his letter to Luther, Erasmus calls Standish a "well-known madman" (*ille furiosus*), "insane" (*vesanus*), and "dense" (*stolidus*).[77] Standish's idea is called an "absurdity" (*deliramentum*) that would seem to be "insane" (*insana*) to any table company, let alone to the highest rulers and the most educated people. Who can suppose that Standish would have even a morsel of sanity (*habere micam sanæ mentis*)? Erasmus asks.[78] Also in his letter to von dem Busch, Erasmus jeered at Standish, the *senex theologus*, for confusing Corinthians with Colossians, and in his usual satirical tone Erasmus asks rhetorically, "who could believe that this person has any brains?"[79]

The question of Erasmus' textual changes to the wording of the Vulgate in 1 Cor. 15:51 crops up again in Erasmus' debate with Edward Lee.[80] The conflict between Lee and Erasmus started when Lee went to Leuven to improve his Greek. When Erasmus faulted him in a public letter in May 1518, Lee composed a list of some 300 erroneous passages in Erasmus' NT.

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[75] Allen, IV, p. 313.

[76] "Iam cum resurrectio tot locis apud Paulum comprobetur, quid insanius dici poterat quam sublatam esse resurrectionem, si vno loco mutata fuerit vox resurrectionis?" (Allen, IV, pp. 312–13).

[77] Allen, VIII, pp. xlv–xlvi.

[78] Allen, VIII, p. xlvi.

[79] "Quis crederet huic homini esse cerebrum?" (Allen, IV, p. 312).

[80] Edward Lee (*c.*1482–1544) was born into a wealthy Kentish family as the son of a former lord mayor of London. He was educated in Oxford, Cambridge, Leuven, and Bologna. In 1504 he was ordained deacon and for some time was chaplain to Richard Foxe, bishop of Winchester, and later to Henry VIII. He was sent on various diplomatic missions, but his controversy with Erasmus (1520) made him *persona non grata* in Spain. In 1531 he was appointed archbishop of York. He was a friend of John Fisher, John Colet, and Thomas More. He died in 1544. art. *Edward Lee* in IS ODNB; Henry DE VOCHT, *Literae virorum eruditorum ad Franciscum Craneveldium, 1522–1528. A Collection of Original Letters*, (Receuil de travaux publiés par les membres des conférences d'histoire et de philologie; Humanistica Lovaniensia 1), Louvain: Librairie Universitaire, 1928, Ep. 254, n. 31; Erika Rummel's *Introduction* to *CWE* 72, pp. xii–xiv. On Lee's controversy with Erasmus, see: August BLUDAU, *Die beiden ersten Erasmus-Ausgaben des Neuen Testaments und ihre Gegner*, in *Biblische Studien* 7 (1902), pp. 86–125; BENTLEY, *Humanists and Holy Writ*, pp. 195–213; Robert COOGAN, *The Pharisee Against the Hellenist. Edward Lee Versus Erasmus*, in *RQ* 39 (1986), pp. 476–506; Marjorie O'ROURKE BOYLE, art. *Edward Lee*, in Peter G. BIETENHOLTZ & Thomas B. DEUTSCHER (eds.), *Contemporaries of Erasmus*, Toronto: UP, 1985–87, pp. 311–14.

After having circulated this list in manuscript form among his friends, Lee published his critique in 1520.[81] He attacked Erasmus for changing the Sacred Scripture on his own, human authority, arguing that by adopting variant readings, Erasmus created a multitude of Gospels.[82] Erasmus reacted immediately with his *Apologia qua respondet duabus invectivis Edvardi Lei*. In his *Apologia*, Erasmus pointed out that there are innumerable variant readings found even in the Latin manuscripts, that the Church often uses different translations (of the Psalms) in the liturgy and in the readings, and even printed Latin versions of the Vulgate translation differ among themselves.[83] He argues, therefore, for the educated reader's right to discern based on the manuscript evidence and the quotations from the Fathers, but for that reader to ultimately rely on the authority of the Church.[84]

Erasmus complains that when he translates the Greek text in a way that differs from the Vulgate, Lee charges him with doing violence to the reading of the Church in a bold and impious manner. In fact, Lee repeatedly indicted Erasmus for heresy. Lee also charged Erasmus with stealing his ideas and taking credit for them. Erasmus sharply replied that he is not the sort of person who would pride himself on borrowed feathers (*non admodum me venditem plumis alienis*).[85] Erasmus' style is somewhat embittered and often sarcastic. He ridiculed his opponent, belittled him for his limited erudition, stressed how unknown and nameless Lee was, and rebuked him for his arrogance.[86] Erasmus held against Lee his repetitiveness and his prolixity, but Erasmus' own *Apologia* is similarly iterative and long-winded. Lee blamed Erasmus for his pride and arrogance. Though Erasmus denied the charge, his self-righteous complacency discredited his seemingly modest words.[87] Both Lee and Erasmus repeatedly called upon the "indifferent reader" to arbitrate in the polemic.[88]

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[81] Edward Lee, *Annotationum libri duo, alter in annotationis prioris œditionis noui testamenti Desiderii Erasmi, alter in annotationes posterioris œditionis eiusdem*, Paris: Giles de Gourmont, 1520.

[82] Erasmus cites Lee (fo. cciii^{v}), referred by *CWE* 72, p. 33 n. 162. *ASD* IX-4, p. 46.

[83] *ASD* IX-4, p. 46 (*CWE* 72, pp. 33–34).

[84] *ASD* IX-4, p. 50 (*CWE* 72, p. 39).

[85] *ASD* IX-4, p. 56 (*CWE* 72, p. 46).

[86] Cf. e.g. *ASD* IX-4, pp. 61.66–67.69 (*CWE* 72, p. 53.61–62.65).

[87] Cf. e.g. *ASD* IX-4, pp. 57–58 (*CWE* 72, pp. 48–49). In the Colloquies Erasmus described Lee as someone dedicated to "sophistical riddles, vain babbling, sycophancy, arrogance, virulence, sardonic humour, thrasonical boasting, and self-love." See also: Preserved Smith, *A Key to the Colloquies of Erasmus*, Cambridge, 1927, pp. 5–6.

[88] In his *Responsio ad annotationes Lei* (April 1520) Erasmus reiterates his arguments (*ASD* IX-4, pp. 217–18). The third book by Erasmus dedicated to the controversy with Lee treats the rest of the debated issues: *Liber tertius E.R. quo respo[n]det reliquis*

A third attack was launched by Nicholas Baechem of Egmont (*c.*1462–1526).[89] Erasmus responded to the Flemish Carmelite's attack with his *Apologia de loco taxato in pvblica professione, per Nicolavm Ecmondanvm, theologum et Carmelitam Lovaniensem. Locus est in epistola Pavli ad Corinthios priore, Cap. XV. Omnes quidem resvrgemus, sed non omnes immutabimvr*.[90] Here, Erasmus reiterates his argument that all of the Greek codices he saw (and he did see quite a few, he stresses) agree in having the reading he favoured.[91] He also repeats at length his argumentation based on the Patristic witnesses, emphasizing that he did not reject any of the readings, nor are the variant readings mutually exclusive. In any case, he proclaims his adherence to the teaching of the Church on the matter.

More than a decade later, the question of bodily resurrection and the heretical ideas about it were still occupying Erasmus' mind, for he treated the subject exhaustively in his catechism of 1533. The book, usually referred to as *Explanatio symboli apostolorum*, was written at the behest of Sir Thomas Boleyn and appeared in March 1533.[92] The book became

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annotationibus Ed. Lei, Apud Antverpiam, May 1520. Erasmus' friends rushed to defend the Dutch Humanist. Besides the anonymous *Hochstratus ouans. Dialogus festiuissimus: Interlocutores. Hochstratus, qui & Erostratus dicitur. Frater Lupoldus, huic in itinere comes. Eduardus Leus, ex homine commatatus nuper in canem. Lege, & cum ouantibus laetaberis*, Schlettstadt: Schuerer, 1520, depicting Lee as a barking dog, two books appeared by Erasmus' friends to defend his NT against Lee's charges: Eobanus Hessus, *In Eduardum LEEUM QUORUNDAM E SODALITATE LITERARIA ERPHURDIENSI ERASMICI NOMINIS STUDIOSORUM EPIGRAMMATA*, Erfurt: Joh. Knappe, 1520, and Johannes Gertophius, *Recriminatio Ioan. Gertophii, adulescentis Germani, adversus furiosissimum sychophantam Edouardum Leum Anglum, qui ausus est primus Erasmum clandissimum luto aspergere*, Basel: Andreas Cratander, 1520. Also, three collections of letters were published to same effect: *Epistolae aliquot eruditorum*; *Appendix Epistolarum quibus eruditi viri detestantur Edouardi Lei virulentiam*; and *Epistolae eruditorum virorum*. See also: COOGAN, *The Pharisee Against the Hellenist*, p. 481.

[89] See Erasmus' letter to Hermann, Count of Neuenahr, dated 19 October 1518 and published in Allen, III, n. 878, on p. 416. Nicholas Baechem of Egmont was a Flemish theologian, doctor in divinity, and at the time prior of the Carmelites in Brussels (1517–18); he was formerly and afterwards prior of the Carmelites in Leuven (1510–17, 1518–26) See *LB* IX cc 249ff.

[90] Republished in *LB* IX, cols. 433–42.

[91] "Siquidem in omnibus Gæcorum codicibus, quos ego sane vidi, (vidi autem non paucos) scriptum habetur: πάντες μὲν οὐ κοιμηθησόμεθα, πάντες δὲ ἀλλαγησόμεθα" (*LB* IX, col. 433).

[92] Erasmus, *Dilucidia et pia explanatio symboli quod apostolorum dicitur, decalogi præceptorum, & dominicæ precationis*, Basel: Johannes Froben and Nicolaus Episcopius, 1533. Republished in Erasmus, *De contemptu mundi; Virginis matris Lauretum cultae liturgia; Modus orandi deum; Explanatio symboli apostolorum; De praeparatione ad mortem*, ed. Samuel Dresden, (*ASD* V-1), Amsterdam & Oxford: North-Holland, 1977. English translation: Erasmus, *Spiritualia and Pastoralia. Disputatiuncula de taedio, pavore, tristicia Iesu; Concio de immensa Dei misericordia; Modus orandi Deum; Explanatio symboli apostolorum;*

immensely popular and immediately sold out.[93] The work was republished the same year in Basel, Antwerp, Cologne, and Paris.[94] The English translation appeared a year later in London and had to be reprinted immediately.[95] Erasmus' catechism takes the form of a dialogue between a catechist and a young person asking for instruction in the Christian faith. Erasmus, probably affected by the—in his eyes—devastating effects of the Reformation, maintains an unmistakably Catholic position on doctrinal issues and presents his answers in a virtually apologetic fashion.[96] The opening words of the catechumen already underline this: he seeks instruction in order to be admitted into the "society of the Catholic Church, the house of God, outside of which there is no hope of eternal salvation."[97]

De praeparatione ad mortem, ed. John W. O'Malley, (*CWE* 70) Toronto, Buffalo & London: UP Toronto, 1998. Sir Thomas Boleyn (1477–1539), the father of Henry VIII's second wife, also requested the *Enarratio* of Psalm 23 (1530), and *De præparatione ad mortem* (1534). On his life, see: Antonia Fraser, *The Wives of Henry VIII*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1993; *passim*, esp. 118–19 and 250–51 and Alison Weir, *The Six Wives of Henry VIII*, New York: Ballantine Books, 1993, *passim*, esp. pp. 145–46 and 337; Peter G. Bietenholz & Thomas B. Deutscher (eds.), *Contemporaries of Erasmus. A Biographical Register of the Renaissance and Reformation*, vol. I, Toronto: UP, 2003, pp. 161–62.

[93] Erasmus wrote that year to the German Humanist Canon Johannes von Vlatten (1498–1562): "In symbolum non indiligenter scripsi; item et in praecepta Decalogi. Liber exiit mercatu verno: mittam per hunc, si quaem nancisci apud me nullus reliquus est. Hieronimus ait se Francfordiae omnes vendidisse intra tres horas" (Allen, n. 2845 on p. 269, li. 14–17).

[94] In Antwerp: by Johannes Steels in the office of Johannes Grapheus, and by Michiel Hillenius. In Cologne: by Eucharius Cervicornus. In Paris: by Louis Cyaneus, by Chrétien Wechel, and by Jean de Roigny.

[95] Erasmus, *A playne and godly Exposytion or Declaration of the Commune Crede And of the X. Commaundementes of goddes law. Newly made and put forth by the famouse clarke Mayster Erasmus of Rotterdame*, trans. William Marshall, London: Robert Redman, [1533]. See: E.J. Devereux, *The English Editions of Erasmus's Catechismus*, in *The Library*, ser. 5, 17 (1962), pp. 154–55.

[96] E.g. Erasmus accepts the unwritten Sacred Tradition along with the Bible as source of revelation (*ASD* V-1, p. 290), enumerates the Deuterocanonical books in the canon of the Bible (p. 278), and acknowledges seven sacraments (p. 284). He calls blasphemers those who question the perpetual virginity of Mary (p. 245). He even defends the need to occasionally restrict access to the Bible (p. 279). Luther railed against Erasmus' catechism in a letter to Nikolaus von Amsdorf (1483–1565) dated from Wittenberg, 11 March 1534: the German Reformer called Erasmus a viper (*vipera*), a liar (*mendax*), and the very mouth and organ of Satan (*ipsum os et organum Satanæ*), who castigated the catechism, put together with diabolical artifice (*artificio plane satanico compositum*), and sowed doubts in the catechumen about the dogmas and faith by providing details concerning heresies against the articles of the Creed (*WA Briefwechsel* 7 no. 2093, pp. 27–40). Erasmus, who received Luther's letter through the recatholicized Georg Witzel (1501–73), answered it in his *Purgatio adversus epistolam non sobriam Lutheri*, republished in *ASD* IX-1, pp. 427–83.

[97] "Iamdudum mihi gestit animus asscribi in consortium Ecclesiæ Catholicæ, quæ est domus Dei, extra quam nulli speranda salus æterna" (*ASD* V-1, p. 205).

Erasmus' views presented in the catechism on human nature, afterlife, and the last things also reflect the Catholic position. Accordingly, the Dutch scholar takes it as self-evident that the human person is composed of two separable substances: a body as matter, and a soul as form.[98] Of these, the soul is the more important part of the human being (*potiorem hominis partem*),[99] for the presence of the human soul as form of the body constitutes the human being, and "its departure causes what was once human to lose that name."[100] The body is rightly called the dwelling place of the soul, the catechist teaches.[101] In death, these two components are separated; in fact, the separation of body and soul is what one calls the natural death. We all know, the catechist says, what a person's corpse is like when death occurs. But the soul, because it is immortal, remains alive with Christ after the collapse of the body if it has departed in faith and with the hope of the resurrection of its own body.[102]

Erasmus also treats the articles of Christ's death, descent into Hell (*ad inferna*), and resurrection comprehensively. He spells out the various heresies with regard to these articles and articulates the Catholic position on them.[103] The article of Christ's descent into Hell is especially problematic (Erasmus even doubts whether Thomas Aquinas held this article), since Scripture does not unambiguously attest to it, the catechist says, and it is clearly a later addition to the Creed.[104] The biblical passages that are used traditionally to corroborate this article do compel belief that Christ's soul descended to Tartarus or limbo, the catechist proposes.[105] Scripture often calls death (*mortem*) and burial (*sepulturam*) the "underworld" (*inferos*). Therefore, the Latin term *descendere* seems to the catechist to refer to burial also, because when a person is buried, he or she is said "to go down," which can only mean "to be buried in the tomb." At any rate,

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98 "Quis enim nescit hominem ex duabus substantiis separabilibus esse compositum, corpore velut ex materia, anima veluti forma?" (*ASD* V-1, p. 248). And further: "Homo compositus est ex anima et corpore" (*ASD* V-1, p. 250).

99 *ASD* V-1, p. 250.

100 *ASD* V-1, pp. 249–50.

101 "Animæ domicilium recte dicitur corpus" (*ASD* V-1, p. 250).

102 "Mors hominis naturalis est animæ a corpore separatio. Quod vbi factum est, quale sit cadauer hominis nouimus omnes; anima vero quoniam immortalis est collapso corpore subsistit viuens apud Christum, sit cum fide decessit et expectans proprii corporis resurrectionem" (*ASD* V-1, p. 252).

103 *ASD* V-1, pp. 252–64.

104 *ASD* V-1, pp. 257–59. Cf. *supra* on p. 96.

105 Ps. 16(15):10, 22:15 (Vg. 21:16), 30:3.9 (Vg. 29:4.10), 69:2 (Vg. 68:3), 86(85):13, and 88:4–5, (Vg. 87:5–6); Hos. 13:14; Eccles. 24:25; Mt. 11:3; Acts 2:30–31; and 1 Pt. 3:18–19. *ASD* V-1, pp. 258–60.

the catechist suggests to the catechumen, it suffices to profess his belief in Christ's descent to the underworld as the Scriptures and the Church perceive it.[106]

Erasmus stresses that Christ's resurrection is the central element of the Christian faith, particularly of the belief in the afterlife. If Christ had not risen, Erasmus states, we would be deprived of all hope of immortality.[107] For Erasmus, the resurrection of Christ is clearly the *sine qua non* of immortality, and apparently immortality and the resurrection of the body are interdependent. Christ has suffered for us in order to redeem us from eternal death, and he rose for us that through him we might obtain eternal life.[108] Later, too, when Erasmus talks about the Holy Spirit, he draws a parallel between the Son, who raised dead bodies to life as the author and first fruits of the resurrection (*excitauit corporaliter mortuos autor ac primitiæ resurrectionis*), and the Holy Spirit, who brings people back to spiritual life (*spiritualiter viuificat*) by forgiving sin.[109] Retaining, regaining, re-entering into life is just a synonym for resurrecting, reviving, rising.

Erasmus also stresses that there can be no doubt about the bodily resurrection of Christ. His resurrection is clearly foretold in the Scripture and is confirmed by the testimonies of many apostles. In fact, nothing has been handed down by the evangelists more fully than the evidence for the resurrection. And St Paul not only corroborates the resurrection but also describes it to the Corinthians and the Thessalonians.[110]

Nevertheless, there are people, the catechist says, who "in the midst of sunlight are left in darkness," for there have been many heresies proposed in connection with this article of faith.[111] Erasmus mentions Cerinthus (Kerinthos), who taught that Christ had not risen yet, but will rise in the future.[112] Others, refuted by Paul in 1 Cor. 15, allowed for Christ's resurrec-

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[106] "Tibi satis est profiteri Christum sic descendisse ad inferos, queamadmodum sentit scriptura et ecclesia" (*ASD* V-1, p. 260).

[107] "Nisi Christus resurrexerit, nobis omnis spes immortalitatis fuisset adempta" (*ASD* V-1, p. 260).

[108] "Quemadmodum enim ille pro nobis passus est, vt ab æterna morte per illum liberaremur, ita et pro nobis resurrexit, vt per illum vitam æternam consequeremur" (*ASD* V-1, p. 260).

[109] *ASD* V-1, pp. 267–68.

[110] *ASD* V-1, p. 261.

[111] *ASD* V-1, p. 260. Cf. Marcus Fabius Quintilianus (*c.*35–95), *Institutiones oratoriæ*, I.2,19: "Deinde cum proferenda sunt studia, caligat in sole et omnia nova offendit, ut qui solus didicerit quod inter multos faciendum est." Published in Marcus Fabius Quintilianus, *The Orator's Education. Quintilian*, ed. and trans. Donald Andrew Russell, (Loeb Classical Library 124–127), vol. 1, Cambridge (MA): Harvard UP, 2001, p. 494.

[112] *ASD* V-1, p. 260. On the 1st-century Gnostic Kerinthos, see *supra* on p. 89.

tion but denied that our bodies would ever rise.[113] Valentinus accepted the resurrection of spirits and souls (*spiritus et animæ resurrectionem*) but rejected the resurrection of bodies (*corporum*).[114] The following group of heretics named by Erasmus are the Chiliasts, who dream of a thousand years of bodily pleasures after the resurrection of their bodies.[115]

But all of these heretics are wrong, Erasmus states, and their teachings are no dogma, but prodigious absurdities (*prodigiosum deliramentum*).[116] These fantasies are fabricated because the human mind is struggling to grasp how a body, after having been changed, can be restored to its original identity. But God is omnipotent and cannot be subject to the laws of nature, of which he is the creator. He who created Heaven and earth out of nothing can surely restore the body from what already exists.[117]

Erasmus further explains Christ's ascension into Heaven and what it means that Christ is seated at the right hand of the Father.[118] Then he turns to the article of Christ's judging the living and the dead at the end of the world. The catechist makes it clear that there are two judgements, an individual judgement at the death of each and every person, and a general judgement at the end of the world. In the former, the souls are judged as soon as they have left the body. Their destination can be threefold according to their state at the moment of death. The pure souls, according to Erasmus, enter into heavenly life. Those who are liable to judgement will be dragged into Hell. Finally, those who are defiled by minor blemishes will be taken to the fire of Purgatory, whatever it may be.[119] The second, universal judgement will take place on the last day, on the Day of Judgement (*iudicii dies*). On that day, "when the Son of Man comes in His glory, and all the angels with him, he will sit on the throne of His glory and all the nations will be gathered before him," says the catechist, quoting Mt. 25:31f. In that judgement there are only two outcomes possible because the good and the wicked will be separated overtly and

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[113] *ASD* V-1, p. 260. See *supra* on p. 84.

[114] *ASD* V-1, p. 261. On the 2nd-century Gnostic Valentinus (*c.*100–*c.*161), see *supra* on p. 88.

[115] *ASD* V-1, p. 261. On Chiliasts, see *supra* on p. 92.

[116] *ASD* V-1, p. 261.

[117] "Quid autem mirum si corpus restituit ex eo quod est, qui primum cœlum ac terram et angelos ex nihilo condidit" (*ASD* V-1, pp. 261–62). Cf. Tertullian *supra* on p. 89.

[118] *ASD* V-1, pp. 262–64.

[119] "Animæ mox vt emigrarint e corpore iam iudicatæ sint, vt aut si puræ hinc abierint transeant ad vitam cœlestem, sin obnoxiæ crimini pertrahantur in gehennam, aut si leuioribus inquinatæ maculis deferantur in ignem purgatorium quisquis aut qualis id est" (*ASD* V-1, p 264).

eternally. They will be judged by Christ, who endured unjustly judgement and condemnation for us. He will judge the whole universe to render to each according to his or her deeds.[120]

But what is the need for a final judgement at the end of the world if the souls are judged immediately upon death? the catechumen asks. In his answer the catechist mentions the opinion of Pope John XXII that neither spirits nor souls receive their punishment (eternal pain) or their reward (heavenly life) before the final judgement.[121] Erasmus hurries to point out that this opinion was rejected by the authority of the Church.[122] The catechist, therefore, can only give a 'probable' (*probabiliter*) answer: after the general judgement, the pains of the wicked will increase, for they will suffer in both body and soul. Similarly, the joys of the righteous will be complete, as they will receive their glorified body.[123] This body, which had served the righteous in their good works and was a companion to them in their suffering, will also take part in their rewards and joy.[124]

The catechumen is still puzzled, and asks how such an infinite multitude of people can be present in one place, and how much time will suffice for the examination of so many human deeds. In his answer Erasmus' catechist reiterates what he has already stressed several times, namely, that the language of the Creed, just like the language of the Bible, is anthropomorphic, as it is adapted to human nature (*sermonem suum attemperat ad humanos affectus*). The judgement will take place in an instant, and the glorified body will be different from the earthly bodies because it will be transformed by immortality. Consequently, the transformed and glorified body will no longer occupy the threefold spatial dimension of length, width, and depth. It will be possible for countless bodies to be present at the same time in a minimum of space. Otherwise, it would be impossible to understand, the catechist teaches, how Tartarus, which is believed to be at the very bottom of the earth, would be able to contain so many bodies.[125]

The final formula "of whose kingdom there will be no end" was added to the Creed because there were people who dreamed about prodigious blasphemies pertaining to the Platonic cycles. They lay at the origin of

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120 *ASD* V-1, p. 264.
121 See *supra* on p. 117.
122 See *supra* on p. 122.
123 See *supra* on p. 99.
124 *ASD* V-1, p. 264.
125 *ASD* V-1, p. 265.

Origen's errors (if he really believed and not simply related them, the catechist inserts) about the demons becoming angels and vice versa after many thousands of years, and about the damned in Hell who would eventually be set free from their sufferings and would be purified to enter bliss.[126] In Origen's account Christ would be crucified again, so the kingdom that he had prepared by His death would eventually come to an end. This blasphemy is too stupid to repel, but the Eastern Churches added the above formula.[127]

After the expositions on the Holy Spirit, Scripture and Canon, the nature of the Church, and the sacraments, the last part of the Creed is treated. This part (*carnis resurrectionem*) teaches about the end of the world, the catechist clarifies in Erasmus' *Explanatio*.[128] The catechist reiterates that the good shall be separated from the wicked at the end of the world. The wicked will suffer endlessly, but the good will have no pain or fear of harm because that part of human nature which groans will be freed from every trouble.[129] All things will be renewed, changed in quality but not in substance.[130] The Creed, Erasmus points out, calls the human body 'flesh' and the restoration of life 'resurrection.'[131] This article of the Creed is the basis of our faith (*hæc est basis totius fidei nostræ*), Erasmus emphasizes.[132] Therefore, it has to be maintained even more firmly than the other articles because this article gives hope to the afflicted pious while it signifying fear for those who would fall into all sorts of crime without restraint. Therefore, if one questions this article, then believing the rest is pointless.[133]

At this point Erasmus lists the various heretical doctrines that have appeared over the centuries around this article of faith. The pattern is always the same: the catechist bids 'farewell' (*valeant*) to the group of heretics who maintained a certain erroneous view with regard to the resurrection of the body. The first group of heretics named by Erasmus are the 'miserable' (*infelices*) Sadducees.[134] They did not believe in the resurrection of the body (*corporum resurrectionem*), nor did they believe in

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126 See *supra* on p. 91.
127 *ASD* V-1, pp. 265–66.
128 *ASD* V-1, p. 288.
129 "Malis nulla sit spes finiendi cruciatus, bonis nec dolor vllus, nec vllus mali metus, quum et ipsa creatura quæ nunc congemiscit nobis liberabitur ab omnibus incommodis" (*ASD* V-1, p. 288).
130 "Erunt omnia noua non mutata substantia, sed qualitate" (*ASD* V-1, p. 288).
131 "Carnem apellat corpus humanum, resurrectionem, reuiuiscentiam" (*ASD* V-1, p. 288).
132 *ASD* V-1, p. 288.
133 "Quæ si vacillet reliqua pene frustra creduntur" (*ASD* V-1, p. 288).
134 *ASD* V-1, p. 288. See *supra* on p. 81.

the existence of the angels (*angelos*) or spirits (*spiritus*), as if there were nothing in nature that is not accessible to the physical senses. But the bodily senses can deceive and human reason can deceive, Erasmus' catechist had indicated at the very beginning of his instruction.[135] Therefore, the Sadducees err, according to Erasmus, because the greatest realities are inaccessible to the senses, and nothing is more inaccessible than the godhead (*deitas*) itself.

Based on the argument that the soul, being immortal, cannot rise, nor can it die, Erasmus's catechist 'bids farewell' to those who believe that only the souls will rise but not the bodies.[136] They call it 'the resurrection of the souls' (*resurrectionem animarum*) when, according to their imagination, the souls will be called forth to happiness from 'their lurking hole,' in which they have been concealed for a certain period of time.[137] Both J.N. Bakhuizen van den Brink and Larel Carrington refer to Tertullian's *De resurrectione carnis* with regard to this heresy, but Erasmus, as will be seen later, probably chose this particular group of heretics with a polemical intention against his own contemporaries.[138] At least, this is the reading some of the readers of his time gave to this passage.[139]

The catechist bids farewell to those who believe that the body we have now will not be revived, and we will instead receive a far superior one.[140] This, however, could not guarantee the retention of personal identity. For if we do not receive the same body, we will not be the same person, Erasmus argues. Besides, what need is there to create new bodies, the catechist asks, when God by His omnipotent will is able to restore this present body to the most perfect splendour and blissful immortality? This restoration will not change the substance of the body (*corporis substantia*), but will instead improve its qualities (*in melius commutatis qualitatibus*).[141] The catechist bids farewell to the Chiliasts, too. They err because they have

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[135] *ASD* V-1, pp. 206–07.

[136] "Valeant qui profitentur animas resurrecturas, corpora nequaquam, quum anima quoniam est immortalis tam non possit reuiuiscere quam non potest mori" (*ASD* V-1, p. 288).

[137] "Sed illi resurrectionem animarum apellant, quum e latebris in quibus ad certum tempus reconditæ fuerant, iuxta illorum somnia euocabuntur ad beatitudinem" (*ASD* V-1, p. 288).

[138] *ASD* V-1, p. 289. n. 438; *CWE* 70, p. 346, n. 45. On Tertullian's remark, see *supra* on p. 89.

[139] See *infra* on p. 403.

[140] *ASD* V-1, p. 288.

[141] *ASD* V-1, p. 288.

misunderstood the Apocalypse of John and dream about a thousand years of bodily pleasures after having been revived.[142]

After having enumerated all of these heresies, Erasmus professes his own faith in the resurrection. He quotes Job 19:26–27 and 2 Cor. 4:14 as scriptural compasses for resurrection matters and expresses his firm belief that "at the end of the world, every human being will come to life again with the same bodies which they have now on earth." Our resurrection will not differ from Christ's resurrection, Erasmus stresses, and Christ will transform our body to His own glorified body (cf. Phil. 3:21). Here again, Erasmus' emphasis on Christ's resurrection being the model and foundation for our resurrection can be perceived.

Erasmus uses the term 'immortality' in connection with not only the soul, but also the post-resurrection condition of the body. He maintains that in the resurrection, 'immortality of the body' (*corporum immortalitas*) will be bestowed on the unjust and the just alike.[143] For the unjust this will bring eternal suffering, while for the just it will bring eternal happiness. Therefore, in the case of the unjust, 'eternal death' (*æterna mors*) is a more appropriate description than 'immortality,' the catechist suggests. Similarly, the expression of 'life everlasting' (*vitam æternam*) is appropriated for the just, while the term 'resurrection' (*resurrectionis vox*) can refer to both the wicked and the just. Nonetheless, there is a tendency to use 'resurrection' only in connection with the just, the catechist remarks, and he refers to Jn. 11:25 and to Paul's common usage of the word. That 'resurrection' can refer to the unjust is clear from Jn. 5:29: *et præcedent qui bona fecerunt in resurrectionem vitæm qui vero mala egerunt in resurrectionem iudicii*. Here, of course, the word 'judgement' (*iudicium*) is used for 'condemnation' (*condemnationem*), Erasmus clarifies.

Erasmus then quotes from the Athanasian Creed: 'At whose coming all people shall rise again with their bodies (*resurgere habent cum corporibus suis*); and shall give account of their own works. And they that have done good shall go into life everlasting (*in vitam æternam*) and they that have done evil into everlasting fire (*in ignem æternum*)."[144] This echoes what Paul writes in Rom. 6:23: "For the wages of sin is death (*mors*), but the free gift of God is eternal life (*vita æterna*) in Christ Jesus our Lord," Erasmus concludes. There, Paul adds the adjective 'eternal' to life, the catechist

[142] *ASD* V-1, p. 288. On Chiliasts, see *supra* on p. 92.
[143] *ASD* V-1, p. 289.
[144] On the Athanasian Creed, see *supra* on p. 95.

explains, to emphasize that just as there will be no hope of comfort for the unjust, there will be no fear for the just that their happiness will ever come to an end or diminish.

Erasmus also reflects on this eternal happiness of the blessed in the *Expalantio*. There is no need, he writes, to imagine this happiness to consist of bodily pleasures, such as food, drink, or sexual activity. These things will not be needed then because the bodies will be spiritual (*erunt corpora spiritualia*), and in them we will live like the angels of God. Their happiness is to see the face of the Father who is in Heaven. And this is also what Jesus says in Jn. 17:3: "and this is eternal life, that they may know you, the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom you have sent." This knowledge, which begins here with faith, will be perfected there when we shall see His face revealed, Erasmus concludes the passage.

Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples

The French Catholic Humanist Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples, or Jacobus Faber Stapulensis (*c.*1450–1536), the probable translator of the first complete French Bible in print (Antwerp: Merten de Keyser, 1530), would also exercise great influence on the Reformers.[145] Although he never obtained

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[145] On Lefèvre's theology and on his influence on Luther, Zwingli, Calvin, and Tyndale, see: Hermann Dörries, *Calvin und Lefèvre*, in *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 14 (1925), pp. 544–81; Karl Spiess, *Der Gottesbegriff des J. Faber Stapulensis. Ein Beitrag zum Verständnis der religiösen Eigenart Johann Kalvins*, Marburg: J. Hamel, 1930; Fritz Hahn, *Faber Stapulensis und Luther*, in *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 57 (1938), pp. 356–432; Augustin Renaudet, *Préréforme et Humanisme à Paris pendant les premières guerres d'Italie (1494–1517)*, Paris: E. Champion, 1916, re-edited 1953, repr. Geneva: Slatkine, 1981; Jean Dagens, *Humanisme et évangélisme chez Lefèvre d'Etaples*, in *Courants réligieux et humanisme à la fin du XVe et au début du XVIe siècle*, Actes du colloque de Strasbourg (mai 1957), Paris: PUF, 1959, pp. 121–34; Eugene F. Rice, Jr., *The Humanist Idea of Christian Antiquity. Lefèvre d'Etaples and his Circle*, in *Studies in the Renaissance* 9 (1962), pp. 126–60; John Woolman Brush, *Lefèvre d'Etaples. Three Phases of His Life and Work*, in Franklin H. Littell (ed.), *Reformation Studies*, Essays in Honor of Roland H. Bainton, Richmond: John Knox Press, 1962, pp. 117–28; R.J. Lovy, *Les Origines de la Réforme française, Meaux 1518– 1546*, Paris: Librairie Protestante, 1959; Richard M. Cameron, *The Charges of Lutheranism Brought against Jacques Lefèvre d'Etaples (1520–1529)*, in *HTR* 63 (1970), pp. 119–49; Henry Heller, *The Evangelicism of Lefèvre d'Étaples: 1525*, in *Studies in the Renaissance* 19 (1972), pp. 42–77; Philip Edgcumbe Hughes, *Lefèvre, Pioneer of Ecclesiastical Renewal in France*, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1984, pp. 55–64; Guy Bedouelle, *Une adaptation anglaise des Epistres et Evangiles de Lefèvre d'Etaples et ses disciples*, in *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 48 (1986), pp. 723–734; Guy Bedouelle, *Jacques Lefèvre d'Etaples (c.1460–1536)* in Carter Lindberg (ed.), *Reformation Theologians. An Introduction to Theology in the Early Modern Period*, (The Great Theologians), Oxford: Blackwell, 2002, pp. 19–33; Arblaster & Jean-

a degree in theology, he wrote several theological, exegetical, and pastoral works, and is justifiably ranked among the best theologians of his time.[146] The annotations of Luther and Zwingli to some of Lefèvre's works have been preserved.[147] The ideas of the French Catholic Humanist on biblical interpretation, with what seemed like a rejection of the traditional fourfold interpretation, were regarded as exemplary by many of his contemporaries.[148]

In 1509 he published a fivefold parallel edition (3+2) of the Psalter under the title *Quincuplex Psalterium*.[149] This contained five different Latin versions of the texts of the psalms with a commentary: (1) *Psalterium Vetus*: the Old Latin Version; (2) *Psalterium Rhomanum*: Jerome's first revision; (3) *Psalterium Gallicum*: Jerome's second revision; (4) *Psalterium Hebraicum*: Jerome's third revision, based on the Hebrew text; and (5) *Psalterium Conciliatum*: Lefèvre's own harmony of the Vulgate with the literal translation of the Hebrew text.[150] The book was dedicated to Cardinal Guillaume Briçonnet (d. 1514), the father of the bishop of Meaux of the same name

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François Gilmont, Cat. 77 in *TT*, pp. 130–31, Jean-François Gilmont, Cats. 44 and 78–81 in *TT*, pp. 101–02 and 132–35.

146 Bedouelle, *Jacques Lefèvre d'Etaples*, p. 19. His lack of academic training in theology would rouse suspicion at the Faculty of Theology of Paris, which was to pursue him for the rest of his life (Arblaster & Gilmont, Cat. 77 in *TT*, pp. 130–31). Lefèvre was a protégé of Francis I, and the King protected the French priest from an open condemnation for some time. When the King was captured in Pavia and kept in prison in Spain (see *supra* on p. 5), the Paris Theologians, influenced by the general panic caused by the spread of peasant revolt into Alsace (see *supra* on p. 4), felt it was time to denounce Lefèvre publicly. See: Nicholls, *Heresy and Protestantism*, p. 186.

147 For Luther, see *Annotationes Quincuplici Fabri Stapulensis Psalterio manu adscriptae (1513)*, *WA* IV, pp. 466–526; for Zwingli, see CR IC, *HZSW* XII, pp. 280–91. Zwingli's "allusion to Lefèvre, whose Psalterium Quincuplex Ulrich possessed and used. His copy, beautifully printed in 1513, with its wide margins in which is inserted here and there the fine hand of the reformer, is to be found at Zurich" (Jean Rilliet, *Zwingle. Le troisième homme de la Réforme*, (Les temps et les destins), Paris: Fayard, 1959, p. 99).

148 But see his remark added to the preface of the second edition of his fivefold Psalter: "non que alios sensus: allegoricum/ tropologicum & anagogicum pręsertim vbi res exposit negare velim" (Lefèvre d'Étaples, *Qvincvplex Psalterium*, sig. A2^{r}). Unless otherwise stated, the sigla refer to the second edition (see n. 166). Cf. "One can understand that the Reformers would have seen this as implementing sola Scriptura, the reading of Scripture by Scripture; but Lefèvre's approach is much more Neoplatonist, by an affinity to Pseudo-Dionysius, Nicholas of Cusa, and Pico della Mirandola" (Bedouelle, *Jacques Lefèvre d'Etaples*, p. 24). See also: Maurice Villain, *Le Message Biblique de Lefèvre d'Étaples*, in *Recherches de Science Religieuse* 40 (1952), pp. 243–59.

149 Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples, *Qvincvplex Psalterium. Gallicum. Rhomanum. Hebraicum. Vetus. Conciliatum*, Paris: Henricus Stephanus (Henri Estienne), Pridie Kalendas Augusti (31 July) 1509.

150 Against the possible objection that such textual variations can undermine the credibility of Scripture, Lefèvre defends his Psalter by referring to Origen and his *Hexapla*.

(1472–1534), the latter being Lefèvre's patron. In this prefatory letter to the Cardinal, Lefèvre developed the twofold literal sense (*duplex sensus literalis*). According to him, the most obvious meaning of the words (e.g. interpreting David's psalms as applying to David himself) is the improper sense (*improprium*), which is held only by those who "are blind and interpret divine things according to the flesh and in human categories" (*caecutientium & non videntium qui diuini solum carnaliter passibiliterque intelligunt*).[151] These blind interpreters clinging to the most obvious sense of the text are the Jews (*Iudaei*) and the rabbinic interpreters (*Hebraei*), but Lefèvre also probably has in mind Nicolas of Lyra (*c.*1270–1349), who opposed many far-fetched allegorical interpretations, followed Rashi and David Kimhi, and applied the text to David rather than to Christ.[152] According to Lefèvre, these are the kind of literal interpretations of which Paul spoke when he said that the letter kills (2 Cor. 3:6); these, the French author believed, are threatening (*mortificantia*) to the spirit and should be avoided (*esse fugienda*).[153] Such an interpretation is in fact a fiction and a lie (*figmentum esse & mendacium*), and not the literal sense at all.[154] For the true literal sense of the psalms refers to Christ, which was "the intention of the prophet and of the Holy Spirit speaking in him."[155] This truly 'literal' sense coincides with the Spirit (*cum spiritu coincidit*) and with the spiritual sense (*sensus igitur litteralis & spiritualis coincidunt*), and is conveyed to the prophets (*prophetis*) and to those who are able to see (*videntibus*).[156] Christ is the key (*clavis*) to understanding David, and it was Christ about whom David spoke in the Psalter, commissioned by the Holy Spirit (*per spiritum sanctum constitutum erat*).[157] Christ joins the NT with the OT, and the true Christian meditating on Christ should

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[151] Lefèvre d'Étaples, *Qvincvplex Psalterium*, sig. A2^{v}. The prefatory letter is published in Eugene F. Rice, *The Prefatory Epistles of Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples and Related Texts*, New York: Columbia UP, 1972, Ep. 66., pp. 192–201. Partial English translation published in: Oberman (ed.), *Forerunners of the Reformation*, pp. 297–307.

[152] E.g. *Postilla venerablis fratris Nicolai de Lyra super psalterium*, in *Biblia* Latina, Venice: F. Renner de Hailbrunn, 1482–1483, II. sig. A3^{r}. The medieval Jewish commentators Rashi (Rabbi Solomon ben Isaac, רבי שלמה בן יצחק *c.*1040–1105, abbreviated as רש"י) and David Kimhi (דוד קמחי, usually abbreviated as רד"ק, *c.*1160–*c.*1235) were copiously used by Lyra for his *Postilla*. They were highly respected by many Reformers (e.g. Luther and Bucer).

[153] Lefèvre d'Étaples, *Qvincvplex Psalterium*, sig. A2^{v}.

[154] Lefèvre d'Étaples, *Qvincvplex Psalterium*, sig. A2^{v}.

[155] "Videor michi alium videre sensum, qui scilicet est intentionis prophetae & spiritus sancti in eo loquentis" (Lefèvre d'Étaples, *Qvincvplex Psalterium*, sig. A2^{r}).

[156] Lefèvre d'Étaples, *Qvincvplex Psalterium*, sig. A2^{r}.

[157] Lefèvre d'Étaples, *Qvincvplex Psalterium*, sig. A2^{v}.

be formed into Christ (*Christiformitas*).[158] When questions arise, the harmony of the Scriptures (*concordia scripturarum*) can be the guide to identify this sense, as has been Lefèvre's own guide in his commentary.[159]

Lefèvre's *Quincuplex Psalterium* of 1509 attracted much criticism. One of the critics was Pierre, prior of the Carthusian monastery of Gosnay (Pas-de-Calais).[160] Pierre disapproved of Lefèvre's commentary of Ps. 30:11–12.[161] In his *Quincuplex Psalterium* of 1509, Lefèvre had written that some people believed that Christ suffered not only earthly torments, but also the torments of Hell.[162] Lefèvre identified one of these people, namely, Nicholas of Cusa, who had used these verses of Psalm 30 in his sermons as a reference to the descent of Christ into Hell.[163] While never explicitly saying so, Lefèvre seemed to follow Cusanus' mystical Christocentric interpretation of Ps. 30:11–12 in his commentary, although he remarked that the Greek text of Acts 2:24 (the subject of one of Cusanus'

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158 In his Christological reading of the OT, Lefèvre is thoroughly influenced by Nicholas of Cusa. See: Guy Bedouelle, *Le Quincuplex Psalterium de Lefèvre d'Étaples. Une guide de lecture*, Geneva: Droz, 1979, pp. 151–66. On Cusanus, see *supra* on p. 103.

159 "Concordia scripturarum maxima ex parte nos pervexit" (Lefèvre d'Étaples, *Qvincvplex Psalterium*, sig. A3^{r-v}). Cf. fo. 170^{r}.

160 The *Cartusia Vallis Sancti Spiritus* (also *Cartusia Beatae Mariae prope Gosnay*) in Gosnay (canton of Béthune, Pas-de-Calais, France) was founded in 1320 by Thierry d'Hérisson, bishop of Arras, and by the countess Mathilde (Mahaut) of Artois (*c.*1268–1329, daughter of count Robert II of Artois, who died in the Battle of the Golden Spurs in 1302), and it became one of the more important Charterhouses of France. In the 15th and 16th centuries it suffered much from wars, and several times the monks had to seek refuge in Béthune. The repair works, starting in 1520, were partly financed by a donation from Charles V. The smaller Charterhouse was restored by 1526, but the renovation of the greater Charterhouse was only completed in the 17th century (Carol Steyn, *The Manuscripts of Gosnay*, in *Journal Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 45 (2004), pp. 225–36; Claude Malbranke, *Guide de Flandre et Artois mystérieux*, (Les guides noirs), Paris: Tchou, 1969; Jules Marie Richard, *Mahaut, comtesse d'Artois et de Bourgogne (1302–1329). Étude sur la vie privée, les arts et l'industrie, en Artois et à Paris au commencement du XIVe siècle*, Paris: Champion, 1887; Albert Gruys, *Cartusiana. Un instrument heuristique*, vol. 2 *Maisons*, Paris: CNRS, 1977, p. 286; Gruys also lists the available manuscript sources on the history of the cloister). It is plausible that to secure imperial support, prior Pierre of Gosnay (*Petrus Cartusius/ venerabilis Gosnaianae domus prior*) sought the opportunity to prove his orthodoxy to the Emperor by attacking Lefèvre.

161 Lefèvre d'Étaples, *Qvincvplex Psalterium*, fo. 53^{v}: *Gall*/*Vg*/*Hebr*: (11) miserere mei domine quoniam tribulor: 'conturbatus est in ira' (*Hebr*: caligauit in furore) oculus meus anima mea & venter meus. (12) Quoniam defecit in dolore vita mea & anni mei in gemitibus. fo. 244^{r}: *Vet*/*Concil*: (11) Miserere mei domine (*Concil*: DOMINE) quoniam tribulor/ conturbatus est in ira oculus meus: (*Concil*: meus;) anima mea & venter meus. (12) Quoniam defecit in dolore vita mea: & anni mei in gemitibus.

162 "Sunt qui volunt dominum non solum portasse pro nobis dolores mortis terrenę/ sed etiam Dolores inferni in anima sustinuisse" (Lefèvre d'Étaples, *Qvincvplex Psalterium*, fo. 46^{v}).

163 See *supra* on p. 102.

sermons) has θάνατος (τὰς ὠδῖνας τοῦ θανάτου), which ought to be translated as "doloribus mortis" rather than "doloribus inferni," as it stands in the Vulgate. Yet Hell should be understood in the text of the Psalm as well as in the words of Peter in Acts.[164] Even if some things are not clearly expressed in the Gospels, Lefèvre argued, they should be accepted on the authority of the prophets (*cætera etiam quę in euangelio expressa non sunt/ex prophetis sunt accipienda*).[165]

The criticisms of Prior Pierre of Gosnay (which are no longer extant) occasioned Lefèvre's reaction in the second edition of the *Quincuplex Psalterium* (1513) in the form of (1) a half-page epilogue (*epilogus*) and (2) a twelve-page exposition on the contested interpretation of Ps. 30:11–12, both placed between the dedicatory letter to Cardinal Briçonnet and Jerome's Prologues.[166] In these, Lefèvre cautiously gave another turn to his interpretation. Quoting extensively from Nicholas of Cusa and commenting on his text, Lefèvre apparently defended the German Cardinal, whose available sermons Lefèvre was to publish the following year.[167] But Lefèvre departs from Cusa's interpretation, even as he presents his own position as being in line with that of Cusanus. The French theologian starts off by denying that Christ's suffering in Hell was necessary for the salvation for humankind, because a single oblation (Christ's death on the cross)

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[164] He enumerates a number of other places as well where the *veritas hebraica* contain the word *mors* rather than *infernum*, although these texts, too, according to Lefèvre, speak about Hell (e.g. Ps. 17:6–7; 114:3; and 87:4; the Hebrew text has שְׁאוֹל in these places). Lefèvre d'Étaples, *Qvincvplex Psalterium*, fo. 46^{v}. Lefèvre also stresses Christ's physical sufferings against Docetists. (46^{v}–47^{r}).

[165] Lefèvre d'Étaples, *Qvincvplex Psalterium*, fo. 47^{r}.

[166] ¶*Epilogus sequenti appendici praelegendus and* ¶*Appendix in Psal. XXX. In te Domine speravi/ ad D. Petrum Cartusium/ Venerabilem Gosnaianæ domus priorem, in Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples, Qvincvplex Psalterium. Gallicum. Rhomanum. Hebraicum. Vetus. Conciliatum. Pręponuntur quæ subter adijciuntur. Epistola. Epilogus disputationis psal. xxx. Appendix in psal. xxx. Prologi Hieronymi tres. Partitio psalmorum triplex. Indices psalmorum duo.*, Paris: Henricus Stephanus, 1513. Facsimile edition: Geneva: Droz, 1979, sig. A3^{v}–a3^{v}. On Briçonnet, see *infra* on p. 258. A year earlier Lefèvre published a commentary on the Pauline epistles that exhibits a turn in his theological thinking and which is frequently seen as announcing the Protestant Reformation: Lefèvre d'Étaples, *Contenta. Epistola ad Rhomanos. Epistola prima ad Corinthios . . . Epistola ad Hebraeos. Ad has 14. adiecta intelligentia ex graeco. Epistola ad Laodicenses. Epistolae ad Senecam sex. Commentariorum libri quatuordecim. Linus depassione Petri et Pauli*, Paris, 1512. Facsimile reprint: *S. Pauli epistolae XIV ex Vulgata, adiecta intelligentia ex graeco, cum commentaries. Faksimile Neudruck der Ausgabe, Paris 1512*, Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt: Frommann-Holzboog, 1978.

[167] Nicholas of Cusa, *Excitationes*, in *Opera Nicolai Cusae Cardinalis* ed. Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples, Paris: Henri Estienne, 1514. Lefèvre also refers to Cusa's *De docta ignorantia*, II,16 and III,6, and to Cusa's *Cribatio alchorani*, I,139, both published in the same 1514 edition by Lefèvre (Lefèvre d'Étaples, *Qvincvplex Psalterium*, sig. a2$^{r–v}$).

was enough to achieve salvation.[168] Salvation was earned once and for all by Christ's earthly passion and the shedding of His blood.[169] By His earthly suffering Christ redeemed all humankind.[170] Why did He suffer then in Hell? Following Cusanus, Lefèvre argued that Christ's suffering in Hell, the greatest conceivable suffering, had the purpose of glorifying the Father (*magnificare & glorificare deum patrem*) by proving that Christ was obedient to the Father even through the most excruciating torments.[171] Accordingly, when Christ died, His soul did not enter into a state of pain, but into state of glorification. To this effect, a number of biblical passages are quoted to prove that after His death on the cross, Christ's soul passed immediately to the Father.[172] Christ therefore did not descend into Hell to suffer there, but to put an end to the suffering of those who were there (*non pœnas sustinens: sed pœnas soluens*).[173] He did not go there to endure any torment himself, but to relieve the torments of those dwelling in Hell thorugh His prayers, as He was prefigured by Jonah praying in the belly of the fish (Jn. 2:1–6).[174] The story of Moses liberating the Jews from Pharaoh in Ex. 14 is also a prefiguration of Christ's liberating the souls from Hell.[175] The tenet that being in Hell or inspecting those in Hell does not necessarily mean torment is proven by Jesus' parable on Lazarus and the rich man: although Lazarus sees the torment of the rich man, he himself is not tormented, and the request of the rich man to send Lazarus over to alleviate

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168 "Per gloriosam CHRISTI mortem & preciosissimi sanguinis effusionem: humana redemptio sufficienter facta est" (Lefèvre d'Étaples, *Qvincvplex Psalterium*, sig. A4^{r}).

169 "Redemptio facta est & aeterna quidem redemptio/ in sanquine/ & temporali CHRISTI passione" (Lefèvre d'Étaples, *Qvincvplex Psalterium*, sig. A4^{v}). Lefèvre deduced this from the following passages: Mt. 26:27–28; Eph. 1:7; Heb. 9:12; 1 Pt. 1:18–19; Rev. 5:9; Jn. 19:30; and Heb 10:14.

170 Is. 53:4–5.

171 Lefèvre quotes Cusanus: "Illam poenam sensus conformem damnatis inferno pati voluit in gloriam Dei Patris sui, ut ostenderet quod ei obediendum sit usque ad extremum supplicium" (Lefèvre d'Étaples, *Qvincvplex Psalterium*, sig. A4^{r}). For Cusanus' view, see *supra* on p. 103.

172 Other passages quoted: Lk. 23:43.46 and 24:25–26; Phil. 2:8.9–10; Heb. 2:9 and 5:7; and Ps. 3:6 and 91(90):11–15. (Lefèvre d'Étaples, *Qvincvplex Psalterium*, sig. A4$^{r–v}$).

173 Lefèvre d'Étaples, *Qvincvplex Psalterium*, sig. A4^{v}.

174 Lefèvre d'Étaples, *Qvincvplex Psalterium*, sig. A5^{v}.

175 "Moyses ipse in figura: CHRISTVS. Virga Moysi: crux CHRISTI. Pharao: tyrannus inferni. Mare ruptum: infernus. Populus eductus/ animæ e captiuitate inferni liberatæ" (Lefèvre d'Étaples, *Qvincvplex Psalterium*, sig. A6^{r}). To prove that Christ liberated souls from Hell he also cites Rufinus Aquileiensis, *Commentarius in symbolum apostolorum*, 16 (see *supra* n. 100). Lefèvre refers to Rufinus' work as *Expositio symboli ad Laurentium* (which is not to be confused with Augustine's Exposition of the Creed to Laurentius). Other biblical reference quotations for the same purpose are Col. 1:20; Jn. 14:30; and Hos. 13:14 (Lefèvre d'Étaples, *Qvincvplex Psalterium*, sig. A6$^{r–v}$).

the suffering assumes that Lazarus himself would not be tormented where the rich man is, should it be possible for him to get there.[176] Furthermore, when Christ predicted His sufferings He never mentioned anything about suffering in Hell, Lefèvre argued (Mt. 16:21–23).[177] In view of that, Peter's words in Acts 2:24 do not refer to Christ's torment in Hell but to the suffering of those who were detained in Hell.[178] This is what Cusanus meant when he spoke about the *visio mortis*, because the direct experience of the vision of death is the suffering of the damned.[179] Christ, the author of life, destroyed death by His own death and restored life.[180] Therefore, Christ's soul could not possibly suffer after His death, and the suffering Cusanus mentions in connection with the descent into Hell should be understood as Christ's suffering on the cross, for it was not in His person (*in persona*) that Christ suffered, but in His bodyparts (*in membris*). As Christ suffered for sins once and for all (*semel*), both for the righteous and for the unrighteous (1 Pt. 3:18), it is not unreasonable to think, Lefèvre argued, that on the cross Christ suffered both earthly and hellish torments at the same time (*semel*).[181] For Lefèvre, this is what the psalms teach: as they speak about the suffering of the parts of the body, they can only refer to Christ's suffering on the cross because Christ's soul was separated from His body by death, and consequently could not suffer in His limbs after

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[176] "Ecce quomodo iusti videntes cruciatus non cruciantur: neque etiam si in illis locis tormentorum sint/patiantur. Mitte (inquit) Lazarum vt refrigeret linguam meam: intelligen etiam/ Lazarum missum/ tormenta illa pati non posse" (Lefèvre d'Étaples, *Qvincvplex Psalterium*, sig. A6^{r}). Lefèvre also quotes Sir. 24:25.

[177] Lefèvre d'Étaples, *Qvincvplex Psalterium*, sig. A6^{r}.

[178] "Et id solutis doloribus siue soluens dolores: non referetur in CHRISTVM/ tanquam intelligendum sit soluens dolores CHRISTI/ sed ad eos qui a morte et doloribus inferni detinebantur" (Lefèvre d'Étaples, *Qvincvplex Psalterium*, sig. A4^{v}). Also: "Ergo hæc intelligantur de doloribus: quos in preciosissimo corpore suo in hoc mundo CHRISTVS pertulit" (Lefèvre d'Étaples, *Qvincvplex Psalterium*, sig. A5^{v}). Lefèvre also quotes Augustine's commentary on Genesis: see *supra* on p. 97 n. 101.

[179] "Ergo de illis pœnis intelligi debet quod ait Cusa: cum dicit. Visio mortis via cognoscentię: est pœna consummata" (Lefèvre d'Étaples, *Qvincvplex Psalterium*, sig. a2^{v}).

[180] "Qui mortem nostram moriendo destruxit: & vitam resurgendo reparauit. qui salutem humani generis in ligno constituit: vt vnde mors oriebatur/ inde vita resurgeret" (Lefèvre d'Étaples, *Qvincvplex Psalterium*, sig. A5^{r}). Lefèvre cites for his purpose Mt. 8:29; Sir. 38:5–6; Heb. 2:24; Col. 2:14; and Zech. 9:11. He also refers to Jerome's *Commentarium in Zachariam prophetam ad exsuperum*, ad. IX,11, and the Hymn in the Evensong of Easter: *Ad cœnam Agni providi* (Lefèvre d'Étaples, *Qvincvplex Psalterium*, sigs. A4^{v}–A5^{r}).

[181] Lefèvre d'Étaples, *Qvincvplex Psalterium*, sig. a3^{r}. Lefèvre believed that this was what Cusanus also meant: "virum apostolicum Cusam locutum fuisse de temporali CHRISTI passione" (Lefèvre d'Étaples, *Qvincvplex Psalterium*, sig. a2^{v}).

His death.[182] The souls of the righteous are in the hands of God, and no torment can affect them, Lefèvre quotes Wis. 3:1. To state the contrary, that is, to ascribe torment to Christ's soul, is "nefarium & irreligiosum."[183] In fact, it was in His life that Christ suffered ineffably.[184] In his conclusion, Lefèvre stresses that he submits his own interpretation to that of the Church and emphatically acknowledges the authority of the Church:

> quam de questione illa sentio/ quam veneror/ quam prędico/ quam tota animi syncęritate amplector. volens sactę CHRISTI ecclesię omnium vere fidelium matris incontaminatę/ vestigijs semper inniti/ semper submitti/ semper obedire/ & sanctis eius semper acquiescere iudicijs.[185]

A further change provoked by the criticism of Pierre of Gosnay, beyond the two already discussed, can be found in the commentary section of the 1513 edition of the *Quincuplex Psalterium*. While Lefèvre reprinted his arguments of 1509 without any change, he added a list of Church Fathers whose writings corroborate, according to Lefèvre, the position that Christ suffered not in His person but in His limbs.[186] In this fashion Lefèvre could give a completely different meaning to his commentary without making an open retraction. In this manner, his second edition of the fivefold Psalter was more in line with the orthodox interpretation.

With regard to Purgatory, Lefèvre's position moved in the other direction: from convention to dissent. It is evident from his writings that for some time he not only accepted but also defended its existence. Lefèvre, undoubtedly promoted by his patron, the bishop of Meaux, combated Luther's position that the existence of Purgatory could not be proven by Scripture. On the contrary, the places where it is mentioned are numerous, and their interpretations all conclude that there must be a post-mortem place where souls owing satisfaction are purged and can be expiated. To prove the existence of this place of expiation, Lefèvre accommodated himself to the sole authority recognized by Protestants and relied exclusively on Scripture, not mentioning the Sacred Tradition or the arguments of

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[182] Ps. 17(16):9, 31:9(30:10), 71(70):20, 88(87):4–18, 116(114):3, and 141:6–7(7–8). Lefèvre d'Étaples, *Qvincvplex Psalterium*, sig. A5^{r}.

[183] Lefèvre d'Étaples, *Qvincvplex Psalterium*, sig. A5^{v}.

[184] Lefèvre quoted Lam. 1:12; Mk. 14:33; and Lk. 22:44.

[185] Lefèvre d'Étaples, *Qvincvplex Psalterium*, sig. a2^{r}.

[186] Lefèvre d'Étaples, *Qvincvplex Psalterium*, fo. 47^{r}. He mentions Origen, Tichonius, Ammonius, Chrysostom, Gregory of Nazzianzus, Jerome, Ambrose, Augustine, and Cassiodorus without specifying in which books they concur with the position in question.

medieval Scholastic theology.[187] In his commentary on the Gospels (1522), Lefèvre refers to Purgatory several times.[188] Commenting on Mt. 5:21–22, he distinguished between *iudicium* (κρίσις), *concilium* (συνέδριον), and *gehennae ignis* (γέενναν τοῦ πυρός).[189] The first term (*iudicium*) is the most serious, namely, the eternal punishment (*supplicium aeternum*); the two others are applied to minor sins that can be expiated (*expiabilis*) and are temporal punishments (*supplicium temporale*), and therefore they refer to Purgatory (*ignis purgatorius*), even if the term *gehennae ignis* can be used for eternal punishment in other places (e.g. Mk. 9:42.44.46).[190] Lefèvre then cites a number of places to prove the possibility of expiation for souls after this life (*de expiandarum animarum loco post istum mundum*).[191] These include the classic proof texts (e.g. Mt. 12:32; 1 Cor. 3:11–15; and 2 Macc. 12:43–45).[192] But Faber Stapulensis also found proof of the existence of Purgatory in texts that had not been used for this purpose. His innovative interpretations of Mt. 5:12; Mt. 18:34; and Lk. 16:19–31 are a few such examples.[193] These two instances especially deserve our attention. In the parable about the Unforgiving Servant, the ruthless servant, demanding the reimbursement of a debt from his fellow-servant, is said to be punished by torment until he paid the entirety of his own debt (*dominus eius tradidit eum tortoribus quoadusque redderet universum debitum*). Punishment in Hell for one's sins is inexpiable; from there it is impossible to escape (*locus tormentorum, infernus unde nunquam quisquam*

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[187] Guy Bedouelle, *Lefèvre d'Étaples et l'Intelligence des Écritures*, (THR 152), Geneva: Droz, 1976, p. 203. On the importance Lefèvre attributed to the Fathers for the correct understanding of the Bible, see: Rice, *The Humanist Idea of Christian Antiquity*, pp. 126–60.

[188] First edition: Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples, *Commentarii Initiatorii in Qvatvor Evangelia. In euangelium secundum Matthœum. In euangelium secundum Marcum. In euangelium secundum Lucam. In euangelium secundum Iohannem/ Iacobo Fabro Stapvlensi Avtore*, Paris: Simon Colinaeus, June 1522. Reprint editions: *Epistles et Evangiles pour les cinquante-deux semaines de l'an. Text of 1525*, ed. M.A. Screech, Geneva: Droz, 1964. Augmented by the 1532 text ed. Guy Bedouelle & F. Giacone, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1976.

[189] Lefèvre d'Étaples, *Commentarii Initiatorii in Qvatvor Evangelia*, fo. 27^{v}.

[190] Lefèvre d'Étaples, *Commentarii Initiatorii in Qvatvor Evangelia*, fos. 27^{v}–28^{r}.

[191] "Occurit locus qui nobis coniecturam de expiandarum animarum loco post huius mortalis vitae functionem." Besides the text mentioned here in the main text, Lefèvre analyses and accepts the following texts as proofs for the existence of Purgatory: Zech. 9:11; Ps. 6:6, 62:10, 85:13, and 113:25; Is. 38:18; Acts 2:24 (here he takes the expression *doloribus inferni* of the Vulgate for the suffering of the souls in Purgatory); Eph. 4:9–10; and Rev. 5:13. Lefèvre d'Étaples, *Commentarii Initiatorii in Qvatvor Evangelia*, fo. 28$^{r–v}$.

[192] Some ten years earlier, when Luther had not yet appeared on the scene, Lefèvre did not mention Purgatory while expounding upon 1 Cor. 3:11–15 in his commentary on the *Corpus Paulinum* (see *supra* on p. 156, n. 166).

[193] Lefèvre d'Étaples, *Commentarii Initiatorii in Qvatvor Evangelia*, fos. 25^{v}–26^{r}, 28$^{r–v}$, and 93^{v}–94^{r}.

est exiturus).[194] Consequently, the parable can only refer to Purgatory, where satisfaction can be given for crimes committed.[195] The existence of Purgatory can also be proven, according to Lefèvre, by the parable about Lazarus and the rich man (Lk. 16:19–31): the rich man must be in Purgatory because he was praying for his five brothers, a pious act that can only be performed by souls in Purgatory and not by the damned.[196] To prove that there is still temporal punishment to be suffered for remitted sins, Lefèvre employs the story of David's adultery with the wife of Uriah: David's sin was forgiven (2 Sam. 12:13: *transtulit peccatum tuum*), yet he was punished by the death of the child of Bathsheba (2 Sam. 12:14–23).[197] Therefore, it is possible that God forgives someone's sins, yet he punishes him either in this life or, if there was no satisfaction executed, after the first death (*mors prima*), in Purgatory (cf. Rev. 20). He concludes that *ex quo satis aperte insinuare uidetur quaedam peccata in futuro saeculo remittenda*, and further: *id ex loco concedas oportet apud inferos expiationum esse locum quem non pauci purgatorium appellant in quo ipse dives esset, quippe cum bonum optare videatur*.[198] Accordingly, the fate of the deceased is threefold: (1) those whose sins and punishment (*peccatum et poenam*) are remitted during their lives by God enter into eternal life (*vitam aeternam*) after death; (2) those whose sins (*peccatum, id est culpam*) are remitted but who still owe punishment (*reservata poena*) enter a place of expiation (*expiationum locum*) or Purgatory; and finally (3) those whose sins are not remitted during their life die immediately the second death (*mors secunda*) and enter into Hell.[199] At the same time, Lefèvre emphasized the absolute gratuity of God's grace and the unique character of Christ's sacrifice, without which nobody could achieve his or her own salvation (*nullus unquam suis ad aeternam salutem potuisset Deo satisfacere*).[200]

But Lefèvre's position on the subject seems to have changed over the years. Three years later, when he published his sermons on the readings of the fifty-two Sundays of the year, he gives a different interpretation

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194 Lefèvre d'Étaples, *Commentarii Initiatorii in Qvatvor Evangelia*, fo. 93^{v}.

195 "Tradidit eum tortoribus, quoadusque redderet universum debitum: ubi illud, quoadusque, tempus satisfactorię pœnę designare uidetur. Ex quo etiam loco, purgationum loci coniectura sumitur" (Lefèvre d'Étaples, *Commentarii Initiatorii in Qvatvor Evangelia*, fos. 93^{v}–94^{r}).

196 Lefèvre d'Étaples, *Commentarii Initiatorii in Qvatvor Evangelia*, fos. 28^{r} and 251^{r}.

197 Lefèvre d'Étaples, *Commentarii Initiatorii in Qvatvor Evangelia*, fo. 251^{v}.

198 Lefèvre d'Étaples, *Commentarii Initiatorii in Qvatvor Evangelia*, fos. 28^{v} and 251^{v}.

199 Lefèvre d'Étaples, *Commentarii Initiatorii in Qvatvor Evangelia*, fo. 251^{v}.

200 Lefèvre d'Étaples, *Commentarii Initiatorii in Qvatvor Evangelia*, fos. 251^{v} and 28^{v}.

of these passages.[201] In the parable of Lazarus (Lk. 16), the rich man enters Hell, where he cannot be helped any longer, it being too late for any help for him. In the above-mentioned verses in the Sermon on the Mount (Mt. 5:21–22), Lefèvre differentiated only between outward and inward acts (killing and being angry), and called the punishment for the latter the "fire of Gehenna" without specifying what exactly it means. The Unforgiving Servant of Mt. 18 is said to be condemned to eternal torment, unable to ever pay off his debt. Of course, the *Epistres et evangiles pour les Cinquante et deux Sepmaines de l'an*, written in French and meant as a guidebook for preachers, and thus ultimately aimed at the lay population, targeted a different public from that of his biblical commentaries in Latin. Nonetheless, the absence of Purgatory in Lefèvre's works from 1524 on; his connection with Gérard Roussel, Jacques Pauvan (d. 1526), and Matthieu Saunier, who publicly attacked, among other things, the existence of Purgatory as not having any scriptural foundation; and Lefèvre's silence on the accusations of 'guilt by association' with these persons, suggest that by 1524–25 Faber Stapulensis abandoned his views on the existence of a *locus purgationis*.[202]

More hints are available with regard to his position about the intercession of the saints. Although Lefèvre never publicly attacked the veneration of the saints, some of his remarks indicate that he regarded the invocation

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[201] Lefèvre d'Étaples, *Les Epistres & Evangiles des Cinquante et deux Dimanches de l'an avecques Briefves et tres Utiles Expositions d'ycelles*, Simon du Bois, 1525. Facsimile reprint: *Les Epistres et Evangiles pour les Cinquante et deux Sepmaines de l'an* with an introduction by M.A. Screech, Geneva, 1964. On Simon du Bois, see Annie Tricard, *La Propagande évangélique en France, l'imprimeur Simon du Bois (1525–34)*, in Gabrielle Berthoud, Delio Cantimori & Georgette Brasart-de Groër (eds.), *Aspects de la propagande religieuse*, (THR 28), Geneva: Droz, 1957, pp. 1–37.

[202] Noël Beda (1470–1537), syndic of the Faculty of Theology at the Sorbonne, charged Lefèvre with denying the existence of Purgatory just as his disciples did: "Nuperrime prava fuerunt damnata illa dogmata quae in praeceptoris Fabri schola didicerant. […] Neque ipsum liberat magistrum, quod hic non expressit non esse purgatorium et alibi illud asserere videtur. Nempe (uti diximus) ex assertis per eum, illud evidenter colligitur. Hinc dixerunt eius discipuli: Nullum esse nisi quod per Christi mortem factum est; quod est proprium Iacobi Fabri assertum" (Noël Beda, *Annotationes Natalis Bede … in Iacobum Fabrum Stapulensem libri duo et in Desiderium Erasmum Roterodamum liber unus*, Köln, Peter Quentell, 1526, fo. 133^{v}; the first edition was published in Paris by Jodocus Badius Ascensius, 1526). See also: Gérard Roussel to Johannes Oecolampadius, 24 August 1524, no. 118 in Aimé-Louis Herminjard, (ed.), *Correspondance des réformateurs dans les pays de langue française*, vol. I, Geneva: Georg, 1866, pp. 274–278; Heller, *The Evangelicism of Lefèvre d'Étaples: 1525*, pp. 42–77; Michel Veissière, *L'évêque Guillaume Briçonnet. 1470–1534. Contribution à la connaissance de la Réforme catholique à la veille du Concile de Trente*, Provins: SHA, 1986, pp. 228–37; Nicholls, *Heresy and Protestantism*, pp. 182–205; Cameron, *The Charges of Lutheranism Brought against Jacques Lefèvre d'Etaples (1520–1529)*, p. 122.

of the saints as a futile or inappropriate act that might be a hindrance to true piety. In his *Epistres & Evangiles*, commenting on the parable of Lazarus (the reading of the first Sunday after Pentecost), Lefèvre asserted that there was a great chasm between Lazarus and the rich man, and this chasm demonstrates that the rich man could not pray for himself, the dead, or the living.[203] This is so because God wants us to be saved by the faith he gives us, and not by those who passed away.[204] Also, the letters of Lefèvre's contemporaries testify to what seemed to them to be Lefèvre's rejection of the cult of the saints.[205]

To conclude the survey on Lefèvre, it is worth mentioning how an anonymous Parisian writer testifies to the fact that by the second half of the 1520s Meaux had earned a reputation as a centre of heresy. The writer assumed that most of the people of Meaux were Lutherans, for which Lefèvre was to blame. With only the vaguest idea of what it was, the writer characteristically understood 'Lutheranism' as not believing in images, holy water, prayers for the dead, or Purgatory.[206] Obviously, the writer

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[203] "Qui est bien monstrer qu'on ne peut obtenir priere ne pour luy ne pour autruy ne por les morts ne pour les vifz." Lefèvre d'Étaples, *Epistres & Evangiles*, fo. 176[r].

[204] "Car c'est là où il nous faut aller, c'est celle par laquelle en donnent foy, Dieu nous veult sauver, non point par ceulx qui sont passéz de ce monde." Lefèvre d'Étaples, *Epistres & Evangiles*, fo. 176[r]. In the 1542 Lyon edition six new sermons are contained that are more Protestant in character. One of these claims that "Car la sanctité de la Vierge Marie et de tous les anges, saincts et sainctes du paradis, riens ne nous proffitera, sinon par la parolle de Dieu deuement de nous honorée, ouye, retenue et observée" (fo. 102). The authorship of these amendments is questioned (as is the exact role of Lefèvre in the publication of *Epistres & Evangiles*). For the discussion, see: BEDOUELLE, *Lefèvre d'Étaples et l'Intelligence des Écritures*, pp. 205–06.

[205] Guillaume Farel (1489–1565) wrote to Zwingli on 13 January 1519 that "Ce bon Fabry avait travaillé après les légéndes des Sainctz et Sainctes, et desja deux moys des Martyrs estoyent impriméz, car il avoit delibré de mettre tout ce qu'il pourrait trouver, et le jour et l'année de tous. Mais ayant entendu la grosse idolatrie qui estoit ès prières des Sainctz, et que ces légendes y servent comme le soulphre à allumer le feu, il laissa tout et se mit du tout après le Saincte-Escripture" (Guillaume Farel, *Épître a tous*, 1530, republished in Herminjard, *Correspondance*, vol. I, pp. 40–41). Farel wrote of the hermit Michel d'Arande to Corneille Schefer on 2 April 1524 that "de Sanctorum cultu abrogando, rursus in multis a Fabro commonefactus" (Herminjard, *Correspondance*, vol. I, no. 97, pp. 205–06).

[206] "Et faut noter que la plus grande partie de Meaulx en estoit infectée de la faulce doctrine de Luther, et disoit on qu'un nommé Fabry, prestre, estudiant avec autres, esoit cause desdicts embrouillemens, et entre choses qu'il ne falloit avoir ès eglises aucunes images, ne prendre eau beniste pour effacer tous les pechez, ne prier pour les trespasses, à cause qu'incontinent après le trespaz ilz alloient en paradis ou en enfer, et qu'il n'y avoit nul purgatoire, et qu'il n'estoit vray et ne le croy[oit] pas" (*Le journal d'un bourgeois de Paris sous le règne de François Ier (1515–1536)*, ed. Victor-Louis Bourrilly, (Collection de textes pour servir à l'étude et à l'enseignement de l'histoire 43), Paris: Picard, 1910, pp. 233–234).

was concerned with orthopraxis rather than orthodoxy or ecclesiology,[207] and the fine distinctions about Lutheran theology were lost on him, as they were on many of his contemporaries.[208]

Martin Luther[209]

Although Gansfort, Erasmus, and Lefèvre voiced some opinions that afterwards were seen as Protestant tenets, what later became known as the Protestant Reformation was really initiated by Martin Luther (originally Luder, 1483–1546).[210] On 31 October 1517, Luther reputedly nailed his ninety-five theses attacking the teaching of the Church on the efficacy and power of indulgences to the door of the *Schloßkirche* in Wittenberg.[211]

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[207] "Doubts about the powers of the saints were the most common of all and opened up the road to heresy for many" (David J. Nicholls, *The Nature of Popular Heresy in France, 1520–1542*, in *The Historical Journal* 26 (1983), p. 272). He refers to cases of the theology student Thérouanne—who was burnt in Paris in 1526 and who believed that the Virgin Mary had no power, and neither did any other saint—and of the 'Lutheran' wool-worker from Meaux who did *amende honorable* in April 1536 for attacking images, holy water, and prayers for the dead (pp. 272–73).

[208] Nicholls, *The Nature of Popular Heresy in France*, p. 268; Nicholls, *Heresy and Protestantism*, pp. 203–05.

[209] Some parts of this section have been published in *TT*, Cats. 14 and 15 on pp. 69–70.

[210] On Luther's views on post-mortem existence, see: John Horsch, *Martin Luther's Attitude toward the Principle of Liberty of Conscience*, in *The American Journal of Theology* 11 (1907), pp. 307–15; Paul Althaus, *Die letzten Dinge. Lehrbuch der Eschatologie*, Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1956, pp. 146–47; Julius Köstlin, *Luthers Theologie in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung und in ihren inneren Zusammenhange dargestellt*, Darmstadt: Buchgesellschaft, ²1968, esp. pp. 207–09 and 373–76; Ole Modalsi, *Luther über die Letzten Dinge*, in Helmar Junghans (ed.), *Leben und Werk Martin Luthers von 1526 bis 1546*, Göttingen: Evangelischer, 1983, pp. 331–45; Mark U. Edwards, Jr., *Luther's Last Battles. Politics and Polemics, 1531–1546*, Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1983; Mark U. Edwards, Jr., *Luther's Last Battles*, in *CTQ* 48 (1984), pp. 125–40; Tibor Fabiny, *Luther szentségkritikája és szentségtana*, in *Mérleg* 38 (2002), pp. 85–99; Krey, *Luther and the Apocalypse*, pp. 135–45; Stephen Westerholm, *Perspectives Old and New on Paul. The 'Lutheran' Paul and His Critics*, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003; Theo M.M.A.C. Bell, *Man is a Microcosmos: Adam and Eve in Luther's Lectures on Genesis (1535–1545)*, in *CTQ* 69 (2005), pp. 159–84.

[211] The tradition that Luther nailed his theses on the door of the *Schloßkirche* in Wittenberg on 31 October 1517 has been called into question by historians. For example, Hans Volz suggested that the nailing took place a day later, on 1 November (Hans Volz, *An welchem Tag schlug Martin Luther seine 95 Thesen an die Wittenberger Schlosskirche an?*, in *Deutsches Pfarrerblatt* 57 (1957), pp. 457–58). Erwin Iserloh, professor of church history at the University of Trier, proposed the theory in 1961 that Luther never nailed them to the church door but instead sent them to two of his ecclesiastical superiors—Bishop Schulz of Brandenburg and Archbishop Albrecht of Magdeburg and Mainz. He has argued that the first source for this tradition is Melanchthon's description in 1546, written only after the death of Luther, and that Melanchthon was nowhere near Wittenberg in 1517. Iserloh has

The ninety-five theses were soon printed and circulated widely not only throughout Germany, but all over northwest Europe and even beyond. Rome was compelled to react. In 1518, Pope Leo X (1475–1521, pope 1513–21) sent an envoy to obtain Luther's formal withdrawal of some of his unorthodox teachings. This envoy was Cardinal Cajetan (Tomasso di Vio Gaetano, 1469–1534), an Italian theologian, excellent biblical scholar, and general of the Dominicans.[212] In October Luther was heard in Augsburg, but instead of recanting, he began to question the jurisdiction of the Pope.

Luther started his dissent on the question of indulgences, and he did not desire to establish any new teachings, let alone a new church community. His ninety-five theses (1517) were centred around the objectionable practice of selling indulgences and touched upon Purgatory only tangentially. Even then, his chief concern was about the financial and lucrative character of the clerical abuse of the teaching on Purgatory. At that time he did not deny the existence of Purgatory as such at all.[213] His rejection

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also pointed out that there was no open discussion at Wittenberg, that no original copy or printing of Luther's theses is preserved, and that Luther's own words suggest that he acted in secret. Nonetheless, it is also clear from Iserloh's book that it was the intention of Luther and the leaders of Protestant Reformation to commemorate the beginning of their movement on the Eve of All Saints' Day 1517. (Erwin Iserloh, *Luther Thesenanschlag: Tatsache oder Legende?*, in *Trierer theologische Zeitschrift* 70 (1961), pp. 303–12; Erwin Iserloh, *Luther zwischen Reform und Reformation. Der Thesenanschlag fand nicht statt*, Münster: Aschendorff, 1966; English translation: Erwin Iserloh, *The Theses Were Not Posted. Luther Between Reform and Reformation*, trans. Jared Wicks, London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1968; Wilhelm Pauck, *The 'Catholic' Luther*, in John C. Olin, James D. Smart & Robert E. McNally (eds.), *Luther, Erasmus and the Reformation. A Catholic-Protestant Reappraisal*, New York: Fordham UP, 1969, pp. 48–58, esp. 49–52; Thurman L. Smith, *Luther and the Iserloh Thesis from a Numismatic Perspective*, in *SCJ* 20 (1989), pp. 183–201). Aland and Bornkamm argued against Iserloh and Volz in favour of the authenticity of the event on the traditional date: Kurt Aland, *Martin Luthers 95 Thesen. Mit den dazugehörigen Dokumenten aus der Geschichte der Reformation*, Hamburg: Furche-Verlag H. Rennebach, 1965; Kurt Aland, *Die Reformatoren. Luther, Melanchthon, Zwingli, Calvin. Mit einem Nachwort zur Reformationsgeschichte*, Gütersloh: Gütersloher, [4]1986; Heinrich Bornkamm, *Thesen und Thesenanschlag Luthers: Geschehen und Bedeutung*, Berlin: Töpelmann, 1967. On indulgences see *supra* on p. 112.

[212] On Thomas Cajetan, see: Jared Wicks, *Cajetan und die Anfänge der Reformation*, (Katholisches Leben und Kirchenreform im Zeitalter der Glaubensspaltung: Vereinsschriften der Gesellschaft zur Herausgabe des Corpus Catholicorum 43), Münster: Aschendorff, 1983; Barbara Hallensleben, *Communicatio. Anthropologie und Gnadenlehre bei Thomas de Vio Cajetan*, (RST 123), Münster: Aschendorff, 1985; Charles Morerod, *Cajetan et Luther en 1518*, (Cahiers oecuméniques 26), Fribourg: Ed. Universitaires, 1994; Katherine Elliot van Liere, *Vitoria, Cajetan, and the Conciliarists*, in *JHI* 58 (1997), pp. 597–616; Bernhard Alfred R. Felmberg, *Die Ablasstheologie Kardinal Cajetans (1469–1534)*, (SMRT 66), Leiden: Brill, 1998.

[213] Martin Luther, *Disputatio pro declaratione virtutis indulgentiarum* (1517), published in *WA* I, pp. 233–38. See esp. articles 16–25 on p. 234.

of the doctrine of Purgatory grew only gradually, as did his acceptance of the idea of soul sleep. In his elucidation of the ninety-five theses, the *Resolutiones disputationum de indulgentiarum virtute* (1518),[214] he asserted explicitly the existence of Purgatory: "mihi certissimum est, purgatorium esse."[215] Luther at that time believed that the souls experienced infernal torments and despair in Purgatory.[216] According to him, the souls are purified by these ineffable, indescribable, and incredible sufferings (*tantas infernales, quantas nec lingua dicere nec calamus scribere nec inexpertus credere potest*), and by immeasurable fear.[217] The souls of the departed were not, however, required to give satisfaction for unfulfilled earthly penance.[218] He denied the effect of indulgences on the fate of the soul and rejected the teaching that the Church Militant would have any jurisdiction over the dead.

A year later, a public debate took place at the Pleissenburg Castle in Leipzig from 27 June to 16 July 1519 under the aegis of George the Bearded (Georg Wettin der Bärtige, 1471–1539), Duke of Saxony (1500–39). At the confrontation, which became known as the Leipzig Disputation, Karlstadt and Luther entered into debate with Johann Eck (1486–1543), a professor of theology at the University of Ingolstadt, a distinguished scholar, and a feared disputant. Purgatory was one of the four topics discussed by Luther and Eck at this encounter.[219] Luther admitted the existence of Purgatory in spite of his conviction that there was no scriptural foundation for such a tenet, as he did not recognize the canonicity of 2 Maccabees.[220] The other

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[214] Martin Luther, *Resolutiones disputationum de indulgentiarum virtute reverendi Patris, ac Sacræ Theologiæ doctoris Martini Luther Augustiniani Vuittenbergensis*, Wittenberg: Johannes Grünenberg, 1518, published in *WA* I, pp. 525–628.

[215] *WA* I, pp. 555–58 and 586.

[216] "Igitur consessum est, horrorem esse in animabus: nunc probo, eum esse pœnam purgatorii vel maximam. Omnes concedunt easdem esse pœnas purgatorii et inferni nisi quod differunt æternitate" (*WA* I, p. 556). "In ipso sit desperatio, fuga, horror, et dolor" (*WA* I, p. 558).

[217] *WA* I, p. 557.

[218] *WA* I, pp. 560–61 and 571.

[219] *WA* II, pp. 322–44. The other three topics being the papal supremacy, indulgences, and penance.

[220] "Cum enim divina scriptura tota prorsus nihil habeat de purgatorio, sed omnia loquitur vel de inferno vel celo, volo hoc hac una responsione ad omnes auctoritates respondisse, quod non faciant ad propositum: sequenter et expositiones omnium patrum, nisi expresse meminerint purgatorii, nam credebile est, quod quando tractant scripturas sanctas, sensum etiam scripture sancte sequantur" (*WA* II, p. 323). "Ego, qui credo fortiter, immo ausim dicere 'scio', purgatorium esse, facile persuadeor […] sed […] nam et liber Machabeorum, cum non sit in canone, pro fidelibus potens est, contra pertinaces nihil facit" (*WA* II, p. 324).

traditional biblical proof texts cited by Eck were dubious in Luther's view. Luther declared that the only thing he knew about the souls in Purgatory is that they suffer there and are helped by our good works and prayers.[221] He denied, however, that either good works or prayers gave any satisfaction and maintained that indulgences had no effect whatsoever on the fate of the deceased. Apparently Luther (like most of his contemporaries) did not regard indulgences as the extension of penitential works.[222]

The Leipzig Disputation was a turning point in Luther's career, as it exposed the extent of his estrangement from the official position of the Church (especially on the other three issues). The subsequent excommunication and the Edict of Worms (1521) only made explicit what was already implicitly manifested in Leipzig: Luther had become irrevocably seen as a heretic. His teachings began to differ more and more from the orthodox views. In his *Assertio omnium articulorum* (1520)[223] he still held that Purgatory exists (*ego tamen et credo purgatorium esse et consulo suadeque credendum*) and that Scripture remains silent about Purgatory.[224] According to Luther, the souls are not tormented by fire but by their banishment and by fear.[225] Nonetheless, Luther claimed, the only reason for arguing for the existence of Purgatory is the concern of the Papist Church for its profit.[226] Therefore, one is not necessarily a heretic if one denies the existence of Purgatory, nor is one a Christian *per se* if one affirms its existence.[227] Luther uses the example of the Greek Church, which denies the existence of Purgatory but is still considered Catholic.

Rome reacted to Luther's estrangement from the Catholic teachings in the form of a bull issued in 1520. The papal bull *Exsurge Domine* was issued on 15 June 1520. It extracted 41 errors from Luther's 95 theses, his

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221 "Ego enim nihil de purgatorio novi nisi animas ibi pati iuvandas operibus et orationibus nostris" (*WA* II, p. 325).

222 Cf. Romanus Cessario's remark, which held that "one might even argue that if Aquinas's theological finesse in treating indulgences had shaped the practice of the church in the sixteenth century, they might not have been one of the issues that provoked Protestant reform" (Cessario, *Christian Satisfaction in Aquinas*, p. 77). For Aquinas' position, see *supra* on p. 113.

223 Martin Luther, *Assertio omnium articulorum M. Lutheri per bullam Leonis X. novissimam damnatorum*, Wittenberg: Melchior Lotter, 1920. Published in *WA* VII, pp. 94–151.

224 *WA* VII, pp. 111 and 149.

225 "Iam cum ipsimet fateantur, Animas non ab igne, sed in igne pati, quam possunt aliam poenam dare quam fugam et horrorem?" (*WA* VII, p. 111).

226 "Et quae necessitas est pro purgatorio sic tumultari, nisi quod Papistica Ecclesia lucro suo timet, quod inaestimabile trahit ex purgatorio?" (*WA* VII, p. 149).

227 "Suo quisque periculo hic credat vel non credat, non est haereticus, si purgatorium non credit, nec ideo Christianus, si credit" (*WA* VII, p. 149).

subsequent writings, and sayings attributed to him. Items 37–40 were concerned with questions relating to Purgatory. The bull condemned the positions that it was impossible to prove the existence of Purgatory from Scripture (37), that some souls in Purgatory were not sure of their final fate (38), that it is sinful for the souls in Purgatory to seek rest and abhor punishment (39), and that the souls freed from Purgatory by suffrages of the living are less happy than if they had made satisfaction by themselves (40).[228] The condemnations, though not all directly evidenced in Luther's writings, prove that Luther's position on Purgatory was still hesitant. The Pope demanded that Luther retract his theses within sixty days of publication.

A year later (1521), in the *Grund vnd vrsach aller Artikel D. Marti. Luther*,[229] the German version of the *Assertio*, Luther argued that imperfect love hinders one's getting into Heaven after death, and therefore the soul is in need of purgation. But it is impossible to know whether there is a Purgatory.[230] As far as Luther was concerned, he believed in it, despite his belief that no Scripture can unambiguously prove it. But everyone is free to decide for himself or herself.[231] And about the state of the souls in Purgatory, it is enough to know, Luther claimed, that the souls suffer great and unbearable pain and crave your help. But, Luther suggested, if one wishes to discuss the question, one must leave room for conjecture and differences of opinion, as he does.[232] His *Ad Librum Magistri Nostri Magistri Ambrosii Catharini*, published in the same year, contained a short passage implying that the Catholic claim about the Pope's ability to liberate souls from Purgatory was only a fiction, invented to extract money from the people.[233]

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[228] "Purgatorium non potest probari ex sacra Scriptura quae est in canone" (Leo X, *Exsurge Domine*, as contained in DH 1487 (DS 777)).

[229] Martin Luther, *Grund vnd vrsach aller Artikel D. Marti. Luther: szo durch Romische Bulle vnrechtlich vordampt seyn*, Wittenberg, 1521, republished in *WA* VII, pp. 308–457.

[230] "Das aber die grosse furcht. mocht wol eyn fegfewr seyn. hab ich. dunkels weyß gehalten weyß das selb widder zcü setzen noch zcu entsetzen. Die erfarung wirtts wol leren. Ist auch nichts dran gelegen. ob wyrß nit wissenn" (*WA* VII, p. 348).

[231] "Mich hab ich beschlossen es sey eyn fegfewr. kam aber seynen andernn alßo beschließen" (*WA* VII, p. 450, cf. p. 452).

[232] "Ist gnüg das du wissist wie sie ynn grosser vntreglicher peyn seyn. vnnd deyner hulff begeren. aber yhe dauon disputiern, ßo laß doch eyn wahn bleyben ynnd gutte meynu*n*g wie ich thue" (*WA* VII, p. 454).

[233] "Quis vero enumeret prodigia illa de solis defunctis? Bone deus, quantum hic mare mendaciorum de apparitionibus, adiurationibus responsisque spiritum inundavit, quibus factus est, ut Papa etiam mortuorum rex factus sit et in purgatorio iam regnet magno sacrificulorum incomodo, si pergat: qui e purgatorio omnem victum, omnes spes, omnem illam

A year later Luther distanced himself a step further from the official teaching of the Church. In a letter dated 13 January 1522 that was written to his Wittenberg scholar friend Canon Nicholaus von Amsdorf (1483–1565), who had accompanied Luther to the Leipzig Disputation and the Diet of Worms, Luther addressed the idea of soul sleep for the first time.[234] Amsdorf's original letter has not been found, but from Luther's answer it seems that Amsdorf had asked Luther about his opinion on the matter. In his response Luther states that he is ready to concede that the souls of the righteous sleep at an unknown place until the Day of Judgement.[235] This is what 2 Sam. 7:12 (in the Vulgate's reading: *dormiunt cum patribus suis*) seems to suggest, Luther argued. But Luther was not sure if this is the case for all souls, if one takes the raptures of Paul (2 Cor. 12:2), Moses (Dt. 35:5f), and Elijah (2 Kgs. 2:11) into consideration. Luther maintained that the appearance of these last two on Mount Tabor (Mt. 17:3), as well as the story of Lazarus and the Rich Man, seems to contradict such a sleep of the souls after death. Therefore, it is not clear what God does with the souls separated from their bodies.[236] It also remains unresolved whether the damned will receive their punishment immediately after their death or only at the end of the world, but it is conceivable that they, too, are asleep and insensible until the second coming.[237] In any case, the denial of the existence of Purgatory in the traditional sense (which is a necessary conclusion if one assumes the souls to be asleep) cannot render anyone a heretic, Luther asserted again.[238] For Purgatory is not so much a distinct place, Luther wrote, but a state of purgation by torment.[239]

The publication of Gansfort's *Farrago* in Wittenberg (1522) was probably not without effect on Luther's views of Purgatory.[240] Luther must have recognized that he arrived at a conclusion similar to Gansfort's when Gansfort taught that Purgatory is not so much a place as a necessary state of the soul during a post-mortem purgation. Also, Gansfort's doubts about the effect of intercessions for the dead and about the jurisdiction of the

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rerum pompam habent, minus habituri, si fidem viventium aeque docerent atque propositiones defunctorum" (*WA* VII, p. 749). For Frith's English translation, see: *infra* on p. 266.

234 *WA BW* II, pp. 422–24.

235 "Proclive mihi est concedere tecum in eam sententiam, iustorum animas dormire ac usque ad iudicii diem nescire, ubi sint" (*WA BW* II, p. 422).

236 "Quis enim novit, quomodo Deus agat cum animabus separatis?" (*WA BW* II, p. 422).

237 "Veresimile autem, exceptis paucis omnes dormire insensibiles" (*WA BW* II, p. 422).

238 "Non enim, si neges purgatorium, haereticus es" (*WA BW* II, p. 423).

239 *WA BW* II, pp. 422–23.

240 See *supra* on p. 86.

Church Militant must have found a sympathetic reader in Luther.[241] But the claim that Luther's conclusions were the same as those of the Frisian theologian does not do justice to either Gansfort or Luther.[242] Luther viewed purgation more in terms of pain and penalty, whereas Gansfort regarded purgation in terms of a gradual growth in love towards God without any penal aspects.[243]

Luther's sermons dating from this period testify to his emerging uncertainty about the existence of Purgatory.[244] He remained deliberately vague on the topic, claiming that he could neither deny nor affirm the existence of Purgatory, but the purification of souls after death was certainly within God's power. But the possibility of the soul sleep continued to intrigue him. In his sermons on the story about the Rich Man and Lazarus (1522 and 1523), Luther taught that the bosom of Abraham is not a carnal reality (because Abraham's body is buried in Canaan and his soul has no bosom), but refers to God's blessing of Abraham in Gen. 22:18: "by your offspring shall all the nations of the earth gain blessing for themselves."[245] Therefore, all those who died before Christ with a firm faith were transferred to Abraham's bosom—that is to say, they are stored and kept as if in a bosom until the Day of Judgement, except for those who were already resurrected together with Christ (Mt. 27:52).[246] In his later sermon, Luther claimed that everyone would be transferred to Abraham's bosom, which

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241 See Koslofsky, *Separating the Living from the Dead*, p. 130.

242 For such a claim, see: Koslofsky, *Separating the Living from the Dead*, p. 130.

243 See *supra* on p. 86.

244 Luther's shift was partly influenced by Jakob Strauß' (*c.*1480–1530) radical rejection of Purgatory: Jakob Strauß, *Kurtz und verstendig leer uber das wort. S. Pauli/ zu den Römern/ der todt ist/ der ist von sunden gerecht gemacht*, Eilenburg: Nicolaus Widemar, 1523. (See: Hans-Joachim Kohler, Hildegard Hebenstreit Wilfert & Christoph Weismann (eds.), *Flugschriften des frühen 16. Jahrhunderts*, Zug: IDC, 1978, Fiche 1078, no. 2732.) Strauß denounced intercessory prayers for the dead and the existence of Purgatory on the basis of the Protestant *sola fide* principle, which, as he argued, excluded the need for any purification after death. See also: Hermann Barge, *Die gedruckten Schriften des evangelischen Predigers Jakob Strauß*, in *ARg* 32 (1935), pp. 100–21 and 248–52; Hermann Barge, *Jakob Strauß*, (Schriften des Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte 162), Leipzig: Rudolf Haupt, 1937; Joachim Rogge, *Der Beitrag des Predigers Jakob Strauß zu frühen Reformationsgeschichte*, Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanst, 1957; Russell S. Woodbridge, *Gerhard Westerburg. His Life and Doctrine of Purgatory and the Lord's Supper*, Ph.D. disseration, Southeastern Baptist Theological Seminary, 2003, pp. 84–86; Romedio Schmitz-Esser, *Von entlaufenen Nonnen und charismatischen Predigern. Die Lehren Luthers und ihr Niederschlag in Hall in Tirol*, in *Tiroler Heimatblätter* 82 (2007), pp. 12–18.

245 *WA* X/3, p. 191. *WA* XII, pp. 595–96.

246 "Also sind alle Vetter fur Christus gepurt ynn den schoß Abrahe gefaren, das ist sie sind am sterben mit festem glawben an dißem spruch Gottis blieben und ynn das selbige wortt entschlaffen, gefasset unnd bewaret als ynn eynem schoß, und schlaffen auch

is understood as a metaphor for the Gospel.[247] But if the bosom of Abraham refers to God's promise wherein the blessed rest, are kept, and stay preserved until the last day, then Hell, where the rich man is depicted in the story, must also refer to the absence of God's word, from which the infidels are deprived until the end of the world.[248]

Now the question arises, Luther wrote, of whether the rich man is going to be tormented until the end of the world. This is a subtle question, Luther claimed, and is not easy to answer for the inexperienced. But in the other world, Luther asserted, there is no temporality; everything happens as if in an eternal blink of an eye (cf. 2 Pt. 3:8).[249] Therefore, the rich man could have experienced all of this in the blink of an eye—his eyes opened in death, and the next thing he will know is the end of the world.[250] Hence, Luther finds it impossible to say whether the rich man is still being and will be continuously kept in torment until the end of the world.[251] In a later sermon, Luther restates the atemporality of the other world, claiming that at the resurrection, Adam and the ancient Fathers will feel as if they had still been alive only half an hour earlier.[252]

As to the effect of prayers for the dead, Luther is also hesitant. We have received no commandment from God to pray for the dead, he claims, and therefore one cannot commit sin if one does not pray for them.[253] Nonetheless, he provided his parishioners with an agnostic prayer for the dead:

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noch drynnen biß an den iungsten tag, außgenomen die ßo mit Christo sind schon aufferstanden, wie Mattheus schryebt am 26. [*sic*] Capitel [*vere* 27,52]" (*WA* X/3, p. 191).

247 "Derhalben dise schoß ist das Ewangelium, die verhaissung die dem Abraham geschehen ist, da müssen wir alle hynein, wenn ich unnd ein yegklicher Christ sterben muß, so muß er die augen zuthun und allain an gottes wort hangen und got vertrawen, das er unns auff nemen werdt" (*WA* XII, p. 596).

248 "Denn gleych wie Abrahams schoß Gottis wort ist, darynnen die glawbigen durch den glawben rugen, schlaffen, und bewaret werden biß an den iungsten tag, Also muß yhe widderumb die helle syen, da Gottis wort nicht ist, darynnen die unglewbigen durch den unglawben verstossen sind biß an iungsten tag: Das kan nicht anders den eynn leer, unglewbig, sundig, böße gewissen seyn" (*WA* X/3, p. 192).

249 "Denn hie muß man die zeyt auß dem synn thun unnd wissen, das ynn yhener wellt nicht zeytt noch stund sind, ßondernn alles eyn ewiger augenblick, wie Sanct Petrus am zweytten Pet: am zweyten sagt" (*WA* X/3, p. 194).

250 On atemporality after death in Luther's eschatology, see: Robin B. Barnes, *Prophecy and Gnosis. Apocalypticism and the Wake of the Lutheran Reformation*, Stanford: UP, 1988, pp. 36–37.

251 *WA* X/3, p. 194.

252 "Und wenn man auffersteen wirt, so wurde es Adam und den alten vetern werden, gleich als weren sie vor einer halben stundt noch im leben gewest. Dört is kain zeyt" (*WA* XII, p. 596).

253 "Wyr haben keyn gepot von Got fur die todten zů bitten, Darumb niemant dran sundigen kan, der nicht fur sie bittet" (*WA* X/3, p. 194).

"Lieber Gott, ist die seele ynn dem stand, das yhr noch zů helffen ist, So bitt ich, wolltist yhr gnedig seyn."[254] "This prayer," as Koslofsky puts it, "is a far cry from the certain intercession for the dead offered by the Roman church through masses, vigils, and indulgences."[255] In fact, Luther preached that to say masses for the dead and to hold vigils for them is wicked and sinful (*böß und sünd*); it is a mockery of God (*da wirtt Gott verspottet*) and is pure blasphemy (*lauter lesterung Gottis*).[256]

By 1525, Luther openly endorsed the idea of soul sleep. Expounding upon Jn. 8:51 ("Very truly, I tell you, whoever keeps my word will never see death") in a Lenten church postil, Luther differentiated between dying (*sterben*) and seeing or tasting death (*den tod sehen oder schmecken*).[257] The faithful, he claimed, in spite of the fact that they, too, have to die, will not see or taste death, because they keep and cling unto Christ's words. But the infidels will taste death, that is to say, the power and might or bitterness of death, which is eternal death and Hell, because they do not keep Christ's word.[258] For Luther, the future destinies of the human person—death or Hell on the one hand and Heaven or resurrection on the other—are only the *terminus*, the final stage of a process that can already be experienced by the person during his or her earthly life. The Christians are already saved from death and Hell in this earthly life, so even when they die, Luther held, they will live (Jn. 11:25), for they will have no recollection of the atemporal soul sleep.[259] The Scriptures call death 'sleep,' he argued, and just as one who falls asleep and wakes up the next morning does not know what has happened in the meantime, so will the just rise up suddenly on the last day unaware that they were in and had passed through death.[260] A year later (1526), he remarked that Eccl. 9:5 ("the living know that they will die, but the dead know nothing; they have no more reward, and even the memory of them is lost") is the most powerful passage in Scripture to show that the dead are asleep and do not know

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254 *WA* X/3, p. 195; See also *WA* XII, pp. 592–97.

255 Koslofsky, *Separating the Living from the Dead*, p. 136.

256 *WA* X/3, pp. 195–96.

257 *WA* XVII/2, p. 234.

258 "Also das man den tod schmecken wol mag heyssen die krafft und macht odder bitterheyt des tods, ia es ist der ewige tod unde die helle" (*WA* XVII/2, pp. 234–35).

259 *WA* XVII/2, p. 235.

260 "Drumb heyst auch der tod ynn der schrifft eyn schlaff. Denn gleich wie der nicht weys, wie yhm geschicht, wer eynschlefft und kompt zu morgen unversehens, wenn er auffwacht. Also werden wyr plötzlich aufferstehen am Jůngsten tage, das wyr nicht wissen, wie wyr ynn den tod und durch den tod komen sind" (*WA* XVII/2, p. 235).

anything about earthly affairs.[261] Luther argued that this clearly stands in opposition to the invocation of the saints and the fiction of Purgatory.

In his *Vom Abendmahl Christi, Bekenntnis* (1528),[262] Luther repeated his argument that neither Purgatory nor prayer for the dead has any scriptural basis. Therefore, Luther maintained, it is not necessary to believe in Purgatory. Nonetheless, Luther added, all things are possible for God, and he could very well allow souls to be tormented after their departure from the body. But since God has not caused this to be spoken or written about, he does not wish to have it believed either, Luther argued.[263] He also expressed that he knew of some kind of a Purgatory, but he deemed it improper to teach anything about it in the congregation or to deal with it by means of endowments or vigils.[264]

By 1530 Luther was already completely estranged from the Catholic doctrine of Purgatory and wrote his *Widerruf vom Fegefeuer*.[265] In that work an already embittered Luther resolutely denied the existence of Purgatory and advocated the indifferent sleep of the soul after being separated from the body by death. Luther began his work by reiterating his earlier position about the Catholic proof text *par excellence* for Purgatory (2 Macc. 12:43–45), claiming that the book is not part of the Bible and therefore cannot be held as a decisive argument.[266] Furthermore, he asserts that the passage says nothing about Purgatory but refers to the article of faith on the resurrection of the dead, which was very much despised at the time

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[261] *WA* XVII, p. 147.

[262] Martin Luther, *Von abendmahl Christi, Bekendnis Mart. Luther*, Wittenberg: Michel Lotther, 1528; published in *WA* XXVI, pp. 261–509.

[263] "Wie wol Gott alle ding müglich, auch wol kündte die seelen peinigen lassen nach dem abschied vom leibe. Aber er hats nich lassen sagen noch schreiben, drumb wil ers auch nicht gegleubt haben" (*WA* XXVI, p. 508).

[264] "Ich weis aber sonst wol ein fegfewr, Aber davon ist nichts ynn der gemeyn von zu leren noch da widder mit stifften und Vigilien zu handeln" (*WA* XXVI, p. 508). This other kind of Purgatory, as Koslofsky suggests, is clarified in Luther's 1532 lectures on Psalm 51. There, Luther refers to David experiencing true Purgatory, that is, he was oppressed by the sorrows of sin and of God's wrath: "David versatus in vero purgatorio, hoc est, oppressus doloribus peccati et irae Dei" (*WA* XL/2, p. 436). As these lectures appeared in print only in 1538, when Tyndale was already dead, they had no effect on the controversy between Tyndale and Joye. The idea of Purgatory as a state of inner sorrow and separation from God during this life takes its origin from Augustine's view of purgation before and after death. See *supra* on p. 86.

[265] Martin Luther, *Ein Widerruff vom Fegefeuer. Mart. Luther*, Wittenberg: Georgen Rhaw 1530, published in *WA* XXX/2, pp. 367–90.

[266] *WA* XXX/2, p. 369.

the book was written, just as it was in Luther's own time, he claimed.[267] On the contrary, the text argues against any prayer for the dead in Purgatory, Luther argues, because it claims that there is nothing to stop the pain or the purging of the souls, as it says: "For if he were not expecting that those who had fallen would rise again, it would have been superfluous and foolish to pray for the dead." Here it is clear, Luther explains, that the dead can be freed from their sins only at the time of the resurrection, and not before. Therefore, the text is not only dubious, but it directly contradicts the efficacy of the prayers for the souls in Purgatory.[268] Furthermore, Luther held, the text speaks about one example which is not necessarily to be followed, as the numerous human sacrifices that the Bible mentions are clearly not to be followed (cf. Gen. 22:2; 2 Kgs. 16:3; 21:6; Jer. 7:31; Ez. 16:20).[269] Anyway, Luther continued, Judas Maccabeus provided for a Jewish sacrifice according to the old covenant (Lev. 4), which is abolished now by Christ. So if Judas lived now, he would not dare to act in a similar way any longer.[270] Accordingly, if the Papists really wanted to follow Judas, they would also have to sacrifice oxen, goats, and sheep, Luther maintained.

Luther also denied that Ps. 66(65):12 ("we went through fire and through water; yet you have brought us out to a spacious place") referred to Purgatory. It only speaks about the sufferings of the holy ones "in these times" (i.e. Luther's own time), he asserted.[271] At the time when the psalm was

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[267] "Der text sagt von den sunden der verstorbenen und lobet Judas umb den artickel der aufferstehung, das der gute man, der dis buch gemacht hat, wil hiemit preisen den edlen artickel von dem aufferstehen der todten, der dazumal (wie auch noch) seer verachtet war" (*WA* XXX/2, p. 369).

[268] *WA* XXX/2, p. 369.

[269] *WA* XXX/2, pp. 370–71.

[270] "Denn Judas hat wie ein Jüde nach dem alten gesetz geopffert, welche nu durch Christum haben auffgehöret. Und wo Judas ißt lebte, thurst ers nicht mehr thun" (*WA* XXX/2, p. 371).

[271] "Er sagt allain vom leiden der heiligen ynn dieser zeit" (*WA* XXX/2, p. 373). Since Luther equated the papacy (especially after Gregory VII) with the Antichrist, and he conceived the advance of the Ottoman Empire and the persecution of the Reformers as signs of the end times as described in Daniel and Revelation, he (like many of his contemporaries) lived in constant and eager expectation of an imminent end to the world. Nonetheless, Luther rejected chiliasm (see *supra* on p. 92) and calculations of the arrival of the end of the world (e.g. the calculations of his student, Michael Stiefel (also spelled Stifel or Styfel; d. 1567), that Christ would return on 19 October 1533). In "these last times of affliction," Luther looked forward—without temporal calculation—to Christ's second coming and the "lieber jungster Tag" (Letter of Luther to his wife, dated Eisenach, 16 July 1540, *WA BW* IX, p. 175, no. 3512, li. 17). See: Robin Bruce, *Prophecy and Gnosis. Apocalypticism in the Wake*

written, Purgatory did not yet exist, he claimed, so the psalmist could not possibly refer to it.[272] Luther also denied that 'water' in this verse would refer to some kind of water in which, as if in a sanctifying holy sauna, the souls were being tortured by rushing to and fro between the heat of the fiery sunshine and the icy water (cf. Job 24:19 in the Vg: *ad nimium calorem transeat ab aquis nivium et usque ad inferos peccatum illius*).[273]

Nor can Rev. 14:13 ("Blessed are the dead who from now on die in the Lord . . . They will rest from their labours, for their deeds follow them") be taken as a reference for the intercession for the souls in Purgatory, Luther argued, because the text speaks about their own deeds in their life before they died, and not about vigils and intercessions that are offered for them after they died.[274] In Luther's view, the text signified the faithful who die in peace and in the faith in the Lord. The deceased who have died in the Lord are holy, Luther explained, and they enter into rest (cf. Wis. 3:3) and are at peace, as Is. 57:2 says that the just, when they die, go in peace as if to bed. For this reason they are called the 'sleepers,' and their death is called 'sleep' throughout the Scriptures.[275]

Moreover, when 1 Cor. 3:15 ("If any man's work shall be burned, he shall suffer loss: but he himself shall be saved; yet so as by fire") is taken as a reference to purgatorial fire, it is clearly taken out of context, Luther argued. For a proper explanation of this passage, he refers to Johannes Bugenhagen.[276] Bugenhagen claimed that the text clearly talked about the

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of the Lutheran Reformation, Stanford: UP, 1988; Heiko A. Oberman, *Teufelsdreck. Eschatology and Scatology in the 'Old' Luther*, in Heiko A. Oberman, *The Impact of the Reformation*, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994, pp. 64–65; Carter Lindberg, *Eschatology and Fanaticism in the Reformation Era. Luther and the Anabaptists*, in *CTQ* 64 (2000), pp. 259–78; Møller Jensen, *Denmark and the Crusades 1400—1650*, pp. 193–234, esp. pp. 226–28.

272 "Das fegfeur aber ist da zu mal noch nicht gewest, Darumb kan er nich davon reden" (*WA* XXX/2, p. 373).

273 "Und sol der meinung sein das die seelen von der hitze zur kelte vnd widderumb faren müssen. Hiob aber sagt, wie der schnee ñeme ein ende vnd werde zu wasser von der sonnen hitze Also verderben auch die ehebrecher hie auf erden an leib vnd güt" (*WA* XXX/2, p. 374).

274 *WA* XXX/2, pp. 375–78.

275 "Nu spricht hie der Text, das solche todten, so im Herrn sterben, sind selig, [. . .] das sie rugen und im friede sind, wie auch Isaias lvii sagt, das die gerechten [. . .] wenn sie sterben, gehen inn den frieden wie inn ein bette. Und Sap. am iij. zeuget auch: 'der gerechten seelen sind im friede.' So zeigt auch die schrifft hin vnd widder, als von Abraham, Isaac, Iacob, Iosia, das sie im friede sollen sterben, Und heissen auch derümb die schlaffenden, und ihr tod ein schlaff durch die gantze schrifft" (*WA* XXX/2, p. 376).

276 Johannes Bugenhagen, *Ioannis Bugenhagii Pomerani commentarius, In quatuor capita prioris Epistolæ ad Corinthios, de sapientia & iusticia dei quæ Christus est,*

preachers and teachers, who are to build the Christian church with their teachings, and that Paul called some teachings gold, silver, and precious stones; other teachings, however, were wood, hay, and straw (1 Cor. 3:12). Obviously, Paul does not speak of the gold, silver, and precious stones that women wear around their neck, nor does he speak of the wood, hay, or straw that cows and calves eat. But the teachings and sermons of the Christians will not be eaten by cows, nor will they be worn around any woman's neck, as any cow would probably know unless it was a Sophist (Papist). Likewise, the fire by which the teachings are tested is not the fire with which gold, silver, hay, and straw are tested, but another fire, one that will test what just and unjust are on the day on which this will be revealed.[277] But if the text speaks about the teachings and the sermons, Luther argued, then Purgatory as the 'Papists' believe it to be must be only for the teachers and the preachers, because they are the ones who deliver them, and not the ordinary believer.[278] The fire, then, cannot be the fire of Purgatory, but only the fire of opposition that the preaching of the Gospel has to pass through in this world.[279]

After refuting the Catholics' classic biblical proof texts, Luther attacks the Sacred Tradition as presented by the Church Fathers. Their testimonies, Luther maintained, are contradictory, confusing, and unwarranted. St Gregory, for example, wrote about the purgatorial fire,[280] but he is untrustworthy because he also mentions many examples of the appearance of ghosts, and these ghosts, Luther affirmed, cannot be anyone but the devil.[281] When the Church Fathers cite from the Bible, their quotations are often taken out of context and are against the sense of the original text, Luther claimed.[282] These naive pious men meant no harm and wished to establish no new teachings. They spoke inconsiderately, but not

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et de autoritate sacrae scripturæ & doctrinæ Apostolicæ in ecclesia Christi, Wittenberg: Johannes Luft, 1530, sigs. J8^{v}ff. Published in Johannes Bugenhagen, *Bibliotheca Bugenhagiana. Bibliographie der Druckschriften des D. Joh. Bugenhagen*, ed. Georg Geisenhof, (Bug. 1. QDGR 6), Nieuwkoop: De Graaf, 1963 (Leipzig: Heinsius Nachf., ^{1}1908), p. 301ff, no. 266.

277 *WA* XXX/2, p. 379.

278 *WA* XXX/2, p. 379.

279 *WA* XXX/2, pp. 378–84.

280 See *supra* on p. 106.

281 "Der selbige zeigt an viel Exempel von den geistern, so erschienen sind . . . vnd nu offenbar ist, das Teuffel sind" (*WA* XXX/2, p. 385).

282 *WA* XXX/2, p. 380.

with bad, heretical intentions, Luther believed.[283] Yet their writings were twisted and abused by the Sophists to make new articles of faith.[284]

To conclude, Luther claims that there is no reason to believe in Purgatory, and the psalms and other biblical texts used in the vigils and suffrages have nothing to do with Purgatory. Consequently, the Catholic liturgies of praying for the dead are a blasphemous abuse and abomination (*lesterlicher misbreuch vnd grewel*).[285]

After the publication of the *Widerruf vom Fegefeuer*, there is no further mention in Luther's works of the possibility of the existence of Purgatory or any purification after death. When he had his above-mentioned sermons reprinted in the 1530s, he carefully removed every reference to these topics.[286] Yet Luther remained enthralled with issues concerning the hereafter.[287] In his sermon on Easter Monday, 6 April 1534, preaching about Jesus' encounter with the disciples on their way to Emmaus, Luther wondered what Jesus could possibly cite from Moses (Lk. 24:27) to prove that the Son of Man had to suffer and rise again.[288] One such possible text, recorded in Mt. 22:32, which Christ used to prove resurrection during His earthly life in His discussion with the Sadducees, is one of the most commonly used texts of the OT.[289] God is not the God of things that do not exist, Luther explained, and therefore Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and all of the other prophets, as well as those in the grave, must be alive in the eyes of God, because God said to Moses that His name will be "the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob" forever (Ex. 3:15).[290]

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[283] "Die lieben veter haben solchs unbedacht, aber nicht böser, ketzerischer meinung gered" (*WA* XXX/2, p. 382).

[284] *WA* XXX/2, pp. 380–84.

[285] *WA* XXX/2, p. 389.

[286] Koslofsky, *Separating the Living from the Dead*, p. 138; Köstlin, *Luthers Theologie*, I, p. 376.

[287] Luther was also concerned *inter alia* about Christ's descent into Hell. He held that Christ's soul descended into Hell according to its substance: "Vere enim anima christi secundum substantiam descendit ad inferos" (*WA* V, p. 463). He rejected the idea of universal salvation (*WA* XXVI, p. 509; XXXVII, p. 372).

[288] "Ego optarem, **das man mocht wissen**, quales scripturas **hab gefurt** ex Mose et propheteis, quibus **entzundet und gesterckt** corda et **uberzeuget**, quod **must leiden**, resurgere et in nomine eius praedicari remissio peccatorum, **weil man doch so gar wenig in Mose findet**, **als lesst sichs ansehen**, quod tale nihil in Mose **stehet**" (*WA* XXXVII, p. 363).

[289] "Accepit **das gemeinste wort**, quod Iudaei habebant: 'Ego deus Abraham.' Ista optime noverunt, fuit communissimus textus" (*WA* XXXVII, p. 365).

[290] "Quid **schleuft Christus draus**? Sadducaei non de spiritu, angelis. Ibi Christus facit Mosen **sehen und reden**, qui cecus &c. quid? deus est Abraham, Iacob, &c. **das**

But this being alive in the eyes of God, the resurrection, has already started in this life, as Luther argued on the basis of 2 Cor. 4:12 in his sermon on the following day.[291] But even if Paul is speaking spiritually about resurrection, flesh and blood will rise on Judgement Day, for this is the ultimate promise and hope of the believer (cf. Rom. 8:11).[292] Luther also warned that dying spiritually (*geistlich*) with Christ, being buried spiritually with Him, and rising spiritually together with Him should not denote the detestation of the body or the physical reality.[293] Obviously, Luther's

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sagt Moses. Num putatis deum, qui sit mortuus? si est deus, oportet vivere, qualis &c. Si est deus, Abraham oportet vivat, et tamen mortuus. Sic Isaac, **Jacob mus leben**, et tamen omnes mortui et sepulti. Si deus et omnium prophetarum, oportet sint vivi, quia deus non est rei, quae non est. Qualis est deus, oportet sit deus huius, quod est. Ideo Abraham, qui est in terris, oportet sit. Coram oculis sunt mortui, Sed in oculis dei vivi. Ideo dicit: 'Hoc nomen meum **in ewigkeit**'" (*WA* XXXVII, p. 365).

291 "Dicit ergo Paulus: sic est resurrectio **gethan**, tam efficax **sols sein**, quod in vobis operetur, **das ir auch aufferstehet**, etiam hic in terris, et hic mori, ut dicit: 'mortui,' 'et vita vestra' &c. **Jsts nu recht**, quod mortui et resurrexistis, **so sehet drauff**, **wie ir lebt**, **thut**, **redt**, tum in vobis invenientis, an vera et efficax in vobis, ut non sit resurrectio **mit worten**, sed vivens, quam sentitis in vobis et **beweiset**. Qui nondum cum Christo **aufferstanden**, **den ist Christus noch nicht aufferstanden**, quanquam pro sua persona, tamen mihi et tibi nisi et ipse moriar et resurgam" (*WA* XXXVII, p. 368).

292 "Ideo docet Paulus, ut quisque Christianus, si verus est Christianus, **sol tod sein und leben**, **gestorben** et cum Christo, sepultus et **aufferstanden** et in gloria **leven** vel non, **Das ist beschlossen**, **da ligt die prob**, **ob wir** cum Christo **aufferstanden**, an eius resurrectio efficax, **obs wort** vel opera &c. Quomodo resurgemus vel quod mortui, et tamen vivimus? Oportet hoc esse, vel non sumus Christiani. Ista verba pseudapostoli intellexerunt **so gar**, quod negarent corporis resurrectionem: qui credit in Christum, ille resurgit, et sic impletur in quodlibet Christiano &c. **Haben eben** ex eius verbis **gesochten** contra resurrectionem mortuorum novissimo die. Nos intelligere debemus, ut Paulus intellexit et seipsum statim exposuit. Loquitur de spirituali resurrectione, **denn sol wir geistlich**, Si cum carne et sanguine in extremo die **sollen aufferstehen**, tum oportet hic **geistlich aufferstanden sein**. Ro. 'Spiritus, qui Christum' &c. Et corpora **sterblich erwecken umb des willen**, quod intus vos excitavit **und from und selig gemach**, Quando anima **aufferstanden**, i.e. vivificata, tum in extremo die spiritus sanctus illud corpus, quod **herberg** resurgentis spiritus, **auch mit** &c. **Denn geist ist hie auf erden lebendig und aufferstanden i.e. anima est gerecht a sunden**, Ideo **die hůte sol er nach** ex terra, quia fuit hospes et **wird des selbigen auffstanden geist**, qui in terris hic in eo habitavit. Sic **sol beide zusamen**" (*WA* XXXVII, p. 368).

293 "Nam si Christiani, **solt geistlich begraben sein** cum Christo et contra. **Nu was heist denn das**? **Jch sol gestorben sein und lebendig sein** et per hoc **beweisen**, quod **betracht**, quod supra &c. Num non edendum, bibendum, num non agricolandum? Num **ins grab stecken** et nihil omnino facere et dicere, quod nos mortui? **Auff erden acker**, **wisen**, **kue**, **kelber**, **gelt**, **gulden**, **haus**, **hose**, **weib**, **kind**, num ista omnia omittenda et his **abgestorben**? Cur ergo dicis, quod non quaerendum, quod in terris, sed quod supra? Paulus postea se declarat, ut intelligatur, ne quis **er meine**, quid **auff erden** &c. Nam Christus est nobiscum etiam in terris Matth. 28. Et baptismus est in terris et Sacramentum, Euangelium, quod corporaliter praedicatur. **Sind alle** sua, X praecepta, in quibus, ut eum pro deo &c. Hoc vocat in terris, non creaturam, de hoc non

spiritualized explanation of Jesus' words to the Sadducees is a far cry from the traditional vindication of the immortality of the soul.[294] The more Luther wondered about questions concerning the afterlife, the more he became convinced that souls in the hereafter are asleep and unconscious. Thus, he even propagated the situation of new cemeteries outside of busy town centres as an appropriate and quiet place for the sleeping souls.[295] For him, the specifically and genuinely divine act is the resurrection of the dead, in which all will participate, not only the believers.[296]

As has been demonstrated, Luther's rejection of the idea of Purgatory evolved gradually. His initial problems with the lucrative business of selling indulgences led him to question the authority of the Church Militant over the Church Suffering. At first he accepted the existence of Purgatory in spite of his denial of any clear scriptural evidence. Later he claimed that the existence of Purgatory is not a necessary article of faith. He came to believe that there was a post-mortem purgation (a state rather than a place). Finally, he rejected any consciousness of the elect after death and claimed that the saints enter into atemporality after death. By the time of the Tyndale–Joye controversy, Luther had developed his ideas about soul sleep and his position had been well publicized.[297] It would be false, however, to claim that Luther used the idea of soul sleep in order to reject the existence of Purgatory.[298]

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loquitur hic. Non de coelo et terra ut creata, Non de homine, ut habet animam, corpus, 5 sensus, **wie er erbeit**, **Das ist als** a deo creata et omnia bona, quae dicit &c. De his non loquitur. Sed is est terrenus homo, qui est sine deo, non agnoscit a deo dari, nihil habet, nisi quod dat ratio, qui est infidelis, caecus, nihil sciens de deo, vita aeterna et non curat, sed rationem, **synn**, sine verbo, **unerleucht**" (*WA* XXXVII, p. 368).

294 See *supra* on p. 93.

295 For Luther's reasons for suggesting extramural burial places, see: Koslofsky, *The Reformation of the Dead. Death and Ritual in Early Modern Germany*, London: Macmillan, New York: St. Martin's Press (Palgrave), 2000, pp. 48–49.

296 *WA* XXX/1, p. 250; *WA* XXVI, p. 509. Cf. Ulrich Asendorf, *Eschatologie bei Luther*, Göttingen: V&R, 1967, p. 287; Paul Althaus, *Die Theologie Martin Luthers*, Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus Gerd Mohn, 1962, p. 349.

297 In later years, however, Luther reverted occasionally to his inherited Catholic view on the fate of the soul after death. As a consequence, the doctrine on psychosomnolence was in most Protestant denominations replaced by that on the natural immortality of the soul. See: Althaus, *Die letzten Dinge*, pp. 146–47.

298 To the contrary: George R. Knight, *Seventh-day Adventists Answer Questions on Doctrine*, Washington (DC): Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1957, pp. 569–75.

Andreas Karlstadt and Gerhard Westerburg

In 1522 an anonymous compilation of theological theses by Luther, Melanchthon,[299] and Karlstadt (*c.*1480–1541)[300] was published in Basel.[301] In this publication, a series of forty-eight scripture-based articles concerning the fate of the dead under the heading *Articuli de coniuratione mortuorum migrantium* has been ascribed with certainty to Karlstadt.[302] In these articles Karlstadt treated the afterlife fate of the human soul. He claimed that having left the body, the soul immediately enters either Heaven or Hell.[303] Those who pursued good will enter into eternal life; those who pursued evil, into eternal fire. He also declared that people who already received their reward in this life (as the rich man in Lk. 16:19–31) will be tortured in the other, but those who were treated ill in this life (as Lazarus) will enjoy eternal comfort.[304] Between the place of comfort and the place of torture there is an immense chasm, such that it is impos-

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[299] For Melanchthon, see *infra* on p. 188.

[300] Andreas Karlstadt (*c.*1480–1541), named after his birthplace, was originally called Andreas Rudolph Bodenstein. He studied law, philosophy, and theology, and became assistant professor at the University of Wittenberg, where he became an early associate of Luther. Later, however, Karlstadt became entangled in a theological controversy with both Luther and Zwingli. After having argued with Zwingli, Karlstadt finally reconciled with him, fled to Basel, and became professor of theology, dying there on Christmas Eve in 1541. His theology and writings influenced many early Anabaptists, such as Konrad Grebel and Felix Manz. See *infra* on p. 277. On Karlstadt's theology, see: John W. Kleiner, *Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt's Eschatology as Illustrated by Two Major Writings of 1523 and 1539*, Th.M. thesis, Harvard University, 1966; Hermann Barge, *Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt*, 2 vols., Leipzig: Friedrich Brandstetter, 1905, reprinted: Nieuwkoop: de Graaf, 1968; Ronald J. Sider, *Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt. The Development of his Thought, 1517–1525*, (SMRT 11), Leiden: Brill, 1974; Wolfgang Merklein (ed.), *Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt, 1480–1541. Festschrift der Stadt Karlstadt zum Jubiläumsjahr 1480*, Karlstadt: Stadt Karlstadt, 1980; Calvin Augustine Pater, *Karlstadt as the Father of the Anabaptist Movement. The Emergence of Lay Protestantism*, Toronto: UP, 1984; Hans-Peter Hasse, *Karlstadt und Tauler. Untersuchungen zur Kreuzestheologie*, Gütersloher: Gütersloher Verlagshaus Gerd Mohn, 1993; [SS:] Stadt Karlstadt, *100 Jahre St. Johanniskirche 1904–2004*, no. 7 (February 2007), pp. 1–4.

[301] *Lutheri Melanch. Carolostadii &c. propositiones, Wittembergae uiua uoce tractatae, in hocque plerœqueœditœ ab auctoribus, ut uel nos absentes cum ipsis agamus, uel certe ueritatis, & seductionum as moneantur boni. Sunt autem id genus, De missa & celebratione eius. Sacramento panis & vini. Promißione & Prœcepto. Fide & operibus. Cantu Gregoriano. Coniuratione spirituum. Cœlibatu presbyterorum. Decimis ac uotis. &c*, Basel 1522.

[302] Koslofsky, *Separating the Living from the Dead*, p. 134.

[303] "Anima à corpore egressa confestim cœlum ingreditur aut infernum" (*Lutheri Melanch. Carolostadii &c. propositiones*, Basel 1522, sig. C1^{v}).

[304] "Qui in hac uita, bona sua recepit, cum purpurato diuite, is alibi cruciabitur, qui vero mala cum Lazaro, illic fruetur solatio sempiterno" (*Lutheri Melanch. Carolostadii & c. propositiones*, Basel 1522, sig. C3^{r}).

sible to pass from one place to the other (cf. Lk. 16:26).[305] Karlstadt also held that people believing in the immortality of the soul merely based on the Purgatory of St Patrick[306] are for this very reason infidels.[307] In this compilation of propositions Karlstadt apparently rejects the existence of Purgatory altogether and excludes any post-mortem purification.

At the end of the same year or in early 1523, while still in Wittenberg Karlstadt published, in quarto format, his *Ein Sermon vom stand der Christglaubigen seelen, von Abrahams schosz vnd fegfeur/ der abgeschydnen seelen*.[308] The short pamphlet of barely twelve pages became a bestseller and saw altogether seven consecutive editions in Augsburg, Nürnberg, and Strasbourg in 1523 alone.[309] This work of Karlstadt already shows a direct influence of Wessel Gansfort's writings, published only a year earlier in Wittenberg.[310] The book is presumably the written form of an actual sermon, delivered in Wittenberg, possibly on All Souls' Day 1522.[311]

Karlstadt's *Ein Sermon vom stand der Christglaubigen Seelen* stands in sharp contrast to his earlier publication, for in his new book he did not

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305 "Inter locum solacij, & cruciatus ingens hiatus firmatus est. Ut ij qui solatio fruuntur uolentes hinc transire ad miseros non possunt, Neque captiui huc transcendere" (*Lutheri Melanch. Carolostadii &c. propositiones*, Basel 1522, sig. C3^{r}).

306 A popular place of pilgrimage in Ireland, described by Jacobus de Voragine in the *Legenda Aurea*, (much circulated in manuscript form, and first printed in Strasbourg in 1482).

307 "Qui animarum immortalitam propter beati Patricij purgatorium credunt, iam infideles sunt" (*Lutheri Melanch. Carolostadii &c. propositiones*, Basel 1522, sig. C8^{v}).

308 Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt, *Ein Sermon vom stand der Christglaubigen seelen, von Abrahams schosz vnd fegfeur/ der abgeschydnen seelen*, Wittemberg [*vere* Nürnberg: Johann Stuchs an der Wende, 1522/1523].

309 Besides the quarto Nürnberg edition (see n. 308), the other editions (all in quarto) were: five editions in Augsburg (three by Philipp Ulhart, one by Jörg Nadler, and another by Sigmund Grimm) and one in Strasbourg by the heirs of Matthias Schürer (d. 1519) (Matthias Schürer Erben). See: Ernst Koch, art. *Fegefeur*, in *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, vol. 5, Berlin, 1976, p. 74; Kohler, Wilfert & Weismann, *Flugschriften des frühen 16*, Fiche 332, no. 937; Alejandro Zorzin, *Karlstadt als Flugschriftenautor*, (Göttinger theologische Arbeiten, 48), Göttingen: V&R, 1990, pp. 97–100 and 273–308, n. 52; Woodbridge, *Gerhard Westerburg*, p. 105. Koslofsky counts only six editions. (Koslofsky, *Separating the Living from the Dead*, p. 130).

310 See *supra* on pp. 86 and 127. The influence of Gansfort on Karlstadt was first proposed by Williams, *The Radical Reformation*, 1962, p. 104, and was demonstrated by Kleiner, *Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt's Eschatology*, pp. 1–6. Koslofsky suggests that Karlstadt "may have been instrumental in bringing Gansfort's writings to press in Wittenberg in 1522" (Koslofsky, *Separating the Living from the Dead*, p. 130).

311 Karlstadt refers to 1 Thes. 4 as today's reading and as "Das ist die Epistle, wölche die vermainte Christliche kirche den Seelen zu hilf und trost gestatt ze lesen und zu singen" (Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt, *Ein Sermon vom stand der Christglaubigen seelen*, (1523), sigs. A2^{v} and A3^{r}). See: Koslofsky, *Separating the Living from the Dead*, p. 135.

deny the existence of Purgatory any longer. In fact, the title pages of five out of the seven editions are illustrated with woodcuts showing souls being helped out from the fiery abyss, because Karlstadt argued in his pamphlet that there is some kind of purgation after death, but it is a spiritual one.[312] Karlstadt developed this idea of a 'spiritual Purgatory' very much akin to Gansfort's ideas, and in all probability this change in Karlstadt's thinking was influenced by the writings of the Frisian theologian, who was brought to Wittenberg by Hinne Rode a year earlier and whose writings were published in the course of the same year as Karlstadt's work.[313] His starting point is the reading of the day, 1 Thes. 4:13–18. Karlstadt suggests that besides its obvious literal sense (consolation of the Thessalonians that they will be reunited with their dead in the resurrection), the passage has another, hidden meaning, too. The basis for this hidden sense, according to Karlstadt, is the statement that we should rejoice for the dead (cf. 1 Thes. 4:13). The doctrine of "priests, popes and bishops" is therefore false, because they



Figure 1. Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt, *Ein Sermon vom stand der Christglaubigen Seelen von Abrahams schoß vn*[*d*] *Fegfeür, der abgeschydnen Seelen*, Wittenberg [*vere* Augsburg: Philipp Ulhart], 1523. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Regensburg, Staatliche Bibliothek—999/4 Theol.syst. 540(3).

312 Koslofsky counted only six editions. Koslofsky, *Separating the Living from the Dead*, p. 130.

313 On Gansfort's book in Wittenberg, see *supra* nn. 2 and 4 on p. 127. For developing a spiritual understanding of Purgatory, Hans-Peter Hasse revealed Karlstadt's dependence on the mystical German theologian Johannes Tauler (*c.*1300–61). Hasse, *Karlstadt und Tauler*. See also: Woodbridge, *Gerhard Westerburg*, pp. 127–29.

preach that Purgatory should be feared and that the souls abiding there are in a miserable position and should be pitied. But in reality, one should not want to bring them out from Purgatory, because the state of the souls there is better than that of the living.[314] Praying for the dead is thus not only useless, but it is also wrong, for unless one asks from God what God's own will is, a prayer for the souls' release from Purgatory is wicked and against God.[315] Therefore, Karlstadt criticized the Catholic practice of suffrages for the deceased, asserting that no earthly intercession but fire alone is able to purify the souls and bring them closer to God. Karlstadt also believed that in this spiritual Purgatory "die Abgeschiedenen schlummern, sie sind nicht tot, sondern schlafen."[316] With this booklet Karlstadt was the first Protestant—preceding even Luther—to openly defend the idea of soul sleep.[317]

In the same year (1523) Karlstadt's brother-in-law, the Cologne theologian and reformer Gerhard Westerburg (1486–1558), published an adapted version of Karlstadt's work under the title *Uom fegfewer vnnd standt verscheyden selen eyn Chrystliche meynung* (Strasbourg, 1523).[318] Westerburg was clearly taken by the subject, for he also published a Latin booklet on the same topic later in the course of the same year, with the title *De purgatorio et animarum statu* (Strasbourg, 1523).[319] Although it follows a comparable train of thought with arguments similar to his German writing, the Latin pamphlet is not a translation but an original work. While the German work was intended as popular reading for the common people of Germany, the Latin treatise was more concise and, besides the obvious

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[314] "Das wir sie auß dem standt wollten bringen der besser ist dann unser standt?" (Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt, *Ein Sermon vom stand der Christglaubigen seelen*, (1523), sig. A3^{v}).

[315] "So wer unser geebt wider got und böß" (Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt, *Ein Sermon vom stand der Christglaubigen seelen*, (1523), sig. A3^{r}).

[316] Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt, *Ein Sermon vom stand der Christglaubigen seelen*, (1523), sig. A3^{v}. Cf. also "Wir haben hoffnung das unsere abgestorbne freundt in Christo verstorben seind. […] und hoffen darzu/ das sie in Christo schlaffen/ wie Lazarus in der schoß Abrae schlieff […] Auch wissen wir/ das sie Christus im letsten tage wirt auffwecken/ und bey sich behalten" (sig. A4^{r}).

[317] Cf. *HZSW* VI,1, p. 188, n. 4; Willem Balke, *Calvijn en de doperse radikalen*, Amsterdam: Bolland, 1977, p. 35.

[318] For the bibliographical data of the German pamphlet, see *infra* n. 321. On Westerburg's life and theology, see: Georg Eduard Steitz, *Dr. Gerhard Westerburg*, in *Archiv für Frankfurts Geschichte und Kunst*, 5 (1872), pp. 1–215; Calvin Augustine Pater, *Westerburg. The Father of Anabaptism. Author and content of the Dyalogus of 1527*, in *ARg* 85 (1994), pp. 138–63; Woodbridge, *Gerhard Westerburg*; Theodor C. Schlüter, *Flug- und Streitschriften zur "Kölner Reformation"*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2005, pp. 118.131–32.

[319] For bibliographical data of the Latin pamphlet, see *infra* n. 321. Due to the similarity between Westerburg's books and Karlstadt's work, the authorship of Westerburg's pamphlets has been called into question by some. For a discussion, see: Woodbridge, *Gerhard Westerburg*, pp. 110–15.

addressees, viz. the theologians of Cologne, targeted an international and more educated readership.[320] Consequently, Westerburg's thoughts are elaborated upon in more detail in the Latin version on three subjects: the prayers for the dead, the post-mortem preaching of the Gospel to the souls, and the concept of soul sleep. Both the German and the Latin publications went through three editions and became immensely popular, earning Westerburg the title of 'Dr. Fegefewr.'[321]

Westerburg began his German pamphlet by advocating the Protestant principle of *sola scriptura*.[322] For him, the Bible is the sole authority on every question, and no dreams, stories, fables, fictitious examples, or human teachings (*keine treůme gesicht/ fabelen/ erdychten exempel/ menschlichen leren*) can be used to establish the truth.[323] More than once Jeremiah compares the Word of God to a fire that cleanses the person.[324]

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[320] "Ich hab ein bůchlein vor zehen iaren im latin lassen außgehen vnd ist die selbige meinung vom fegfewr/ wie sie im deutschen buch gedruckt/ Es hat auch kein vnderscheit mit dem deutschen/ dan das das (*sic*) deutsch buch mehr innen hat/ vnd weitleufftiger geschrieben ist/ dan das latinisch" (Gerhart Westerburg, *Wie die hochgelerten von Cölln Doctores in der Gottheit vnd Ketzermeister/ den Doctor Gerhart Westerburg des Fegfewrs halben/ als einen vnglaubigen verurtheilt/ vnd verdampt haben. Wie Doctor Johann Cocleus von Wendelstein wider D. Westerburgs buch/ vom Fegfewr geschrieben*, Marpurg im Paradiß: Frantzen Rhodiß, 1533, sig. G3^{r}).

[321] The German editions were: (1) Gerhard Westerburg, *Uom fegfewer vnnd standt verscheyden selen eyn Chrystliche meynung durch doctor Gerhart westerburch von Coellen Neulich außgangen. Gedruckt jm jar M.D.xxiij.*, Straßburg: Johann Knobloch der Ältere (d. 1528), 1523; (2) Gerhard Westerburg, *Vom Fegfewer vnd stand der verschayden selen/ ain Christliche mainung nit wie bißher fürgeben. Durch Doc. Gerhard Westerburch von Coelen/ neůlich außgangen*, Augsburg: Heinrich Steiner, 1523; and (3) Gerhard Westerburg, *Uom fegefewer und standt der verscheyden selen eyn Christliche meynung durch Doctor Gerhart Westerburch von Coellen Neulich außgangen. Gedruckt jm jar. M.D.xxiij.*, [Köln: Eucharius Cervicornus?], 1523. The Latin editions were: (1) Gerhard Westerburg, *DE PVRGATORIO ET ANIMRVM STATV GERHARDI Vuesterburgij Coloniensis sententia ex sacris litteris Collecta*, Köln: [Konrad Caesar?] 1523; (2) Gerhard Westerburg, *DE PVRGATORIO ET ANIMRVM STATV DOCTORIS Gerhardi Vuesterburgij Coloniensis sententia ex sacris litteris Collecta*, Köln: [Konrad Caesar?], 1523; and (3) Gerhard Westerburg, *DE PVRGATORIO ET ANImarum statu doctoris Gerhardi Vuestenburgij Coloniensis sententia ex sacris litteris collecta ANNO. 1524*, Köln: [Konrad Caesar?], 1524. See: Woodbridge, *Gerhard Westerburg*, p. 105. See also Zorzin, *Karlstadt als Flugschriftenautor*, pp. 97–100 and 273–308, nn. 52a and 52b.

[322] "Da hat got selbst seynen willen durch seyn wort und verkundiget und ausgesprochen/ und alles das der bibel entgegen ist/ oder nit maessig und gleichformig/ das ist auch nit gottis wort/ da got in seyne wort ist nicht wider sych selber/ Darumb lebt die sele auch nicht von anderen leren/ sunder alleyn von dem warhafftigen wort gottis. Und wa das nicht den schaeffen wyrt vorgehalten und verkundiget da seyndt auch keyn rechte hirten oder prediger/ sunder eytel hungerige verfuerische reyffende woelffe" (Westerburg, *Uom fegfewer vnnd standt verscheyden selen*, sig. A2^{v}). Cf. Woodbridge, *Gerhard Westerburg*, pp. 123–24.

[323] Westerburg, *Uom fegfewer vnnd standt verscheyden selen*, sig. A3^{r}.

[324] Westerburg referred to Jer. 5:13; 20:9; and 23:29 (Westerburg, *Uom fegfewer vnnd standt verscheyden selen*, sig. B3^{r}).

This should be taken not as a natural fire (*naturlich fewer*), but as a spiritual one (*das da geystlich ist*), he argued, as is clear from the parable of Lazarus and the Rich Man.[325] The fire Paul mentions in 1 Cor. 3:13 should be understood as a simile and not as a reference to physical fire. According to Westerburg, Is. 40:6–8 also speaks about how God's word burns the heart of the human person, and cleanses the soul and mortifies the flesh upon entering the human person.[326] God's word purifies the human being from the selfish love that hinders the human person from seeing God.[327] This process of spiritual purification starts on earth, continues in Purgatory, and ends in the resurrection: on earth the human person recognizes God in the darkness and is overwhelmed by the Lord and his teachings; in Purgatory the souls recognize that God is as the sun in the sunrise; and finally, in the resurrection God will be immediately recognized, just as the sun in the full light of day.[328] In view of this, Westerburg, similarly to Gansfort, held that Purgatory is not a fearful place of punishment, but a rather pleasant and desirable state for the souls. Westerburg also followed Gansfort in allowing for a post-mortem possibility of salvation. The purpose of Christ's descent into Hell was the preaching of the Gospel to the dead, because God does not condemn anyone to whom the Good News has not been made known.[329] Nonetheless, there will be souls who will refuse to

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325 "Auch die schrift nicht anzeigt ein naturlich fewer in dem schoß Abrahe" (Westerburg, *Uom fegfewer vnnd standt verscheyden selen*, sig. B3^{r}).

326 "Dar zu gehȯrt auch das Esaias spricht. Das alles fleysch ist gleich als hew/ und seyn glorien gleich als die blumen uff dem acker/ das hew ist verdoeret/ und die blume ist abgefallen/ wan der geyst des herren hat darynne gewehet/ das volck ist wahrhafftig hew/ es ist verdoeret/ und sein blume ist abgefallen/ wan das wort des herren hat gewirckt jm volck. Esaie am. xl. cap. Als solt er sagen/ das wort des herren das da ewiglich bleybt das ist eyn fewer/ welches in das hertz geht" (Westerburg, *Uom fegfewer vnnd standt verscheyden selen*, sig. B3^{v}). Woodbridge rightly remarks that the idea of fire is absent from the passage in Isaiah and that Westerburg not only stretched the meaning of the original passage but misquoted the last verse (Woodbridge, *Gerhard Westerburg*, p. 126).

327 Westerburg, *Uom fegfewer vnnd standt verscheyden selen*, sig. B4$^{r–v}$.

328 "Zum ersten erkennen wyr hie got in der vinsternis und verwunderen uns vom herren und von seynen reden. Jm anderen erkennen wir gott gleich als die sonne in der morgenroet. Jm dritten sehen wyr got gleich wie die sonne ym klaren mittag" (Westerburg, *Uom fegfewer vnnd standt verscheyden selen*, sig. B2^{r}). Woodbridge assumes that Westerburg inherited Karlstadt's mysticism. (Woodbridge, *Gerhard Westerburg*, pp. 127–28). On Karlstadt's mysticism, see *supra* in n. 313. As has been quoted, Gansfort applied similar imagery, see *supra* on p. 179.

329 "Ergo neminem iudicat cui non est predicatum euangelium. […] Nunc aut Christus neminem iudicat nisi euangelizatum" (Westerburg, *De purgatorio et animarum statu*, sig. A4^{r}). For Gansfort's similar position, see *supra* on p. 132.

believe, and these will be damned.[330] But Westerburg went further than the Frisian theologian and claimed that the dead souls have fallen asleep in Christ, and any attempt to liberate them disturbs them. Consequently, it is not only worthless to celebrate masses and to offer sacrifices for the dead (which only distress the people), but it is also destructive.[331] Westerburg acknowledged that praying for the dead was an ancient custom but indicated that no prayer, not even one according to God's will, could help the souls in the process of this spiritual purification.[332] He also reflected on the financial aspect of the practice of selling indulgences. He regarded the payment for intercessory prayers, masses, and indulgences as contrary to the idea of solidarity with the poor. According to him, the money spent on these prayers would be much better spent if it were shared with the living poor according to Christ's teaching.[333] Arguing in this manner, he advocated precisely the original purpose of indulgences.[334]

The thirteen editions of Karlstadt's and Westerburg's comparable works on Purgatory published in only two years (twelve in 1523 and one in 1524)

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330 "Predicabat ergo ut doceret & credulos dignos eterna uita, incredulos autem dignos aeterno supplicio iudicaret" (Westerburg, *De purgatorio et animarum statu*, sig. A4^{r}).

331 "Ex quo etiam constat frivolam opinionem pontificis missas, sacrificia pro defunctis instituentis, ut nos nomine defunctorum tristes faceret, quoniam si dormierunt animae in Christo optabilis est earum pars, desiderabilis dormitio [...] Pestilens est liberatio quae huiusmodi spem perturbat" (Westerburg, *De purgatorio et animarum statu*, sigs. A1^{v}–A2^{r}). Woodbridge pointed out that although Westerburg studied in Bologna at the same time (1515–17) Pietro Pomponazzi was teaching there, advocating the mortality of the soul (*thnetopsychism*, a form of *psychopannychism*), Westerburg made only six references to soul sleep or souls being awakened from their sleep, compared to the twenty-four cases in Karlstadt's sermon. Hence, he concludes that Westerburg did not advocate soul sleep but "understood that sleeping in Christ was a euphemism for death." Nonetheless, given Karlstadt's open endorsement of the idea of soul sleep and their consent on all other issues, his Cologne colleagues and many modern scholars believed that Westerburg advocated psychopannychism. (Woodbridge, *Gerhard Westerburg*, pp. 135–36.) To the contrary: Balke, *Calvijn en de doperse radikalen*, p. 35. On Pomponazzi, see *supra* on p. 120.

332 "Darumb sollenn wyr nit betten das die selen eher in eyn besser wesen genomen wurden dan got wil. Auch so werden sye alleyn durch eyn fewer geleutert und gereyniget das da geystlich und vorstentlich ist/ und nicht durch furbit" (Westerburg, *Uom fegfewer vnnd standt verscheyden selen*, sig. B1^{r}).

333 "Von der unkost/ wer besser (meynes beduckens) dz man sölch gelt/ so fur die toden unbarmhertzlich und geweltlich von den armen gedrungen und abgeschetzet/ sunst unnutzlich außgeben wyrt/ den lebendigen armen nodturftigen/ das ist/ unseren bruderen nach Christus leer/ mitteilte/ und lyeß sye keynen mangel lyden/ da wurdt es anzweyfell wol unnd nutzlich außgegeben seyn/ und dyß sey dem gemeynen man gesagt" (Westerburg, *Uom fegfewer vnnd standt verscheyden selen*, sig. C3^{r}. Cf. Woodbridge, *Gerhard Westerburg*, p. 120).

334 See *supra* on p. 112. In England, to encourage poor folk to come and pray, handing out alms was part of the funeral service and the Mass for the Dead. See: Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, pp. 221, 354–57, 365.

testify to the enormous popularity and effect they exercised, especially in Germany and the Low Countries.[335] The exact quantity of the pamphlets in circulation is difficult to approximate, but Westerburg wrote a decade later that 3000 copies of his Latin edition were put out.[336] Stefan Oehming estimates the typical output of each edition to be between 800 and 1500, and the seven editions together produced a circulation of several thousand books.[337] Sigrid Looß pointes out that Karlstadt's sermon on Purgatory now survives in the unusually high number of 130 copies in various libraries around the world.[338]

Ten years after the first publication of his pamphlet on Purgatory, Westerburg issued a revised version in the form of an answer to the objections raised by the Cologne theologians and by Joannes Cochlaeus (1479–1552), his former friend and classmate in Bologna, against Westerburg's books.[339] The new treatise of 93 folios received the deservedly lengthy title *Wie die hochgelerten von Cölln Doctores in der Gottheit vnd Ketzermeister/ den Doctor Gerhart Westerburg des Fegfewrs halben/ als einen vnglaubigen verurtheilt/ vnd verdampt haben. Wie Doctor Johann Cocleus von Wendelstein wider D. Westerburgs buch/ vom Fegfewr geschrieben*. Westerburg developed new arguments against the intercession for the dead. He argued that only Christ could forgive sins, and only He was capable of giving satisfaction for sins. He is the only Saviour and Reconciler of all humankind, who once and for all gave satisfaction by His death on the cross, which

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335 On the effects and reception of the pamphlets of Karlstadt and Westerburg, see: Stefan Oehming, *Karlstadts Auffassung vom Fegefeuer. Entstehung und Wirkung*, in Sigrid Looss & Markus Matthias (eds.), *Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt (1486—1541). Ein Theologe der frühen Reformation*, (Themata Leucoreana 4), Wittenberg: Hans Lufft, 1998, pp. 73–120; Zorzin, *Karlstadt als Flugschriftenautor*, pp. 97–100 and 234–40; Sigrid Looss, *Die Wirksamkeit von Flugschriften des Andreas Bodenstein aus Karlstadt*, in Ulman Weiss (ed.), *Flugschriften der Reformationszeit. Colloquium im Erfurter Augustinerkloster 1999*, Tübingen: Bibliotheca Academica, 2001, pp. 125–37, esp. pp. 129–30.

336 "Darneben ist meiner latinischer bůcher bei die drey tausent gedruckt vnd ist das niderlant full" (Westerburg, *Wie die hochgelerten von Cölln Doctores in der Gottheit vnd Ketzermeister/ den Doctor Gerhart Westerburg des Fegfewrs halben/ als einen vnglaubigen verurtheilt/ vnd verdampt haben. Wie Doctor Johann Cocleus von Wendelstein wider D. Westerburgs buch/ vom Fegfewr geschrieben*, Marpurg im Paradiß: Frantzen Rhodiß, 1533, sig. G3^{v}).

337 Oehming, *Karlstadts Auffassung vom Fegefeuer*, p. 90.

338 Looss, *Die Wirksamkeit von Flugschriften des Andreas Bodenstein aus Karlstadt*, p. 130.

339 On Joannes Cochelaeus, see: Juhász, Cat. 93 in *TT*, pp. 149–51; Monique Samuel-Scheyder, *Johannes Cochlaeus. Humaniste et adversaire de Luther*, Nancy: Presses Universitaires de Nancy, 1993; Remigius Bäumer, *Johannes Cochlaeus 1479–1552. Leben und Werk im Dienst der katholischen Reform*, (Katholisches Leben und Kirchenreform im Zeitalter der Glaubensspaltung. Vereinsschriften der Gesellschaft zur Herausgabe des Corpus Catholicorum 40), Münster: Aschendorff, 1980.

was sufficient for all sins. But intercessions and masses for the dead performed by the priests and the monks imply that Christ's salvific death was not sufficient for all sins.[340] Hence, masses and prayers for the dead could not possibly remit sins or give satisfaction for them. Westerburg stressed the Protestant principle of *sola fide*: salvation can only be reached through faith. He defined faith as believing that Christ is the Redeemer and Saviour; that His suffering was sufficient for all sins; that He gave satisfaction for them on the cross; and that He redeemed us from eternal death.[341]

Philipp Melanchthon

Although he never took a doctorate in theology, Philipp Melanchthon (1497–1560) was probably the most erudite of all of the early Reformers.[342]

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[340] "Es ist nit gnug das Christus gestorben sey/ vor die Christglaubige selen/ sonder sie haben noch etliche passen mit seelmessen/ vigilien/ commendatien/ iarmessen/ etc. ablőssen vnd bezalen/ Was ist das anders gesagt/ dan das Christus nit gnugsam gewesen/ die sunde aller glaubigen selen zu bezalen/ sonder behőfft noch zu seinem tode vnnd leiden/ der passen vnd munchen hilff. mit jren seelmessen etc." (Westerburg, *Wie die hochgelerten von Cölln Doctores*, sig. O2^{r}).

[341] "Dann das ist der recht glaub/ der vns selig macht/ das wir glauben das Christus unser erlőser und Heilandt/ durch sein leiden fur alle vnsere sunden gnug gethan/ vnd am stam des heligen creutz bezalet/ und uns vom ewigen todt erloeset hat" (Westerburg, *Wie die hochgelerten von Cölln Doctores*, sig. O2^{v}). Woodbridge pointed out how this argument stood in contradiction to Westerburg's concept of Purgatory. See: Woodbridge, *Gerhard Westerburg*, p. 141. According to Calvin A. Pater, in 1545 (that is, after the debate between Tyndale and Joye), Westerburg was to revoke his earlier statements on Purgatory, but Pater gives no references. See: Pater, *Westerburg. The Father of Anabaptism*, p. 149, n. 37. For his later works touching upon the subject, see: Woodbridge, *Gerhard Westerburg*, pp. 141–43.

[342] Philipp Schwarzerd (or Schwarzert or Schwarzerdt) was first tutored by the Hungarian Johannes Hungarus (or Unger) at the famous Dominican school at Pforzheim, where he learned Latin and Greek and was introduced to the writings of Aristotle and of the authors of Antiquity. Philipp's maternal grand-uncle was the Catholic Hebraist Johannes Reuchlin (1455–1522), under whose influence the young Philipp took on the Humanist name Melanchthon. The humanistic figure of his uncle remained a source of inspiration for Melanchthon and influenced his entire life, even though Melanchthon's participation in the Reformation later caused a break between them. At the age of fifteen he took his BA in Heidelberg (1511) and enrolled the following year at the University of Tübingen. After gaining his master's degree in philosophy (1516), he became an instructor of younger scholars. In 1518 he published his Greek grammar (which became a standard schoolbook until the 18th century) and obtained the newly created chair of Greek at the recently founded University of Wittenberg (1502) on Reuchlin's recommendation. There he obtained his bachelor's degree in biblical studies and became a professor at the Faculty of Theology. His ideal was to remain a Humanist scholar, and he continued to work on the classics, along with his exegetical studies, until the end of his life. On his life and theology, see: Adolf von Harnack, *Philipp Melanchthon*, Berlin: Buxenstein, 1897; Peter Fraenkel, *Testimonia*

His encounter and friendship with Luther, whom he later often called his "spiritual father," affected his life deeply. Yet the influence was mutual: while Melanchthon attended Luther's lectures at the university, it was Melanchthon who helped Luther learn Greek and who revised Luther's translations of the NT and of the LXX, despite Luther's initial opposition to Melanchthon.[343] Later Melanchthon accompanied Luther to the Leipzig Disputation (1519).[344] He drew up a report of the disputation in cooperation with Johannes Oecolampadius (1482–1531) that elicited Eck's criticism.[345] In his reply Melanchthon set forth Luther's opposition between the authority of the Scripture versus that of the Fathers.[346] In 1521 Melanchthon set down the first systematic summary of Protestant doctrine, the *Loci communes rerum theologicarum*.[347] In subsequent years he kept revising the work, and the book went through more than a hundred editions during his lifetime. He also published several commentaries and treatises on various topics. His writings became very influential in the course of the development of Protestant dogmatic thought. It was

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Patrum. The Function of the Patristic Argument in the Theology of Philip Melanchthon, (THR 46), Geneva: Droz, 1961; Eginhard P. Meijering, *Melanchthon and Patristic Thought. The Doctrines of Christ and Grace, the Trinity and the Creation*, (Studies in the History of Christian Thought 32), Leiden: Brill, 1983; Reinhold Friedrich & Klaus A. Vogel, *500 Jahre Philipp Melanchthon (1497–1560)*, (Pirckheimer-Jahrbuch 13), Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1998; H.J. Selderhuis, *Melanchthon. Zijn betekenis voor het protestantisme. Melanchthon en de Nederlanden in de 16e en 17e eeuw*, (Apeldoornse Studies 41), Apeldoorn: Theologische Universiteit, 2000; John Schofield, *Philip Melanchthon and the English Reformation*, (StAndrews), Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006.

343 Luther had opposed Melanchthon's candidacy for the chair of Greek at the University of Wittenberg.

344 See *supra* on p. 166.

345 Philipp Melanchthon, *Philippi Melanchthonis Epistola de theologica disputatione Lipsica.: Excusatio Eckij ad eandem*, Basel: Johannes Froben, 1519. Oecolampadius' marriage prompted Erasmus to remark in a letter to Adrian a Rivulo (Adriaan Beek), a former Leuven student, that it was inappropriate to talk about the Reformation as the "Lutheran tragedy," for it was not so much a tragedy as a comedy because it always ended in a wedding: "Nuper Oecolampadius duxit vxorem, puellam non inelegantem. Vult, opinor, affligere carnem. Quidam appellant Lutheranam tragœdiam, mihi videtur esse comœdia. Semper enim in nuptias exeunt tumultus" (Allen, VII, n. 1979 on p. 369). On Oecolampadius, see: Ernst Staehelin, *Oekolampad-Bibliographie*, Nieuwkoop: De Graaf, 1963; John Dyck, *Johannes Œcolampadius: Lighthouse of the Reformation*, in *Western Reformed Seminary Journal* 3 (1996), pp. 25–29.

346 Philipp Melanchthon, *Defensio Philippi Melanchthonis contra Iohannem Ekivm Theologiae Professorem*, Wittenberg: Johann Rhau-Grunenberg, 1519. See: Meijering, *Melanchthon and Patristic Thought*.

347 Philipp Melanchthon, *Loci communes rerum theologicarum seu hypotyposes theologicae*, Wittenberg: M. Lotther, 1521, reprinted in Basel: Adam (Heinrich) Petri, 1521 (much reprinted in subsequent years, also with emendations by Melanchthon).

he who drafted the Seventeen Articles of Evangelical Faith (the so-called *Augsburg Confession*) for the Diet of Augsburg (1530).

The first traces of Melanchthon's theological views on the afterlife can be found in his commentary on the Gospel of Matthew.[348] Expanding on the text of Mt. 22:23–33, Melanchthon wrote that the Sadducees denied not only the resurrection of the dead (*negarent resurrectionem mortuorum*) but also the immortality of the soul (*negarent animas esse immortales*), and they believed that human life terminates at death (*hominum vitam credebant finiri in morte*). They rejected any form of life beyond this one, and doing so they also disallowed for a judgement after this life (*nullum restare iudicium post hanc vitam*).[349] By denying this fundamental and foremost article of faith about the life after this and about the future judgement, the Sadducees were manifestly the enemies of God and of the Church, Melanchthon maintained.[350] It is interesting to note here that Melanchthon equated the denial of the resurrection with the denial of the immortality of the soul. According to Melanchthon, denying bodily resurrection implies denying the immortality of the soul, too. Therefore, in Jesus' discussion with the Sadducees, the real issue is the question of immortality, he argued. In Melanchthon's eyes, the Sadducees' question concerns the "life after this life" (*vita post hanc vitam*). This is what the Sadducees have ridiculed, and this is the subject Christ addresses in His answer.[351] Melanchthon summarizes the logic of Christ's answer as follows: "God is the God of the living and not of the dead. God is the God of Abraham. Thus Abraham is alive."[352] In such a reading Christ's answer only disproves the mortality of the soul, but, strictly speaking, it is not an argument for the bodily resurrection. Strictly speaking, Christ's answer refuted only the Sadducees' disbelief in the immortality of the soul, according to Melanchthon. Yet the bodily resurrection cannot be doubted either,

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348 Philipp Melanchthon, *Annotationes Philippi Melanchthonis in Euangelium Matthaei*, [Basel: Valentin Curio], Maio 1523. Republished in 1523 (Basel: Thomas Wolff, and Tübingen: Ulrich Morhart), in 1524 (Strasbourg), 1526, and 1531 by Io. Secerium in Hagenoae and in December 1523 in Strasbourg. Published as *In Evangelium Matthaei annotationes* in Carolus Gottlieb Bretschneider (ed.), *Philippi Melanthonis Opera quae supersunt, omnia*, (CR XIV) Halis Saxonum: Schwetschke, 1847, cols. 529–1042.

349 Melanchthon, *In Evangelium Matthaei annotationes*, col. 959.

350 "Cumque negarent hoc praecipuum fundamentum articulorum fidei de vita post hanc vitam, et de iudicio futuro, manifeste erant hostes Dei et Ecclesiae" (Melanchthon, *In Evangelium Matthaei annotationes*, cols. 959–60).

351 "Nunc venio ad argumentum Christi de vita post hanc vitam" (Melanchthon, *In Evangelium Matthaei annotationes*, col. 961).

352 Melanchthon, *In Evangelium Matthaei annotationes*, col. 961.

as it was sufficiently proved by the resurrection of Christ and of many others, stated the Reformer.[353] According to him, Christ's answer to the Sadducees contains consolation not only for the future life, but also for this present life, because Christ's words also mean that God cares about the living, too.

A post-mortem existence is also discussed in Melanchthon's commentary on Lk. 23:43. Melanchthon expounds upon this text in a spiritual way. According to him, Christ's words (*hodie mecum eris in Paradiso*) mean that the repentant thief will not be eternally dead (*non eris in morte æterna*), but will enjoy true happiness in God (*habebis gaudia vera in Deo*).[354] Melanchthon calls the repentant thief an heir of eternal life (*hæres vitæ æternæ*) already in his earthly life, and therefore he is already rejoicing in God. For this is eternal life, Melanchthon said, alluding to Jn. 17:3, that we may know God and that we recognize Jesus, whom He sent as the Christ. By participating in this joy in his heart, the Good Thief received new life, which means new justice (*nova vita, quæ est nova iustitia*). For where there is true faith, Melanchthon claimed, there are all of the virtues, and this faith produces good works.[355] In this passage Melanchthon did not address the question of what happens to the soul of the Thief after his death. It is not entirely clear why he avoided the topic, but it is not at all implausible that he wanted to prevent an open conflict with Luther, who by that time was developing his ideas about soul sleep.

In 1535 Melanchthon published a revised version of his *Loci communes theologici*.[356] In that new edition Melanchthon for the first time treated the biblical basis of the belief in eternal life and in the resurrection of the dead. He discussed both subjects under one heading: "De resurrectione mortuorum."[357] Melanchthon did not specify whether eternal life means the immortality of the soul (as could be presumed on the basis of his earlier commentary on Matthew), and he called 'eternal life' and 'resurrection of the dead'—in 'one breath', so to say—a single article of faith.

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353 "Caeterum bene refutati sunt Sadducaei, ipsa resuscitatione Christi, et aliorum multorum, qui resuscitati sunt et conspecti a multis" (Melanchthon, *In Evangelium Matthaei annotationes*, col. 961).

354 Melanchthon, *In Evangelium Matthaei annotationes*, col. 1026.

355 Melanchthon, *In Evangelium Matthaei annotationes*, col. 1026.

356 Philipp Melanchthon, *Loci communes theologici recens collecti & recognati a Philippo Melanthone*, Wittenberg, Iosephum Clug, 1535. (Republished in Strasbourg in 1536 by Iohan Albert). Published in Melanchthon, *Philippi Melanthonis Opera quae supersunt, omnia*, (CR XXIV), ed. Carolus Gottlieb Bretschneider, Brunswick: Schwetschke, 1854, cols. 230–561.

357 Melanchthon, *Loci communes theologici* (1535), col. 524.

This article is one of the foremost precepts of the Gospel and is clearly stated and often emphasized in the NT. According to Melanchthon, it is Christ's own words that most evidently speak about this article of faith in the passages where Jesus promises eternal punishment for the wicked and eternal bliss for the just (Mt. 25:46; and Jn. 5:25 and 6:40). In 1 Cor. 15 Paul, too, keenly affirms this article, Melanchthon added. Subsequently Melanchthon cites Is. 26:19–21 as proof text from the OT for the double expectation of eternal life and resurrection of the body. In Melanchthon's view, Isaiah unmistakably speaks in this passage about the revivification of the dead, the joy of the saints, the punishment of the wicked, and the 'present' afflictions of the Church. But what is eternal life, Melanchthon asks himself? And the answer he finds is that for the faithful it is eternal bliss (*perpetua lætitia*), perfect knowledge of God, and perfect justice without sin or death.[358]

Melanchthon's views on the afterlife prior to the Tyndale–Joye controversy are only partially made explicit.[359] Up until 1535, the *Loci communes* did not cover the issue. Whether this means that for some reason Melanchthon felt no particular need to pronounce a clear standpoint on

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[358] In his next, still further amended edition of the *Loci theologici* (1543), Melanchthon elaborated upon the theme of the afterlife (Melanchthon, *Loci theologici recens recogniti. Avtore Philip. Melanthone*, Wittenberg, Petrus Seitz, 1543 (Republished several times in Wittenberg, Basel, and Leipzig). Published in Melanchthon, *Philippi Melanthonis Opera quae supersunt, omnia*, (CR XXIV), ed. Carolus Gottlieb Bretschneider, Brunswick: Schwetschke, 1854, cols. 561–1106). In that edition, too, Melanchthon treats eternal life (this time more clearly including the immortality of the soul) and the resurrection of the flesh under the common title "De resurrectione mortuorum." Melanchthon adds several other OT proofs for the double expectation of eternal life and the resurrection of the body (e.g. Is. 66:22–24, 65:17–20, and 24:21; Ps. 15:9; Job 19:25; etc.). Melanchthon also claims that the accounts of the translations of Enoch and Elijah being alive to God prove the existence of eternal life: *Enoch et Elias vivi transtuli sunt ad Deum, ut textus de Enoch clare dicit. Haec facta certe sunt manifesta testimonia vitae aeternae*. In this version of the *Loci*, immortality of the soul and eternal life seem to be mutually interchangeable (cols. 925–29).

[359] In 1540, Melanchthon published his *Commentarius de anima* (Vitebergæ, Iohannis Lufft, later revised as *Liber de anima* (1553)), an innovative commentary on Aristotle's philosophical work about the soul, which can only be fully understood in light of Lutheran theology. In this, Melanchthon claimed that any commentary on Aristotle's work should be about the Christian rather than about the human soul, and that there was no inherent 'spirit' equivalent to the rational soul in the human person with whose help the human person could gain salvation, but rather that the human person as a whole, both body and soul, became subject to either salvation or damnation. See: Sachiko Kusukawa, *Melanchthon's Science Textbooks*, in *Paradigm. Newsletter of the Colloquium on Textbooks, Schools and Society* 1,5 (1991); Sachiko Kusukawa, *The Transformation of Natural Philosophy. The Case of Philip Melanchthon*, (Ideas in Context 34), Cambridge: UP, 1995, esp. pp. 74–89; Sascha Salatowsky, *De Anima. Die Rezeption der aristotelischen Psychologie im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, (Bochumer Studien zur Philosophie 43), Amsterdam: B.R. Grüner, 2006.

the matter, or whether his views corresponded to the traditional Catholic teaching, is not entirely clear. His commentary on Matthew seems to suggest that for him the resurrection of the body and the immortality of the soul are only two sides of the same coin. They seem to be dependent on one another. For him, the denial of one involves the denial of the other, and proving one proves the other, too. His more spiritual explanation of Lk. 23:43 might hint at his awareness of Luther's ideas on the topic and at a desire to avoid an open confrontation on it. There is nothing to suggest that he would have shared Luther's ideas about soul sleep.

Huldrych Zwingli

When the authority of the Swiss Reformer Huldrych Zwingli (1484–1531) was challenged by a radical wing of Protestantism, Zwingli turned violently against its adherents.[360] In addition to employing political repression and persecution, Zwingli also engaged himself in a verbal combat against the Anabaptists (whom he called Catabaptists). He wrote repeatedly against their teachings.[361] Similarly to most of his contemporaries, Zwingli conceived Anabaptists as people who misinterpreted the Gospel, endangered society by undermining moral requirements, and constituted a menacing source of social unrest.[362] His main and final theological work on the subject, the *In catabaptistarum strophas Elenchus*, appeared in

[360] See *infra* on p. 277. On Zwingli's theology about a post-mortem existence, see: Erich Vogelsang, *Weltbilt und Kreuzestheologie in den Höllenfahrtsstreitigkeiten der Reformationszeit*, in *ARg* 38 (1941), pp. 90–132; Samuel Macauley Jackson, chapter 3. *Zwingli and Zürich. Theology and Theocracy, 1518–1531*, in *Selected Works of Huldrich Zwingli, (1484–1531) The Reformer of German Switzerland, translated for the First Time from the Originals*, ed. Samuel Macauley Jackson, Philadelphia: UP Pennsylvania, 1901; Iren L. Snavely, Jr., *Zwingli, Froschauer, and the Word of God in Print*, in *Journal of Religious and Theological Information* 3 (2000), pp. 65–87; Walter Ernst Meyer, *Huldrych Zwinglis Eschatologie. Reformatorische Wende, Theologie und Geschichtsbild des Zürcher Reformators im Lichte seines eschatologischen Ansatzes*, Zürich: Theologischer, 1987; W. Peter Stephens, *The Theology of Huldrych Zwingli*, Oxford: Clarendon, 1986, pp. 154–63; George Richard Potter, *Zwingli*, Cambridge: UP, 1976; Vogelsang, *Weltbilt und Kreuzestheologie in den Höllenfahrtsstreitigkeiten der Reformationszeit*, pp. 90–132.

[361] Huldrych Zwingli, *Vom dem Touff. Vom widertouff. Vnnd vom kindertouff durch Huldrych Zuingli*, Zürich: Johannsen Hager, 27 May 1525; Huldrych Zwingli, *Vber Doctor Balthazars Touffbüchlin/ waarhaffte/ gründte antwurt*, Zürich: Christopher Froschouer, 5 November 1525.

[362] Harold Bender, *Walking in the Resurrection*, in *The Mennonite Quarterly Review* 35 (1961), pp. 11–25.

Zürich on 31 July 1527, issued from the press of Christopher Froschauer.[363] This is the only work in Latin by Zwingli on the topic. The first part is a defence vis-à-vis a confutation booklet, written perhaps by Konrad Grebel and directed specifically against Zwingli himself. The second part refutes the *Seven Articles of the Schleitheim Confession*, which spelled out the key convictions of the emerging movement. The third part expounds upon the ideas of Covenant (*De fœdere*) and Election (*Electio*). Finally, four additional Anabaptist teachings are confuted in an appended epilogue (*Auctarium*).

It is in this epilogue that Zwingli attacked the teaching of the Anabaptists about soul sleep.[364] He explained that the Anabaptists believe that the dead sleep, both body and soul, until the Day of Judgement. In his refutation he claimed that his opponents were ignorant of the fact that the Hebrews used the word 'sleeping' for 'dying.'[365] Along the lines of Aristotle and Tertullian, Zwingli then argued that the soul (which the Greeks called ἐντελέχεια) cannot sleep (*dormire*) or die (*intermori*), as it is by nature spiritual, and therefore incessantly active (*natura incessans operatio aut motus*).[366] It is as incapable of falling asleep as the sun is of

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[363] Huldrych Zwingli, *In catabaptistarum strophas Elenchus Huldrichi Zuinglij*, Tiguri ex aedibus Christophori Froschouer, 1527. Republished in *HZSW* VI,1, (CR XCIII), pp. 1–196.

[364] Zwingli discussed other issues concerning the afterlife in several of his works. In the *Sixty-Seven articles* (1523), for example, he had not yet completely rejected the idea of Purgatory. He stated under the heading 'Vom fegfür' that Purgatory lacks a scriptural foundation, that God's judgement is only known to Him, that one should not speculate on such matters (cf. *supra* on p. 94), and that prayers for the dead are allowed, but it is devilish to determine the duration of punishment and to lie for profit: "57. Die war, heylig geschrifft weyßt kein fegfür nach disen zytten. 58. Das urteyl der abgescheidmem ist allein got bekant. 59. Und ye minder unns gott darvon hatt lassen wissen, ye minder wir uns darvon ze wissen undernemen söllend. 60. Ob der mensch für die gestrobnen sorgfeltig gott umb gnad inen zů bewissen anrüfft, verwürff ich nit; doch davon zyt stellen und umb gewüns willen lügen, ist nit menschlich sunder tüfelisch" (*HZSW* I, p. 464). He did reject the intercession of the saints, claiming that Christ is the one and only intercessor (*19. Das Christus ein einger mitler ist zwüschend gott unnd uns*), and no other is needed besides Him (*20. [...] Das wir usserthalb diser zyet keines mitlers dörffend denn sin.*); cf. Heb. 9. (*HZSW* I, p. 460). Zwingli also asserted that God alone could forgive sins through Christ (50.) and that not only are penitential works a human institution developed in order to menace others (53.), but they are blasphemous, for Christ has borne all of our pains and labour (54.) (*HZSW* I, pp. 463–64).

[365] "Catabaptistę docent mortuos dormire et corpore et animis usque in diem iudicii; propterea quod dormiendi verbo ignorant *Hebręos* pro moriendi verbo uti" (*HZSW* VI,1, pp. 188–89).

[366] "Coelestis ergo spiritus, quem nos animam, Gręci ἐντελέχειαν vocant, tam vivax, constans, robusta, tenax ac vigilans substantia est" (*HZSW* VI,1, p. 189). See *supra* on p. 85.

being dark.[367] Experience shows us that it is merely the body that sleeps, for upon awakening one remembers one's dreams.[368] It is much less possible for the soul to sleep when it is liberated from the body by death. It is therefore only the body that can fall asleep at death and remain so until the Day of Judgement.[369] Furthermore, Zwingli argued, Anabaptists are ignorant of the fact that the Hebrews used the word 'resurrectio' not always for the resurrection of the flesh, but also for the interim state, the continuation and existence of the soul after it has been freed from the body, in which state it can neither sleep nor die.[370]

To substantiate his point, Zwingli cited examples from the Scriptures. Joshua 7:12–13 twice uses the Hebrew verb קוּם, translated in the Vulgate with a form of the verb *surgere*. In both instances the word means to stand fast, resist, or endure.[371] Jesus' response to the Sadducees in Mt. 22:31 proves that Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob are alive despite their actual physical deaths. Christ's answer confirmed what the Sadducees denied, namely, 'resurrectio,' which means to be alive, and not the resurrection of the flesh.[372] In Heb. 11:35, too, *resurrectio* is taken to mean the life of the soul severed from the body; the martyrs had such a firm faith that the 'resurrectio'—that is, the life after this one—will be a better life,

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[367] "Unde tam abest, ut dormire possit, quantum a luce aut sole abest, ut obscurum corpus sit. Quocunque solem abigas, splendet ac incendit, id quod *Phaëton* expertus est; sic anima, quocunque detrudas, animat, movet ac impellit, adeo ut corpore devincta dum impsum, quę eius est inertia, dormit, ipsa tamen non dormiat" (*HZSW* VI,1, p. 189).

[368] "Meminimus enim eorum, quę in somno vidimus. Quanto magis corpore liberata dormire nequit, cum sit substantia ad perpetuam operationem, quę defatigari non potest, concinnata" (*HZSW* VI,1, pp. 189–90).

[369] "Dormit ergo corpus, anima nunquam; sed cum corpore liberatur, iam corpus noctem ęternam dormit" (*HZSW* VI,1, p. 190).

[370] "Postremo ignorant catabaptistę resurrectionem mortuorum *Hebręis* non semper accipi pro carnis ista suprema resurrectione, quam olim videbimus, sed interim pro hac, interim vero pro constantia aut perduratione animę, qua corpore soluta in vita constat ac durat non somno aut morte depressa, neque enim potest deprimi" (*HZSW* VI,1, p. 190).

[371] "*Iehosue* 7. sic loquitur dominus: 'Non potuerunt filii Israël surgere coram hostibus suis', et paulo post: 'Non poteris surgere ante hostes tuos.' Hic utrobique ponitur 'surgere' pro: consistere ac perdurare; nam et Hieronymus 'stare' transtulit" (*HZSW* VI,1, p. 190). In the autograph, Zwingli inserted the Hebrew consonantal form לקום and the vocalized form לָקוּם before and after the verb *surgere* (the critical edition erroneously transcribed them as לָקדם and לְקדוּם, respectively). He also introduced the Latin *consistere* at the same place.

[372] "*Mat.* 22. sic loquitur Christus: 'De resurrectione mortuorum non legistis quod dictum est a deo dicente vobis: "Ego sum deus *Abraham* et deus Isaac et deus Iacob"? Non est deus mortuorum, sed viventium.' Qua responsione nihil aliud docet quam vivos esse *Abraham*, *Isaac* et *Iacob*, etiamsi essent mortui, quos Saducęi aut prorsus negabant resurgere, hoc est vivere, at saltem catabaptistarum more adserebant dormire. Non enim quadrat responsio *Christi* ad resurrectionem carnis, sed ad hoc, quod *Abraham*, *Isaac* et *Iacob*, etiamsi mortui essemt, viverent" (*HZSW* VI,1, p. 190).

that they refused to be saved for this life and embraced the life that follows after this one.[373] Similarly, Jesus' promise to the believers in Jn. 6:40 should be understood as a promise to keep those who trust in Him alive even beyond their death.[374]

In 1 Cor. 15, Zwingli claimed, the whole discourse on the resurrection of the flesh is clearly linked to and depends on the immortality of the soul. For Paul speaks about 'resurrectio' in general terms, and from the beginning of the chapter until verse 35 the word is used not (exclusively) for the resurrection of the flesh, but (also) for the continuance or persistence of life after this life.[375] It is only from there on that Paul speaks about the bodily resurrection, Zwingli maintained. To prove this, Zwingli used five arguments. (1) First he pointed to vv. 21–22 (as death came through a human being, the 'resurrectio' from the dead also comes from a human being, for as in Adam all die, so in Christ all are made alive). It is clear, Zwingli argued, that here 'resurrectio' pertains not only to the resurrection of the flesh, but also to that life which immediately follows after this present one: through Adam we all die, but through Christ we are preserved in life.[376] That is why Christ promised that even though those who believe in Him die, they will live (Jn. 11:25).[377] (2) The second argument came from the (in Zwingli's view) despicable custom of baptism for the dead (1 Cor. 15:29). He contended that this practice proves and presupposes the survival and

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373 "*Hebr*. 11. sic loquitur *Paulus*: 'Alii vero distenti aut crucifixi sunt nullam recipentes redemptionem, ut meliorem invenirent resurrectionem.' Ecce, ut hic 'resurrectio' pro vita animę, quam soluta corpore habitura est, accipitur. Ad hunc sensum: sic vitam istam, quę hanc sequitur, amplexi sunt, ut pręsentem nollent, etiam cum offeretur, recipere, tam constans enim erat fides, ut certi essent eam, quę sequeretur, meliorem esse" (*HZSW* VI,1, p. 190).

374 "Unde et *Christi* verbum, quod *Io*. 6. habetur: 'Ego resuscitabo eum in novissimo die' non debet in alium sensum detorqueri quam: ego, dum is moritur, qui me fidit, in vita servabo. Ut vel insinuet: nunquam intermorituros, qui se fidant, vel nunquam non iucundissime pervicturos. Novissimus autem dies isthic non tam est ultimus ille omnium rerum pręsentis mundi quam postremus cuiusquam dum ex hoc mundo demigrat. Id quod *Io*. 5[,24]. facile deprehenditur: 'In iudicium non venit, sed transiit a morte in vitam'" (*HZSW* VI,1, pp. 190–91).

375 "In 1. Cor 15. de resurrectione loquens apostolus hanc, quę pro perduratione et consistentia in vita capitur, tanquam superiorem facit, de qua in genere loquitut, donec ad hunc locum veniat: "Quomodo resurgunt mortui aut quali corpore incedent?" Ibi tandem, quę aliquando ventura est, carnis resurrectionis disputationem ingreditur" (*HZSW* VI,1, p. 191).

376 "Vides, ut istud: 'Ex homine mors et ex homine resurrectione mortuorum; nam sicut in *Adam* omnes moriuntur, sic et in *Christo* omnes vitę restituuntur' non solum ad carnis resurrectionem pertinet, sed ad istam vitam, quę hanc protinus sequitur. Per *Adam* enim moriuntur, sed per *Christum* in vita servamur" (*HZSW* VI,1, p. 191).

377 *HZSW* VI,1, p. 191.

active character of the soul beyond death.[378] (3) Zwingli's third argument is Paul's logic in vv. 30–31, which is, according to the Swiss theologian, that eternal life must follow immediately upon death; Paul would be a fool to expose himself to danger every day if there was no life after this one, or if a sleep followed upon death.[379] (4) The fourth argument is provided by vv. 32–33. There, Paul disapprovingly quotes the Corinthians: "let us eat and drink; for tomorrow we die," and then he adds: evil communications corrupt good manners. But it is precisely the Anabaptists' advocacy of soul sleep and their blasphemous tenet that even Satan would eventually be saved, Zwingli maintained, that undermine society and encourage crime, because such beliefs remove the fear of any post-mortem penalty for the evil committed in this life.[380] (5) The final argument is deduced from v. 34, where Paul calls upon the Corinthians to wake up and come to their senses from their folly: ἐκνήψατε δικαίως. Paul used the verb 'to wake up' with great pungency, for the Anabaptists, pressed in their sleep of ignorance, presume that the souls sleep, just as the wolf thinks that all animals eat raw food since it does so itself.[381] And when these would-be

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[378] *HZSW* VI,1, pp. 191–92. The custom also serves as an argument for infant baptism for Zwingli.

[379] "Tertio istud considera, quod iungit: 'et nos cuius causa in horam periclitamur?', 'quottidie morior' etc.; huc enim et istud pertinet. Vult enim *Paulus*, si aut nulla vita istam sequitur aut somnus plus quam *Epimenideus*, stultus essem quottidie discrimen omne subiens. Sed longe aliter habet res; hanc vitam ęterna e vestigio sequitur, nam alioqui huiusmodi periculis me haud temere exponerem" (*HZSW* VI,1, p. 192). Zwingli refers to the philosopher-poet Epimenides of Knossos (6th century BC). Reportedly, he fell asleep for fifty-seven years in a cave. When he woke up, he possessed the gift of prophecy. His poem Cretica (Κρητικά) is quoted twice in the NT (Titus 1:12 and Acts 17:28). See: Felix Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, vol. 3B, Leiden: Brill, 457 F 18–20; J.L. De Belder, *Epimenides' ontwaken en andere gedichten*, Brussels: Manteau, 1943; Hermann Diels, *Über Epimenides von Kreta*, (Sitzungsberichte der Königlich preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 21), s.l.: n.n., 1891; T. Nicklin, *Epimenides' Minos*, in *The Classical Review* 30 (1916), pp. 33–37; Eric Robertson Dodds, *The Greek and the Irrational*, Berkeley, Los Angeles & London: UP California & UP Cambridge, 1951, pp. 141–46; Gabriel Herman, *Nikias, Epimenides, and the Question of Omissions in Thucydides*, in *Classical Quarterly* 39 (1989), pp. 83–93.

[380] "Quarto, quod ait: 'Edamus' etc. et 'corrumpunt mores sanctos commercia prava' etiam huc pertinet. Nihil enim ęque mores corrumpit atque docere animos intermori, aut, ut nunc catabaptistę blasphemant, dormire usque ad posrtremum diem ac deinde adserunt et dęmonem et omnes salvari. Quę igitur poena perfidos ac sceleratos manet? Quę corruptio non tam large seuqeretur, si isti solummodo negarent carnem revicturam" (*HZSW* VI,1, p. 192). On the idea of universal salvation, see *infra* on p. 198.

[381] "Quinto ista quoque consideres: ἐκνήψατε δικαίως, hoc est: evigilate recte. Resipiunt enim hęc verba *Paulinam* acrimoniam. Cum enim isti somno ignorantię pressi putarent, quod lupus, qui omnia credit animalia crudis vesci, eo quod ipse vescitur, animas dormire 'evigilate' ait" (*HZSW* VI,1, p. 192).

scholars think themselves to be awake, Paul rightly calls upon them to wake up, for while they think that they are awake and are exactly right, they dream somnolently about sleep.[382] Zwingli's conclusion is that the apostle speaks in the first part of the chapter about the state of the souls after this life, and only in the second part uses 'resurrectio' to mean the resurrection of the flesh.[383]

In the following point Zwingli attacked the Anabaptists' teaching about universal salvation, which proposed that even the devils and the damned will eventually be redeemed.[384] This, however, represents a contradiction in their teaching, because if the souls sleep until Judgement Day, and if on that day everyone will be saved, there is no Hell, no Gehenna, no inextinguishable fire, no flames that consume the tares (cf. Mt. 13:30).[385] But the Anabaptists ignore the fact that the Hebrew adverb לְעוֹלָם means 'forever' (*in ęternum*), an interminable eternity. Both Lk. 1:33 and Mt. 25:41 use the expression 'in ęternum.' Now, if the term referred only to a certain amount of time, then the salvation of the blessed should also be temporal. But after the Last Judgement, Zwingli asserted, there will be no other

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382 "Cum autem propter acumen sibi doctuli viderentur ac ideo minime dormire, recte ait: 'evigilate'; putatis enim vos vigilare et rem acu tetigisse, qum somniculose de somne somnietis" (*HZSW* VI,1, p. 192). Zwingli's description of his adversaries is not particularly charming. He calls the arguments advanced by the Anabaptists "foolish, impious and absurd" and lacking in any substantial backing from Scripture, and he seeks to refute them with the help of God. "Stulta igitur, impia et absurda, quę docent, adsignatis paucis scripturę locis (sed talibus, ut eis tota catabaptistarum caterva non possit resistere) convellemus σὺν τῷ θεῷ" (*HZSW* VI,1, p. 188). Cf. "Stultus stulta loquitur" (*HZSW* VI,1, p. 194). The Anabaptists are oppressed not so much by sleep as by wickedness, and they teach whatever occurs to them. "Et videbis catabaptistas non tam somno quam nequicia depressos tradere, quicquid inciderit" (*HZSW* VI,1, p. 193).

383 "Post hęc sequentia quoque expende, lector, et ubi videris in genere primum loqui apostolum de animę post hanc vitam vita, ac deinde ad carnis resurrectionem descendere, huc redi" (*HZSW* VI,1, pp. 191–92).

384 "Tam dęmonem quam impios omnes beari" (*HZSW* VI,1, p. 193). Zwingli attacked here Johannes Denk (*c.*1500–27). See: Johannes Lindeboom, *Stiefkinderen van het Christendom*, The Hague: 's Gravenhage, 1929, pp. 193–201. Stanislaus von Dunin Borkowski, *Quellenstudien zur Vorgeschichte der Unitarier des 16. Jahrhunderts*, in *75 Jahre Stella Matutina*, vol. I., 1931, pp. 94–101; Christian Neff & Walter Fellmann, art. *Denck, Hans*, in Cornelius J. Dyck & Dennis D. Martin (eds.), *Mennonite Encyclopedia. A Comprehensive Reference Work on the Anabaptist-Mennonite Mouvement*, vol. 2, Scottdale: Mennonite Publishing House, 1959, pp. 32–35; *HZSW* VI,1, p. 193, n. 1. On the idea of universal salvation proposed by Origen, see: *supra* on p. 90.

385 "Dum morimur, dormiemus usque ad ultimum diem. Isto deinde iudicio absolvemur. Sublati sunt igitur inferi? Gehena? Ignis inextinguibilis? Flamma, quę zizannia in manipulos colligata lambet?" (*HZSW* VI,1, p. 193).

judgement, and there will be no age but sheer eternity, because then all time will cease.[386]

In catabaptistarum strophas Elenchus was not the first work in which Zwingli advocated such an interpretation of the word resurrection. Questions on a post-mortem existence had been the subject matter of an earlier letter by Zwingli to the Bern reformer Berchtold Haller (1491–1536).[387] This letter was dated at Zürich on 6 November 1526. Haller's original letter, to which Zwingli responded, is no longer extant, but it concerned the resurrection of the flesh, as is clear from Zwingli's answer. Apparently Haller asked for the clarification of two biblical texts. As will be seen, Zwingli's letter already contains some of the arguments he was going to use in his battle against the Anabaptists.

The first text Zwingli elucidated was 1 Cor. 15. He began by quoting v. 29: "what will those people do who receive baptism on behalf of the dead? If the dead are not raised at all, why are people baptized on their behalf?" The word *resurrectio*, Zwingli explained to Haller, is occasionally taken to mean the general judgement of all mortals at the throne of Christ (*pro publica mortalium omnium coram throno* Christi *comparitione*), as described in Mt. 25:31–46, yet other times 'resurrectio' refers to the immortality of the soul (*pro immortalitate animae*), as the Hebrew verb קוּם can mean to stand up or to survive.[388] It is in the latter sense that the word is used in Joshua 7:12, where the Hebrew text reads לקוּם and the LXX uses ὑποστῆναι (*consistere*: to remain, or to exist), but the Vulgate translates it as *stare* (to stand).[389] Accordingly, *resurrectio* means the life of the dead, or the endurance or persistence of souls.[390] For further examples of this Hebraism, Zwingli refers Haller to Leo Jud's notes taken in the *Prophezei*.[391]

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386 "Nam si isthic ęternum temporarium esset, quod fieri nullo pacto potest, tunc enim desiit omne tempus, iam et beatorum salus esset temporaria; sed stultus stulta loquitur" (*HZSW* VI,1, p. 194).

387 Published in *D.D. IOANNIS OECOLAMPADII ET HVLDRICHI ZVINGLII EPISTOLAR[VM] LIBRI QUATUOR. PRAECIPVA CUM REGIONIS À CHRISTO NObis traditæ capita, tum Ecclesistice administrationis officia, nostro maxime seculo, tot haéten[us] errorib[us] perturbato, convenientia, ad amussim exprimenetes*, Basileae, 1536, fos. 19–21. Critical edition: *HZSW* VIII, pp. 759–63.

388 "Interim pro immortalitate animae; quae sic *Hebraico* more a קוּם surgendi verbo vel consistendi adpellatur" (*HZSW* VIII, p. 759).

389 "Ut *Iosuae* 7.: 'Non poterunt filii *Israël* consistere ante hostes suos.' Ubi *Hebraei* habent לקוּם, *Graeci* ὑποστῆναι, hoc est, consistere; *Latini* vero, stare" (*HZSW* VIII, p. 759).

390 "Sitque ut resurrectio mortuorum perinde valeat atque mortuorum vita, quae alibi agitur, vel animarum duratio aut preseverantia" (*HZSW* VIII, pp. 759–60).

391 "De *Hebraismo* alia quoque exempla invenies aliquando in iis adnotationibus, quas Leo ex ore nostro prę aliis probe excipit, tibique impartitur peculiari amico. Nolim enim

But Zwingli is ready to offer illustrations from the NT, where *resurrectio* should be taken to mean the immortality of the soul. Such is the encounter of Jesus with the Sadducees in Mt. 22. Christ's answer in v. 32 proves only that the souls of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob are alive, i.e. that the souls continue to exist after they leave the body, but it does not prove the resurrection of the flesh.[392] There are people, Zwingli wrote, who believe that the souls are asleep until Judgement Day, a position that plainly contradicts the immortality of the soul.[393] But their custom of sprinkling holy water on the graves (which Zwingli identified with baptism for the dead) proves the immortality of the soul, because who would be willing to be baptized for the dead, if the soul ceases to exist when the body dies?[394] Zwingli did not deny that Paul's words in 1 Cor. 15 can refer to the resurrection at the general judgement, but he asserted that Paul used the word indiscriminately, referring to both meanings of the word (*apostolum de utraque resurrectione promiscue loqui*), much as Christ spoke indiscriminately in Mt. 24:4–51 about both His second coming and the age preceding it.[395] According to the Swiss theologian, in 1 Cor. 15, Paul speaks about

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quibusvis earum copiam etiamnum fieri" (*HZSW* VIII, p. 760). From 19 June 1525 onwards, Zwingli and his Reform-minded friends started a sort of 'Reformed University,' a school aimed at training clerics in Reformed theology in Zürich. They studied the Scriptures in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. Zwingli and others would read a Biblical text in the original languages, compare the versions, and comment on and interpret it. See: George R. Potter, *Zwingli and the Book of Psalms*, in *SCJ* 10 (1979), pp. 42–50; M.H. Goshen-Gottstein, *The Textual Criticism of the Old Testament. Rise, Decline, Rebirth*, in *JBL* 102 (1983), pp. 365–99, esp. pp. 370–71; Alfred Schindler (ed.), *Fritz Busser, Die Prophezei. Humanismus und Reformation in Zurich*, (Zürcher Beitrage zur Reformationsgeschichte 17), New York: Peter Lang, 1994; Traudel Himmighöfer, *Die Zürcher Bibel bis zum Tode Zwinglis (1531)*, (Veröffentlichen des Instituts für Europäische Geschichte Mainz 154), Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1995. See also *infra* on p. 203.

392 "De re vero ipsa exemplum habes *Christi*, apud *Matth*. 22.: 'De resurrectione vero mortuorum, non legistis, quod vobis a deo dictum est?' Ubi manifestum est, *Christum* non loqui de carnis resurrectione, sed de immortalitate animae. Nam exemplum, quod adducit de *Abraham*, *Isaac* et *Iacob*, non trahit ad carnis resurrectionem, sed ad animae immortalitatem, cum ait: 'Non est deus deus mortuorum, sed vivorum.' Huc ergo penetrat *Christus*, ut probet *Abraham*, *Isaac*, et *Iacob* vivere. Non enim posset hoc exemplum carnis resurrectionem probare; sed quod animae durent ac vivant, postquam corpore posuerunt" (*HZSW* VIII, p. 760).

393 "Dicunt somno quodam animas sepeliri ac teneri usque ad ultimum iudicium. Quod quid aliud sit, quam animae immortalitatem negare, non video" (*HZSW* VIII, p. 760).

394 "Probat igitur ex eorum ritu, animas esse immortales. Nam si minus, hoc permittant iam contradicere publicae consuetudini, qua quidam pro mortuis sese tingant. Qui si mortuorum animas crederent simul cum corpore extinctas, non baptizetur pro eis" (*HZSW* VIII, p. 760).

395 "Si vero nunc dicas, videri tibi *Paulum* eo loci de publica resurrectione loqui, respondeo, me non inficiari, propter omnium doctorum huius loci expositionem, apostolum

the spiritual body, or, perhaps more accurately, about the soul as the faculty of the intellect and of the senses.[396] For the correct interpretation of the term, he compared Paul's language here with that of Col. 2:9, where it is said about Christ that the fullness of divinity dwells bodily in Him. This latter text, Zwingli believed, should not be understood as saying that God is a body, because 'body' is taken here for 'essence': Christ was, by essence, God, similarly to the sense in which the German idiom "*er ist 's lyplich*" is used.[397] In the same manner, when Paul says about the spiritual body that it dies and rises (v. 44), he means that when the earthly body dies, the spiritual body—i.e. the very substance of the soul—lives.[398] But since there are so many objections to such an interpretation, Zwingli cautioned against accepting any idea heedlessly, lest he appear to be a Manichaean, who denied the resurrection of the flesh. He claimed that even if he interpreted this place as referring to the immortality of the soul, there are other passages where the resurrection of the flesh can be proven.[399] Since all ancient interpreters took that passage to mean the resurrection of the flesh, it is safest to leave the question open, as Paul used the term indiscriminately, sometimes denoting the resurrection of the flesh and other times meaning the immortality of the soul.[400] Zwingli mentioned, however, that there was one exception among the Church Fathers, viz. Ambrose, who seems to have equated *resurrectio* with the life after this

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de utraque resurrectione promiscue loqui, sicut et *Christus Matth*. 24. promiscue et de ultimo adventu suo, et de iis, quae per eam aetatem, que est inter priorem adventum eius ac secundum, eventura sunt, pleraque disserit" (*HZSW* VIII, p. 761).

396 "*Paulus* in hoc loco de corpore spirituali dicit, posse de anima potius quam corpore sensibili intelligi" (*HZSW* VIII, p. 761).

397 "Non quod deus sit corpus, sed quod corpus apostolo accipiatur pro essentia; velitque dicere, per essentiam *Christum* esse deum. Sicut *Germanice* quoque dicimus: **er ist 's lyplich**, id est: ipse vel ipsissimus est deus" (*HZSW* VIII, p. 761).

398 "Consimilique hic modo dicat: moritur corpus animale sive terrenum, et resurgit; hoc est: vivit, mortuo scilicet terreno corpore, corpus spirituale, hoc est: ipsa animae substantia" (*HZSW* VIII, p. 761).

399 "Sed quoniam multa videntur obstare, quae isthic loci habentur, nihil temere adsero; simul etiam ne videar *Manichaeis* adhaerescere, qui mortuorum, hoc est: carnis resurrectionem, negant. Quae tamen ex aliis probari locis posset, etiamsi iste locus de immortalitate animę tantum intelligeretur" (*HZSW* VIII, p. 761). On Manichaeism, see *supra* on p. 92.

400 "Tutissimum est agnoscere, quod *Paulus* resurrectionem mortuorum in praesenti loco promiscue accipit, nunc pro publica resurrectione, nunc vero pro animae immortalitate. Quod autem nemo veterum hoc de immortalitate animae prodiderit, sed omnes per omnem hunc locum resurrectionem carnis intellexerint, efficit, ut tibi liberum relinquam, quamcunque sententiam sequi" (*HZSW* VIII, p. 761).

life in his commentary on 1 Cor. 15:30, but Zwingli admits that this is only an incidental remark of Ambrose.[401]

The other biblical place Haller wished to have explained by Zwingli was 1 Pt. 4:4–6. This passage, the Swiss Reformer maintained, is not as difficult as it seems at first sight. The meaning of the words in the epistle of Peter can be summarized, according to Zwingli, in the following way: "The people are surprised, when you do not join them in the excesses of licentiousness, and they despise you because of your innocence and accuse you falsely. But they will have to give account to Him, who is appointed to judge the quick and the dead" (1 Pt. 4:4–5).[402] What follows these words, Zwingli explained, is the rhetorical device of adducing the proofs: for Christ will be the future judge of all mortals, both those who are alive and those who are dead.[403] For the dead received the proclamation (which is the sense of the Greek term εὐηγγελίσθη, Zwingli clarified) in order that they be judged by ordinary law for all things that pertain to the flesh (by which all human beings will be judged), so in spirit they might live through God (1 Pt. 4:6).[404] Zwingli specified that Christ's proclamation to the dead is the preaching of the Gospel to the dead (*Mortuis praedicatum est euangelium*), the announcement of their salvation (*Christum animarum salutem advenisse adnuntiari*).[405] This is attested to in 1 Pt. 3:19, where it is said that Christ preached to the spirits in prison, and that through His precious death the captives were redeemed, and Christ, the victor, led them upwards, as is professed in the Creed: "he descended into Hell."[406] Now,

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401 "Veteris enim, quos ego vidi, quum in hunc locum veniunt, adparent paulo tepidius rem gerere, praeter unum *Ambrosium*, qui videtur in ista esse sententia. Sic enim super his *Pauli* verbis: 'Quid et nos periclitamur', ait: 'et subauditur: Nisi quia speramus futuram resurrectionem, sicut supra memorat. Securi enim, quia post istam mortem vera vita sequetur, pericula non timent etc.' Expende autem, que dicimus, ad iustam bilancem; et videbis, non ab re in hac esse sententia" (*HZSW* VIII, pp. 761–62). The quotation is from Ambroisaster, the author of a commenatry on the Pauline epistles. The work used to be attributed to Ambrose: Ambroisaster, *Commentarius in epistolam b. Pauli ad Corinthos primam*, XVI, 164 (*PL* 17, col. 266B).

402 *HZSW* VIII, p. 762.

403 "Quod nunc sequitur, confirmatio est, ac veluti προσαπόδοσις, quod *Christus* omnium mortalium futurus sit iudex, tam vivorum quam mortuorum" (*HZSW* VIII, p. 762).

404 "Ad hoc enim mortuis quoque adnuntiatus est (sic enim interpretanda est *Graeca* vox εὐηγγελίσθη), ut iudicentur, quod ad carnem attinet, vulgari more, quo iudicabuntur omnes homines, spiritu vero per deum vivant" (*HZSW* VIII, p. 762).

405 *HZSW* VIII, p. 762.

406 "Sic ergo mortuis adnuntiatus est, et his, qui in carcere erant, ut idem *Petrus* 1. cap. 3. testatur, cum mortis eius precio captivitas redempta est, quam victor secum duxit ad superos. Et hoc est, quod in symbolo confitemur: 'Descendit ad inferos'" (*HZSW* VIII, p. 762).

one can wonder, Zwingli proposed, how they came forth from there, whether cloaked in the body or as a pure spiritual substance; but Peter anticipated the question and said that the flesh of those who were liberated by Christ the victor will be judged when all flesh will be judged, but in the meantime their spirits will live and rejoice through Christ in God.[407] Peter put it elegantly when he said that the quick and the dead will be judged by Christ, who is said to have brought the remedy of the Gospel to the dead (*ad mortuos quoque pervenisse euangelii medelam*).[408] Peter's words also mean, Zwingli believed, that their flesh is not yet resurrected but will be judged in the general judgement, from which the resurrection of the flesh can be proved and established.[409]

The annotations by Leo Jud in the *Prophezei* about the Hebrew verb קוּם not always denoting the bodily resurrection—to which annotations Zwingli referred in his *In catabaptistarum strophas Elenchus*—were later incorporated into Zwingli's exegetical works and Bible translations.[410] Commenting on Ex. 21:19, Zwingli remarked in 1527 that the use of the verb קוּם in this verse is a Hebraism, for it does not mean the bodily resurrection, but that the injured party can stand up and walk again.[411] Earlier in his commentary he had a seemingly comparable remark about another Hebrew verb, namely, about the verb עָמַד (to stand, to take one's stand, to remain, to endure, etc.), which in his comment on Ex. 9:16 he paraphrased as, among other things, 'keeping alive.'[412]

His commentary on Isaiah two years later (1529) also contains references to this alleged Hebraistic use of the verb קוּם. The first such

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[407] "Iudicabitur quidem et eorum caro, qui *Christo* victore liberati sunt, tunc cum omnis caro iudicabitur; interea vero spiritus eorum in deo per *Christum* vivunt ac laetantur" (*HZSW* VIII, pp. 762–63).

[408] *HZSW* VII, p. 763.

[409] *HZSW* VIII, p. 763.

[410] See *supra* on p. 199.

[411] "Et surrexit." [v.19] Iterum Ebraismus est. Latinus dicit: si convaluerit, Germanice: **so er wyder uff staat**, hoc est: si convaluerit, ita ut ambulare possit, etiam si baculo innitatur" (*HZSW* XIII, p. 405).

[412] "'Idcirco autem posui te, ut ostendam in te fortitudinem meam 'Ebraice sic: verumtamen propter hoc feci te stare, hoc est: servavi te in vita, **ich hab dich uffrecht lassen blyben**, statui te, feci te consistere, in tanta peste te servavi, ut ostendam tibi virtutem meam; vel ut alii dicunt: ut sis tu perpetuum exemplum potentiae meae, quam in te exercui; tu tamen induratus me non agnoveris. Sunt qui העמדתיך, 'heemadethicha', exponunt: induravi te malicia, ut mundo exemplum in te aedam. Hoc maxime consyderandum est tyrannis, qui vi sua et potentia omnia posse se iactant, ipsorumque esse tum bellum, tum victoriam existimant" (*HZSW* XIII, p. 330). The seemingly comparable usage of the two Hebrew verbs will give rise to a misunderstanding by Joye. See *infra* on p. 402.

reference is occasioned by Is. 13:6, which actually does not contain the verb in the Hebrew text but claims that the day of the Lord is near: כִּי קָרוֹב יוֹם יְהוָה (*quoniam prope est dies domini* in Zwingli's translation). Here, Zwingli incorporated a long excursus on the meaning of the term *dies domini*. He argued that the expression can denote (1) the death of the individual, (2) the daily punishments God sends to His people, or (3) the general judgement at the end of the world.[413] In Jn. 6:40 (*Omnis qui cognoscit aut videt filium et credit in eum, habebit vitam ęternam, et ego resuscitabo eum in novissimo die*), the expression 'last day' can refer to the day of the death of the individual: in this verse Christ promises the faithful that He will preserve them alive, just as a chapter earlier, in Jn. 5:24, He promised that the faithful would enter into life from death without being condemned.[414] Martha's words in Jn. 11:25, by contrast, refer to the universal judgement, Zwingli asserted.[415] Again, Paul's words in 1 Cor. 3:13 (the classical proof text for the existence of Purgatory) speak about the daily afflictions.[416] In a similar way, he argued, the expression 'resurrection of the dead' can also be understood in two different ways: (1) it often means the life in which the souls are received after this life, and (2) other times it denotes the resurrection of the flesh.[417] Then, the 'resurrection of the flesh' can again refer to (1) the general judgement (Lk. 3:6), for not all people will see Christ's salvation in this life, or (2) the revivification of the human flesh.[418] Accordingly, the noun 'judgement' is sometimes taken for the last and universal judgement, but other times

413 "Quod si videamus diem domini, interim pro fatali cuiusque hora, interim pro tempore vindictę, quam de nobis quotidie sumit deus, interim autem pro universalis iudicii die capi" (*HZSW* XIV, p. 226).

414 "Hic ultimus etiam dies pro fato cuiusque accipitur. Promittit enim *Christus* se in vita servaturum eos, qui se fidant, quacunque hora hinc migrent, quemadmodum superius quinto capite dixit: credentes citra omne iudicium transire a morte in vitam" (*HZSW* XIV, p. 226).

415 *HZSW* XIV, p. 226.

416 *HZSW* XIV, p. 226.

417 "Eodem modo dicendum est de resurrectione mortuorum, quae et ipse semel pro vita ea accipitur, quae protinus mortalem istam sequitur, iterum vero pro carnis resurrectione, quae futura est ultimo die, de quo alias" (*HZSW* XIV, p. 227).

418 "Item carnis ipsa resurrectio nonnunquam pro universali iudicio omnium hominum ponitur, quo modo dicitur: 'Videbit omnis caro salutare dei,' qum caro, quocunque vertas, non recipiat salutarem Christum in hac vita, sed caro pro hominibus accipitur, nonnunquam autem pro ipsa carnis humanae revivificatione" (*HZSW* XIV, p. 227).

for the daily judgement, which is meant by Christ in Jn. 12:31, the Swiss Reformer maintained.[419]

He took up the theme again while commenting on Is. 26:14, where the Hebrew text does have the verb מֵתִים בַּל־יִחְיוּ רְפָאִים בַּל־יָקֻמוּ. Here it is clear, Zwingli argued, that Isaiah uses the term *in resurrectione mortuorum* for the common dwelling of the blessed saints after this life.[420] For Zwingli, Christ's words to the Sadducees (Mt. 22:32) are the proof that *resurrectio* can be understood in such a way: His argument says nothing about the resurrection of the flesh, but it refutes the "Jewish error" that maintained that the souls do not live after this life.[421] Zwingli mentions further that Christ's words also refute the Anabaptists, who dream that the souls fall asleep at the time of death of the human being, and refers his readers to his *Elenchus*.[422] Is. 40:8 provided the third example in the Isaiah commentary to treat this subject. Although the term is sometimes taken to refer to the resurrection of the flesh, Zwingli pointed out, he rendered the Hebrew וּדְבַר־אֱלֹהֵינוּ יָקוּם לְעוֹלָם with the Latin *Verbum tamen dei nostri permanet in aeternum*, because he argued that the Hebrew verb קוּם denotes 'to remain' or 'to endure' in this verse, similarly to the sense in which Paul used the Greek ἐγείρονται in 1 Cor. 15:29, which Zwingli paraphrased as, "who would want to be baptized for the dead if the dead are not alive after this life?"[423] Apparently, Zwingli added, the Sadducees and

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[419] "Sic iudicio aliquando pro ultimo et universali accipitur, aliquando vero pro quotidiano, quod et iuge est, quomodo Christus dixit: 'Nunc iudicium est mundi' etc." (*HZSW* XIV, p. 227).

[420] "*Neque sunt in resurrectione mortuorum*. Hic plane videmus resurrectionem pro felici iucundoque beatorum contubernio, in quo post hanc vitam degunt, sumi. 'Sanctorum autem' de meo addidi, quo dilucidius fieret, quid per resurrectionem intelligant" (*HZSW* XIV, p. 276).

[421] "Resurrectionem autem hoc modo ab eis capi, quomodo ante attigimus [vide *supra* n. 417] et Christus ipse testatur, qum saducaeis de resurrectione sic respondet: 'Non est deus mortuorum, sed vivorum' etc. Non enim est verisimile saducaeos tam crassum errorem ausos fuisse inter Judaeos adserere, quod animae non viverent post hanc vitam. At simul si quis contendat eos carnis modo resurrectionem negavisse, obstat Christi responsio, quae ad carnis resurrectionem hoc loco nihil facit, qum tamen perhibeantur omnes admirati fuisse eius presonsionem, quod nullo pacto factum esset, nisi dissolvisset illorum obiectionem" (*HZSW* XIV, p. 276).

[422] "Adparet igitur somnum quendam animabus tribuisse insulos sciolos, quomodo catabaptistae etiamnum somniant, Christum autem, vitam eorum et beatitudinem, qualis ante natum Christum erat, adseruisse, quod non dormirent, sed viventes et vigilantes et suo aliquo modo beati essent. De qua re in elencticis alicubi" (*HZSW* XIV, p. 276).

[423] "Vel hinc possumus discere surgendi verbum illis pro persistendi manendique accipi. Hinc resurrectio mortuorum pro vita et duratione animarum etiam Paulo capitur, qum ait: "Cur, inquam, baptizantur pro mortuis, si mortui non resurgunt?", hoc est: non

those to whom Paul was writing did not profess the crass error that the souls died; they confessed, like the Anabaptists in Zwingli's own time, that the souls slept until Judgement Day, and Zwingli referred back to his earlier mention of this idea.[424] In Is. 46:10, the Hebrew text once again contained a form of the same verb (תָּקוּם), and this time Zwingli translated it with the Latin verb *constat*, adding a note in the commentary explaining that the Hebrew read *surgit* (the Vulgate translates it with *stabit.*).[425]

Finally, the same Hebrew verb is employed in Ps. 1:5: עַל־כֵּן לֹא־יָקֻמוּ רְשָׁעִים בַּמִּשְׁפָּט וְחַטָּאִים בַּעֲדַת צַדִּיקִים. Zwingli's translation, as contained in the Psalter published posthumously by Leo Jud (1532), reads: *Hinc fit ut neque impii neque scelerati vivant in coetu et concilio iustorum*.[426] Joye will explicitly refer to this translation.

In the summer of 1531, Zwingli addressed Emperor Charles V in the *Christianae fidei brevis et clara expositio ad regem Christianum* to defend the Reformers' position.[427] Arguing *inter alia* on the basis of Jn. 5:24,

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vivunt post hanc vitam? Quamquam resurrectio aeque pro carnis resurrectione accipiantur in loco" (*HZSW* XIV, p. 329).

424 "Adparet ergo sadducaeos et istos, adversus quos Paulus scribit, non crassum istum errorem profiteri fuisse ausos, quod animae cum corporibus intermoriantur, sed, quod nunc catabaptistae faciunt, animas dormire perinde ac corpora usque ad universale iudicium. De qua re supra quoque attigimus" (*HZSW* XIV, p. 329).

425 "*Dicto consilium meum constat. Hebreae*: 'dicendo vel quum dico consilium meum surgit.' Nobiscum sentiunt rabini, quod puncta probant sententialia" (*HZSW* XIV, p. 352).

426 Huldrych Zwingli (trans.), *ENCHIRIDION PSALMORUM, quos sanctae memoriae clarissimus uir Huldrichus Zuinglius ex Ebraica ueritate latinitati donauit, et mire claritate illustrauit*, Tiguri: Apud Christophorum Froschouer, 1532. The autograph is in the Zentralbibliothek Zürich (Sign. Ms. Car. C 37). Critical edition in *HZSW* XIII, pp. 468–827. Ps. 1:5 is on p. 474. The German translation (1527), preserved only in the manuscript form, gives the following rendering: "Darum werdend die gotlosen nit ufrecht יָקֻמוּ blyben im gricht, noch die sünder בַּעֲדַת in der gemein ἐν βουλῇ der gerechten" (*HZSW* XIII, p. 474). In Zwingli's own eighth volume of Jerome's Opera (Basel: Froben, 1516), containing the Psalterium quadruplex, Zwingli wrote at the margin of Ps. 1:5 after the word *resurgunt* "pro stabunt." Zwingli's copy is preserved in the Zentralbibliotheek Zürich (III ZZ 129). Critical edition: *HZSW* XII, 1937, pp. 327–65. Zwingli's annotation to Ps. 1:5 is found on p. 327.

427 The work has survived in two autograph manuscripts and in a copy by Heinrich Bibliander. The earlier autograph of twenty-four folios can be found in the Staatsarchiv of Zürich (shelfmark: E I.3.1., no. 70). The other is preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (shelfmark: Fonds Latin no. 3673 A) and is divided into two parts: a section of thirty-three folios (numbered 1–33) and another of ten folios (numbered I–X). Both manuscripts bear Zwingli's signature. The manuscript of thirty-six carefully written quarto pages by Bibliander, dated 20 October 1532, is kept in the Zentralbibliothek Zürich (shelfmark: Ms G 398$_1$). Zwingli's treatise was posthumously published in 1536. For a description, see: *HZSW* VI,5, (1991), pp. 1–49. Critical edition of the text: pp. 50–163. In 1543 Joye published the first English translation of the work with an appraisal of Zwingli: George Joye (trans.), *The Rekening and declaracion of the faith and beleif of Huldrik Zwingly/ bishoppe of Zijryk the cheif town of Heluetia/ sent to Charles. v. that nowe is Emperowr of Rome: holdinge a*

Zwingli here called Purgatory a papist invention and fiction.[428] Christ, by His incarnation, took away all penalty and punishment due to the debt of sins, and therefore no penitential works are required.[429] Pious works do not have merit, but they do testify to the faith of the believers.[430] Accordingly, there are only two possibilities after the death of the human person: the saints (or believers) enter into a blissful life and the wicked (or non-believers) into a miserable and distressing life, both of which are perpetual.[431] Therefore, the Anabaptists are wrong when they conceive the soul to be asleep after death until the Day of Judgement.[432] Hence, they deserve to dream and sleep in Hell, from which sleep Zwingli hoped they would never wake up.[433] Mentioning the Anabaptists' teachings gave him the opportunity to warn the Emperor against their dangerous sect.[434] The Zürich Reformer pointed out that their teachings are not a novelty, but are old heresies, aptly dealt with by Irenaeus when he wrote against the Valentinians and by Gregory of Nazianzen.[435] They are a danger to society, and Charles should treat them accordingly.[436]

Perlemente or Cownsaill at Ausbrough with the cheif lordis & lerned men of Germanye. The yere of owr Lorde M.D.xxx. In the monethe of Julye, Translated & Imprynted at Zijryk [*vere* Antwerp: Catherine van Ruremund] in Marche. Anno Do. M.D. XLJJJ. Although the critical edition describes the German, French, modern English, and modern Polish translations, it does not mention Joye's.

428 "Cum *Christus* ipse docuerit, quod, qui credunt, vitam eternam habeant, et quod, qui fidunt eo, qui *Christum* nobis misit, in iudicium non venient, sed iam transierint a morte in vitam, fit manifestum, quod hęc mora cruciatus, quam animis hinc migrantibus dant papistę, commenticia est et ficta" (*HZSW* VI,5, p. 74).

429 "Si Christus non tollit mulctam et poenam peccatis debitam, cuiusnam causa factus est homo?" (*HZSW* VI,5, p. 74). Cf. *HZSW* VI,5, pp. 116–26.

430 "A piis hominibus opera idcirco non intermitti, quod proprie loquendo non mereamur operibus; sed quanto maior est fides, tanto plura maioraque facimus opera" (*HZSW* VI,5, p. 123).

431 "Postremo credimus post hanc vitam, quę captivitas et mort potius est quam vita, foelicem ac iucundam sanctis sive credentibus, miseram autem ac tristem impiis sive perfidis usu venturam et utramque perpetuam" (*HZSW* VI,5, p. 126). Cf. *HZSW* VI,5, pp. 126–32.

432 "Qua in re et istud adversus catabaptistas, qui animas cum corporibus dormire usque ad universale iudicium contendunt, adserimus animum sive angeli sive hominis non posse quidem dormire aut occidari; tam abest, ut isti quicquam rationi consonum dicant" (*HZSW* VI,5, pp. 126–27). Cf. *HZSW* VI,5, pp. 133–34.

433 "Cum interim somniantes catabaptistę merito somnum dormiant apud inferos, e quo numquam expergefiant" (*HZSW* VI,5, p. 132).

434 "Quoniam vero in catabaptistarum mentionem incidimus, volumus tibi, o rex, paucis eius sectę rationem prestringere. Genus est fere hominum perditorum et prę angustia rerum extorrium, quorum quęstus est anus magnifico de rebus divinis sermone demerei, quo aut alimentum aut non minutam stipem depromant" (*HZSW* VI,5, p. 133).

435 For Irenaeus' refutal of the Valentinians, see *supra* on p. 86. For Gregory of Nazianzen, see *supra* on p. 95.

436 *HZSW* VI,5, pp. 134–36.

Martin Bucer

Although Martin Bucer (or Butzer, 1491–1551), one of the leaders of the South German Reformation, is celebrated today for his irenic attitude and his endeavours to bring about reconciliation between the factions of the German Reformation, for our present topic his controversies and his Psalm translations are more relevant.[437] Around 1525 Luther asked Bucer to translate Johannes Bugenhagen's Latin Psalter into German.[438] Despite

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[437] Born in Alsace, at the age of fifteen Bucer joined the Dominican order (1506). He was sent to Heidelberg, where he met Luther and adopted his doctrine. With papal dispensation Bucer left the Dominican order in 1521 and became Court Chaplain to Frederick, the Elector Palatine. In 1522, as a secular priest, he married a former nun, being one of the first priests in the Protestant movement to break his vow of celibacy. After being excommunicated in 1523, he went to Strasbourg, where he played a major role in shaping the new Protestant identity of the capital of Alsace. He played a pivotal role in moving the synod to take actions against the residing Anabaptist refugees in 1533 (see *supra* in n. 66 on p. 19 and *infra* on p. 278). After having questioned their leaders, he let Melchior Hoffman imprisoned and ousted Caspar Schwenckfeld. Within mainstream Christianity, however, he stroved for the unification of various factions. He undertook several attempts to accommodate Luther's and Zwingli's teachings on the Eucharist. His harmonizing efforts were initially denounced by both parties but eventually (after the death of both Zwingli and Oecolampadius) resulted in the *Concord of Wittenberg* among German Protestants (1536). This agreement, however, did not last long, was rejected by several Protestant congregations, and created a breach between Bucer and the Swiss Protestants. After the Schmalkald War (1546–47), the Diet at Augsburg adopted the Twenty-Six Articles (Augsburg Interim) in 1548, which Bucer fiercely opposed, for he feared 'Romanizing.' Nonetheless, the City Council of Strasbourg consented to the compromise settlement between Catholic and Protestant teachings, and Bucer felt obliged to leave. He accepted an invitation by Archbishop Thomas Cranmer and left for England. He was commissioned to make a Bible translation from the original languages into Latin, which was to serve as a basis for a vernacular translation. Later he was appointed to teach at Cambridge (1549) and to advise on the *Book of Common Prayer* (1550). Shortly after receiving the degree of doctor of divinity, Bucer died. He was buried in the principal church at Cambridge, but under Queen Mary I his body was exhumed and publicly burnt (1556). The best biography of Bucer is Martin Greschat, *Martin Bucer. Ein Reformator und seine Zeit, 1491–1551*, München: C.H. Beck, 1990 (English translation: *Martin Bucer: A Reformer and His Times*, Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2004). For a bibliography on Bucer, see: Holger Pils, Stephan Ruderer & Petra Schaffrodt (eds.), *Martin Bucer (1491–1551). Bibliographie*, Gütersloh: Gütersloher, 2005. On his theology, see also: Marijn J.J.P. de Kroon, *Wij geloven in God en in Christus. Niet in de kerk. Wessel Gansfort (+1489) en Martin Bucer (+1551)*, (Theologie en geschiedenis), Kok: Kampen, 2004; Nicholas Thompson, *Eucharistic Sacrifice and Patristic Tradition in the Theology of Martin Bucer, 1534–1546*, (SHCT 119), Leiden: Brill, 2005.

[438] Johannes Bugenhagen, *Ioannis Pomerani Bugenhagii in librum Psalmorum interpretatio, Wittembergæ publice lecta*, Basel: Adam Petri. 1524. For a bibliography on Johannes Bugenhangen (1485–1558) and his works, see: Georg Geisenhof (ed.), *Bibliotheca Bugenhagiana. Bibliographie der Druckschriften des D. Joh. Bugenhagen*, (Bug. 1; QDGR 6), Leipzig: Heinsius Nachf., 1908 (reprint: Nieuwkoop: De Graaf, 1963). See also: Werner Rautenberg (ed.), *Johann Bugenhagen. Beiträge zu seinem 400. Todestag*, Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1958; Helmut Claus, *Johann Bugenhagen 1485–1558. Bestandsverzeichnis der Drucke*

the fact that Bugenhagen had little Hebrew, he was said by Luther in the first foreword of the Psalter to be "primus in orbe" to interpret the psalms, because the Psalter had not been adequately translated prior to Bugenhagen.[439] Luther also expressed his wish that a Latin translation of his own *Kirchenpostille* be published.[440] In spite of Zwingli's advice not to accept either, Bucer performed both translations.[441] Bucer's Latin translation of Luther's *Kirchenpostille* was published in four volumes by Johann Herwagen in 1525–26 in Strasbourg.[442] Bucer's German translation

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und Handschriften, (Veröffentlichungen der Forschungs- und Landesbibliothek Gotha 9), Gotha: Landesbibliothek, 1962; Hans Hermann Holfelder, *Tentatio et Consolatio. Studien zu Bugenhagens Interpretatio in librum psalmorum*, Berlin: de Gruyter, 1974; Hans Hermann Holfelder, *Solus Christus*, Tübingen: Mohr, 1981; Hans-Günter Leder, *Zum gegenwärtigen Stand der Bugenhagenforschung*, in *De Kennung* 8 (1985), pp. 21–45; Maurice E. Schild, *John Bugenhagen. Theological Existence and Practice*, in *LTJ* 19 (1985), pp. 2–11; Hans-Günter Leder, *Zwischenbilanz der Bugenhagen-Forschung*, in *Jahrbuch für Regionalgeschichte* 15 (1988), pp. 275–82; Wolf-Dieter Hauschild, *Zur Edition der reformatorischen Schriften Johannes Bugenhagens*, in *De Kennung* 13 (1990), pp. 29–36; Maurice E. Schild, *Approaches to Bugenhagen's Psalms Commentary (1524)*, in *LTJ* 26 (1992), pp. 63–71.

439 "Audeo tamen dicere, A nemine (cuius extent libri) esse Psalterium Dauid explicatum Essque hunc Pomeranum primum in orbe, qui psalterij interpres dici mereatur" (Bugenhagen, *Ioannis Pomerani Bugenhagii in librum Psalmorum interpretatio*, fo. 2^{r}). The other foreword was written by Melanchthon (fo. 2^{r}).

440 It was Johann Herwagen (see *infra* n. 442) who asked Bucer on Luther's behalf to translate Luther's *Kirchenpostille* from German into Latin and Bugenhagen's Latin Psalter into German. Bucer had previously prepared Latin translations of Luther's commentary on the Letters of Peter and of Jude (1524) (PRSch 5). Luther had written to Bucer previously that "Ich habe Johann Pommers, unsers Pfarrers, Auslegebuch [...] Ich halte, daß er es in der Auslegung wohl getroffen und viel Gutes habe" (*WA Br* XII, p. 60). See also *infra* n. 455 on p. 212.

441 Cf. "Interdixeramus enim homini ab utraque interpretatione tam Latina quam Germanica non præter causam" (Zwingli, *Amica Exegesis ad Martinum Lutherum*, republished in *HZSW* V, p. 597). Bucer was already halfway through the Psalter when he received Zwingli's admonition, and he had already promised Herwagen to translate the *Kirchenpostillen*: "A vertendis illius [sc. Lutheri] operibus per te pridem dehortatus. Sed tum fidem typographo obstrinxeram. Ita de Pomerani psalterio quoque monuistim cum fere opus ad umbilicum perductum esset." (Bucer's letter to Zwingli around 25 March 1527 (*HZSW* IX, no. 499 on p. 71)). His precarious financial situation at the time might also have played a role in his accepting translation jobs for printers. (Cf. R. Gerald Hobbs, *Conrad Pellican and the Psalms. The Ambivalent Legacy of a Pioneer Hebraist*, in *Reformation and Renaissance Review* 1 (1999), p. 85.)

442 PRSch 12, 13, 14, 15. Johannes Herwagen (Hervagius) (1497?–1558?), Swiss printer and bookseller active in Strasbourg 1522–28. After marrying the widow of Johannes Froben, he moved to Basel (1528), where he worked in association with his in-laws Hieronymous Froben, Nikolaus Episcopus, and Johann Erasmus Froben. In 1542 he was expelled from Basel for his liaison with the wife of J.E. Froben. In 1545 he was granted clemency. Herwagen published many Protestant and humanistic works and was renowned for his excellent Greek publications. See: Immanuel Stockmeyer & Balthasar Reber, *Beiträge zur Basler Buchdruckergeschichte. Zur Feier des Johannistages 1840*, Basel: Schweighauser, Historischen Gesellschaft zu Basel, 1840.

of Bugenhagen's Psalter was published in 1526 in Basel by Adam Petri, who also published Bugenhagen's original Latin work.[443] In his translation of the Psalter, however, Bucer, who had a much better understanding of Hebrew than Bugenhagen, did not follow Bugenhagen's rendering very closely, but instead adapted the translation and took the liberty of inserting some of his own theological understandings, especially on the Lord's Supper. In the translation Bucer seemingly sided with Zwingli, who denied the real presence in the Eucharist.[444] Bucer's changes were so substantial that Conrad Pellican, who assisted the printer in producing the indices, wrote that Bucer had not translated, but "scripsit imitatus Pomeranum."[445] Later, Bucer himself would admit in a letter to Zwingli that his translation tarnished Bugenhagen's Psalter.[446] Matters got worse when the Augsburg printer Philipp Ulhart reprinted Bucer's contested translation and explanation of Psalm 111 under Bugenhagen's name without any reference to Bucer as translator.[447] In his foreword Bucer stated that Bugenhagen, who had sent Bucer a copy with corrections in his own hand, gave him free rein to add or to leave out things as he pleased, and to change anything

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[443] Johannes Bugenhagen, *PSalter wol uerteutscht auß der heyligen sprach. Verklerung des Psalters/ fast klar vnd nutzlich/ Durch Johann Bugenhag auß Pomern, Von dem Latein inn Teutsch/ an vil orten durch jn selbs gebessert, trans. Martin Bucer*, Gedruckt zů Basel: Adam Petri, 1526. (Geisenhof no. 13). Critical edition: Martin Bucer, *Schriften der Jahre 1524–1528*, ed. Robert Stupperich, (MBDS 2, MBOO Series 1: Deutsche Schriften 2), Gütersloh: Mohn, 1962, pp. 177–223, where the disputed explanation of Psalm 111 (110) is reprinted in full.

[444] Bugenhagen's original hermeneutic was characterized by his sacramental approach to the Psalms. He made Eucharistic comments in connection with the noun 'cup' (כּוֹס) in Ps. 23(22):5, and also in connection with the nouns 'remembrance' (זֵכֶר) and 'food' (טֶרֶף) in Ps. 111:4–5. For Bugenhagen, the Lord's Supper is *sacramentum* that points to Christ, who is *summum sacramentum*. See: David P. Scaer, *God the Son and Hermeneutics. A Brief Study in the Reformation*, in *CTQ* 59 (1995), pp. 49–66.

[445] "Sed et sequenti anno Germanicæ in psalterium scripsit imitatum Pomeranum Martinus Bucer, id quod duplici in forma imprimebat Adamus [Petri] me cooperante et indices parante in omnes libros, quos imprimebat, non sine magnis meis laboribus" (Conrad Pellican, *Chronikon*, ed. Bernhard Riggenbach, Basel, 1877, p. 78). The somewhat dubious expression "me cooperante" and an occasional remark by Bucer gave rise to speculation that Pellican was the author. See, e.g. Hobbs, *Exegetical Projects and Problems.*, pp. 89–108.

[446] "Pręcipue male propitium habeo et dira minantem Pomeranum, cuius psalterium veritate conspurcavi" (Bucer to Zwingli from Strasbourg on 9 July 1526, CR XCV, no. 503 on pp. 651–52).

[447] Johannes Bugenhagen, *Der CXI. psalm Dauidis/ mit der exposition vnd verklerung des Hoch gelertē Johannis Bugenhaij Pomerani Pfarrherren zů Wittenberg, 1.5.26. Dariñ ain rechter Christlicher bericht des Nachtmals Christi vnnseres herren/ ainem yegkichen verstendigklich gegeben wirdt*, Augsburg: Philipp Ulhart, 1526. (PRSch 19). See also: Johannes Bugenhagen, *Der ıı. Psalm: darinn ain rechter christlicher bericht des Nachtmals Christi vnnsers herren, ainem yeglichen verstendigklich gegeben wirdt*, [Nürnberg], 1526.

in order to improve the work.[448] Wolfgang Fabricius Capito (1478–1541), Bucer's friend and fellow reformer in Strasbourg, wrote in a letter to Zwingli on 26 September 1526 that Bucer was foolish enough to take seriously what Bugenhagen meant only as rhetorical cliché.[449] Capito had feared a negative reaction from Wittenberg as soon as the work came off the press.[450] Also, the last volume of *Kirchenpostille* saw some additions: Bucer attached a new preface (*Præfatio ad fratres Italiæ*), a few notes that amended Luther's exegetical notes, and a letter to the reader in which he refuted Luther's exegesis of 1 Cor. 9:24–10:5.

Bucer's alterations outraged both Luther and Bugenhagen. Bugenhagen published his *Oratio*, in which he called Bucer's changes impious (*quæ ego sane non possum (ita me amet Christus) non impia iudicare*), for although Bucer knew better, he inserted his own teachings into the text to make it look as though they were Bugenhagen's.[451] By doing so, Bucer blemished

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[448] "Erstlich hat Johannes Pomeranus selb vil geendert und bessert, wie er mir des ein exemplar mit seiner hand corrigiert und bessert zůgeschikt hat. In dem hat er mir gewatlt geben zů ordnen, zů- und vonzůthun, auch zů endern, nochdem ichs dem leyen nutzlich achten mőcht. Deßhalb er mir zůgeschriben hat under anderem mit disen worten, dieselbigen auß dem Latein zů verteutschen: "Verdolmetsche disen meinen Psalter auff das freyest, endre, thů zů, thů von, richts in eine andere ordnung, setze ettlichs an sein ort, lege etlichs klere auß oder auch anders, das er also nicht weniger dein dann mein Psalter sey. Hierin solle dir durch mich alles gepůren, das du hoffen magst unseren Teutschen nutzlich werden, Das nun auch die ungelerten und kinder ettvas vom Psalter verstanden, welchs vor der zeyt den gelertisten Doctoren gefelet hat. Far fürt, der herr sey mit dir. Amen" (MBDS 2, p. 191). Bugenhagen will later refer to his words in the *Oratio*: "Interpretare mi Bucere hoc meum Psalterium quam liberrime, muta, adde, deme, in alium ordine colloca, quædam suo loco repone, quædam vel clarius vel aliter interpretare, ut non magis meum quam tuum sit psalterium. Omnia hic tibi per me licebunt quibus consultum speraveris nostris Germanis" (Johannes Bugenhagen, *Oratio Ioannis Bugenhagii Pomerani, quod ipsius not sit opinio illa de eucharistia, quæ in psalterio sub nomine eius Germanice translato legitur*, Wittenberg, 1526, sig. A3^{r}).

[449] "Non quod excusem Bucerum, qui stultus putavit serio scribere, quod Pomeranus oblique scribebat, nempe permissum esse Bucero, ut mutaret atque [?] aliter interpretaretur ac enarraret pro arbitrio. Quę verba civilitatem mutuam requirebant, scilicet ut hic noster illi rescriberet: Indoctior sum, quam quod ausim vel iotam de tuis mutare; quin bene mecum agitur, si suffecero, quę dixisti prior optime Latinis auribus, in Germanam ceu coloniam traducere non pessime. Istud esset candoris theologici. Iam vero rusticus noster simpliciter accepit, quę rhetorica figura in aliud dicuntur, commutat, variat, vertit invertitque omnia, quatenus plebeium lectorem putavit referre" (*HZSW* VIII, no. 531, p. 724).

[450] On 6 January 1526 he wrote to Zwingli: "Bucerus anno superiore causa parandi victus Pomeranum vertendum receperat. Tedia multa devoravit. Vertit. Excusus est liber Basileę. Quam studium hominis Wittenberga probatura sit, experiemur brevi" (no. 428 in CR XCV on p. 477).

[451] Bugenhagen, *Oratio Ioannis Bugenhagii Pomerani*, sig. A2^{r}.

and made suspicious Bugenhagen's name.[452] Bugenhagen referred to his open letter to Johann Heß (1490–1547), minister of the word at Breslau.[453] In this writing Bugenhagen publicly contradicted the Zwinglian understanding of the Lord's Supper. The fact that he himself gave Bucer the liberty to bring about changes, Bugenhagen dismissed with the following remark: "Poterat [sc. Bucerus] et alius addidisse meis sententiis has et similes, lapidem esse panem, aquam esse ignem, Turcam esse Christianum, deum non regnare etc."[454]

As for Luther, although he was satisfied with the first three volumes of Bucer's translation of the *Kirchenpostille*, he was infuriated by Bucer's additions to the fourth volume. Luther also took great umbrage at Bucer's translation of Bugenhagen's Psalter. In an open letter to the printer requesting a reprint of the *Kirchenpostille*, Luther called Bucer's changes perfidious.[455] He demanded that the new edition also include his open letter to Herwagen, the antidote to Bucer's heresy.[456]

That same year, Bucer's translation of Bugenhagen's Psalter was also published in a Dutch translation.[457] The book was purported to be published by a certain Adam Anonymous in Basel. This led some to believe that the book was from the press of the Basel printer Adam Petri, who

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[452] "Cur, ubi nihil opus erat, occasionem quæsivit inserendi suum dogma quasi meum, ut sic nomen meum et ministerium verbi mihi a deo commissi contaminaret, et fidelibus suspectum redderet, quando interim ergo optima quæque de eo senstiebam?" (Bugenhagen, *Oratio Ioannis Bugenhagii Pomerani*, sig. A3^{v}). See also Martin Bucer, *Schriften der Jahre 1524–1528*, ed. Robert Stupperich, pp. 179–80; Duffield, *Psalter of David*.

[453] Johannes Bugenhagen, *Contra novum errorem de sacramento corporis et sang. J. Chr. ad D.J. Hessum*, 1525. "Quasi vero non sim is, qui non solum in aliis libris, sed etiam in publicum contra hanc opinionem ædita ad D. Hessum epistola, haud obscuris verbis meam testatus sum sententiam? [. . .] Qui potuit ista interpres meus ignorare?" Bugenhagen, *Oratio Ioannis Bugenhagii Pomerani*, sig. A2^{v}. On Johann Heß, see: *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, vol. I, p. 456, and vol. IX, pp. 7–8.

[454] Bugenhagen, *Oratio Ioannis Bugenhagii Pomerani*, sig. A4^{r}.

[455] "Ita ut non sint contenti miseri homines suum virus propriis et iam infinitis libris sparsisse, nisi et alienos libros eo veneno illito perdant. Idem fecit et antea Iohanni Pomerano in suo Psalterio insigni perfidia, quem non ignorabat per Dis dia pasôn ab illa impia Secta dissentire" (Luther to Johann Herwagen (see *supra* n. 438 on p. 208), dated 13 September 1526; *WA* XIX, p. 471).

[456] "Hanc epistolam, mi Hervagi, ideo ad te scribo, ut si editurus es denuo Tomum illum quartum, omnibus modis eam praefigas vel subnectas, ut sit Lectori in meo libro antidotum adversus Buceri praefationem" (*WA* XIX, p. 473).

[457] Johannes Bugenhagen, *Die souter rvel verduytscht wt die heylige oft Hebreeusche sprake. Verclaringhe des gheheelen psalters seer claer ende profitelic door Johañem Bugenhåg wt Pomeren/ aen vele plastsen door hem seluen gebetert, eñ om nurticheyt der ghemeynten in goeden verstādeliken duytsche ouer gheset*, Basel: Adam Anonymous [*vere* Antwerpen: Johannnes Hochstraaten], 1526. (PRSch 20).

had published Bugenhagen's original Latin version and Bucer's German translation.[458] Typographical evidence, however, proves that the book is the work of Merten de Keyser in Antwerp.[459] One copy of this book can now be found in the Würtembergische Landesbibliothek in Stuttgart. This copy differs from other known copies because at the end it contains three extra quires (sigs. hh-kk). The extra quires contain three texts in Dutch. The first one bears the title *Den hondert ende thienden Psalm met een andtwoort op die valsche leeringe Butceri vant Sacrament, daer mede hi Pomerani wtlegginge vervalst ende verkeert heeft etc* (Psalm 110 with an answer to the false teachings of Bucer concerning the Eucharist, in which he falsified and altered Bugenhagen's explanation).[460] The other two are Dutch translations of a letter by Luther to "*Den wtvercoren ende getrouwen dienaren Christi in nederlandt*" (To the chosen and faithful servants of Christ in the Netherlands), and of a short letter by Bugenhagen. Both letters claim to be autographs (*eyghen handt*) and are only preserved in this edition.[461] The authors of the Dutch text are a certain Clemens and Jacob, who translated Bugenhagen's original Latin text into Dutch and made comments on Bucer's translation.[462] Their aim is to disclose the heresy in Bucer's translation.[463] For Bucer's falsification of Bugenhagen's Psalter

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458 E.g. Bugenhagen, *Bibliotheca Bugenhagiana*, ed. Georg Geisenhof (Bug. 1; QDGR 6), Leipzig: Heinsius Nachf., 1908 (reprint: Nieuwkoop: De Graaf, 1963); W.H. Neuser in MBDS, 2, p. 183. The pseudonymity was intended, of course, to give the censoring authorities the same idea.

459 He also used the same pseudonym for the Dutch translation of Luther's *Kirchenpostille*. Paul Valkema Blouw, *Early Protestant Publications in Antwerp, 1526–30. The Pseudonyms Adam Anonymous in Bazel and Hans Luft in Marlborow*, in *Quaerendo* 26 (1996), pp. 94–110. Formerly, Kronenberg believed the printer to be Johannes Hillenius of Hoochstraten, but Valkema Blouw's evidence corrects her. M.E. Kronenberg, *De geheimzinige drukkers Adam Anonymous te Bazel en Hans Luft te Marburg ontmaskerd*, in *Het Boek* 8 (1919), pp. 241–80. Cf. also Gerhard Hammer, *Der Streit um Bucer in Antwerpen*, in *Lutheriana. Zum 500. Geburtstag Martin Luthers von dem Mitarbeitern der Weimarer Ausgabe*, ed. Gerhard Hammer & Karl-Heinz zur Mühlen, Cologne, Vienna: Böhlau, 1984, p. 400.

460 Published in Hammer, *Der Streit um Bucer in Antwerpen*, pp. 440–54.

461 Published in Hammer, *Der Streit um Bucer in Antwerpen*, pp. 440–54. See also Hammer's discussion on pp. 434–40.

462 There is no further information available on the identity of the authors. See: Hammer, *Der Streit um Bucer in Antwerpen*, p. 425.

463 "Daeromme, hoe wel dat Pomeranus selve teghen desen vervalsscheren, ghelijckerwijs hi mi beloefde te doene, sonder twijfel genôch gehschreven heeft ofte scrijven sal, nochtans op dat ick oock het mijne daer toe doen soude ende aen haren dolen ontschuldich sijn soudeân den grooten dach des heeren Jesu Christi, so hebben wi, Clemens ende Jacob, na die genade, die ons god gegeven heeft, desen hondert ende thienden Psalm wt den Latijne in onsen nederlandschen duytsche overgheset, ghelijckerwijs hi van Pomerano ghescreven is, op dat die loghenachtighe valscheyt deser ketteren te beter aen den dach ofte int openbaer comen soude" (Hammer, *Der Streit um Bucer in Antwerpen*, p. 446).

was an act of the devil and a blasphemy.[464] Bucer himself, according to the tract, is a 'hopeless heretic' (*vertwijfelde ketter*) and not a servant of Christ, because he only seeks human approval (cf. Gal. 1:20).[465] Clemens and Jacob believed that Bucer and his fellows "souden niet eenen armen maden sack willen verstooren ofte vertoornen, om die eere des woordts Christi te onderhouden" (would not even disturb a corrupt person—literally, a sack of worms—for the sake of the glory of Christ's Gospel).[466] They are heretics who "lochenen ende seggen, dat broot ende den kelc des heeren niet te sijn dat lichaem ende dat bloet Christi" (deny that the bread and the chalice of the Lord are the body and blood of Christ).[467]

Also, Erasmus accused Bucer of dishonesty in a private letter to the Strasbourg Reformer. Although the Dutch Humanist acknowledged that he had read neither Bucer's translations nor Luther's or Bugenhagen's accusations, nonetheless, Erasmus believed that Bucer would not be accused of such heresy if he had translated the works frankly. Erasmus' judgement rests exclusively on the unanimous condemnation of Bucer's falsifications by those who read his translations.[468]

Bucer felt that he had been unjustly attacked and wanted to defend himself immediately after the publication of Bugenhagen's *Oratio*. Capito's above-mentioned letter indicates that Bucer had already made plans for a reply to Bugenhagen's *Oratio* in order "to disperse the clouds from the eyes of the readers."[469] Capito was clearly concerned about the negative effects of the dispute between Bucer and Bugenhagen, and felt ashamed in their stead.[470] The defence was published both in Latin and in German

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464 "So gedachte die Sathan ooc een capelle bi deser kercken godts ['de Souter van Pomerano'] te timmeren ende is gevaren inden Bucerum, ende die heeft die reyne godsalige Christi inden Latijnische Souter—namelic in desen hondert ende elfsten Psalm—Pomerani laten staen ende aen die stadt sijne onnutte clapperijc ende duvelsche ketterije van der verkeeringhe des woordts Christi int avontmael ghesettet ende des Christelicken bisschops Pomerani boeck gevalschet" (Hammer, *Der Streit um Bucer in Antwerpen*, p. 446). Cf. p. 451.

465 Hammer, *Der Streit um Bucer in Antwerpen*, p. 446.

466 Hammer, *Der Streit um Bucer in Antwerpen*, p. 446.

467 Hammer, *Der Streit um Bucer in Antwerpen*, p. 453.

468 "Versionem in psalmos tuam non legi, sed si bona fide vertisti que scripsit Pomeranus, non possunt abesse dogmata que nunc pro damnatis habentur a plerisque [...] Ego nec Luhteri ac Pomerani criminationem nec tuam purgationem legi. Tantum quod vno ore dicebatur ab his qui legerant credidi" (Erasmus to Martin Bucer, on 2 March 1532, published in: Allen, IX, no. 2615, pp. 449–50).

469 "Ergo apologia apologiam pariet, qua dubiis lectoribus ob oculos fumus spargetur" (*HZSW* VIII, no. 531, p. 725).

470 "Ridiculam videbis tragœdiam [...] Pudet me vicem istorum, qui se tantopere produnt: diminuendo nomini ac famę crucis prædicatores timent" (*HZSW* VIII, no. 531, p. 725).

in 1527.[471] Capito rejected the imputations of being impious (*gottloß*) or of wanting to blemish the fame of the Wittenberg School.[472] Bucer's main argument claimed Bugenhagen's own authorization to change what he pleased.[473] He also claimed that he did not change the content of Bugenhagen's words and that he held with Bugenhagen that as Christ's body and blood redeemed the disciples, they give eternal life to those who eat and drink the true body and blood of Christ in faith.[474] Finally, Bucer pleaded ignorance in connection with Bugenhagen's letter to J. Heß. He read it only when the Psalter was already in print.[475]

Two years later, in 1529, the city of Strasbourg embraced officially the "New Faith" and the celebration of the Mass was replaced by preaching services. In the same year Bucer published his own commentary on the Psalms. The publication was produced by the Strasbourg printer Georg Ulricher of Andlau (fl. 1529–36) and was exhibited at the Autumn Book Fair of Frankfurt in September 1529.[476] The voluminous (more than 400 folios)

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[471] Martin Bucer, *Præfatio M. Buceri in quartum tomum Postillæ Lutheranæ, continens summam doctrinæ Christi. Eiusdem, Epistola, explicans Locum 1.Corinth. 10. Annesctis q[uod] qui in stadio currunt, usq[ue] sed plures illorum non approbauerit Deus, cum, Annotationibus in quædam pauculis Lutheri. Epistola M. Lutheri ad Ioannem Heruagium superiora criminans. Responsio ad hanc M. Buceri, Item ad Pomeranu[m] satisfactio, de uersione Psalterij. Probate omnia, quod bonum est, tenete, 1.Thessalon. 5.*, Strasbourg: Johann Herwagen, 25 March 1527. Martin Bucer, *Das Martin Butzer/ Sich in verteütschñg des Psalters Johañ Pommers/ getrewlich/ und Christlich gehalten. Vnd weder vom Sacrament, noch anderm/ etwas wider die warheyt/ oder auch den Pommern/ drin gesetzet hat. Antwurt uff des Pomers underrichtung. Hört bede parten/ bewert alles, und behalten das gůt*, Strasbourg: s.n., 1527. Republished in Martin Bucer, *Schriften der Jahre 1524–1528*, ed. Robert Stupperich, pp. 259–75.

[472] Bucer, *Verteütschung des Psalters*, p. 266.

[473] Bucer, *Verteütschung des Psalters*, pp. 268–69.

[474] "Sonder frey hab ich an disem und anderen orten geschrieben und predigt, wo glaubige seind, die das nachtmal Christi halten und glauben, das er auch inen wie seinen jüngeren sein leib und blůt zů ewiger erlősung schencke, das solche den waren leib und ware blůt Christi warlich, das ist durch den glauben, essen und trincken zů ewigem leben" (Bucer, *Verteütschung des Psalters*, p. 267).

[475] "Und warlich, wer deine unbedachte Epistel zů dem Hessen Ee, dann diser Psalm gedrucket war, mir zů kommen, ich wolte weytleüfigger vom nachtmal Christi an diesem ort geschrieben und der welt, was mein und dein meynung hierin were, angezeyget haben" (Bucer, *Verteütschung des Psalters*, pp. 269–70). In the Latin text, Bucer shared more details: "Imo ut tibi fateor, quod multis cordatis simis et fide dignis testibus possum verum comprobare, ubi edita fuit tua illa ad Hessum Epistola, te certe indigna, animus erat, in fine libri, nam quæ in psalmum 111. scripseram, antequam Epistolam tuam accepissem, excusa fuerant, testandi, mihi tecum de Eucharistia non convenire, ne viderer, eo quod solius spiritualis manducationis Christi tecum memineram, malo aliquo dolo tacuisse carnalem. Sed typographi gratia, cum quæ scripseram, cum tuis non variarent, id omisi" (Martin Bucer, *Ad Pomeranum satisfactio*, 1527, sig. F4[r]).

[476] Martin Bucer, *S. Psalmorvm Libri Qvinqve Ad Ebraicam Veritatem Versi, Et Familiari Explanatione Elvcidati/ Per Aretivm Felinvm, Strasbourg: Georg Ulricher, 1529. I used*

commentary claimed to be the work of a certain "Aretius Felinus theologus" from Lyon. As Bucer later explained in a letter to Zwingli, he chose pseudonymity in order to facilitate the circulation of his work in France and the Low Countries, for "it is a capital crime to import into these countries books which bear our names."[477] Not associating the work with his name could also be advantageous for its reception, he thought, for he had been playing such a conspicuous role in the debate over the Lord's Supper. In his *Epistola adversus Pseudeuangelicos* (1529), Erasmus had already mentioned both Bucer's translation of Bugenhagen's commentary and Bucer's own work.[478] Erasmus clearly and strongly disapproved of Bucer's pseudonymity, which he regarded as frivolous fraud and deception of the reader.[479] Although he initially hesitated to answer, Bucer published his *Epistola Apologetica*.[480] With this publication, the breach between Erasmus

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the 1547 edition: Martin Bucer, Sacrorvm Psalmorvm libri quinqve, ad Ebraicam veritatem genvina uersione in Latinum traducti. Primùm appensis bona fide sententijs, deinde pari diligentia adnumeratis verbis tum familiari explanatione elucidati. Nunc denuò, non paulo maiore quàm antea, & fide & diligentia emendati. Aretio Felino autore, Basileae: par Ioannem Hervagium, 1547. On the publication of the Psalter see: R. Gerald Hobbs, *How Firm a Foundation: Martin Bucer's Historical Exegesis of the Psalms*, in *Church History* 53 (1984), pp. 477–92. On Ulricher, see François Ritter, *Histoire de l'Imprimerie Alsacienne aux XVe et XVIe siècles*, (Publications de l'Institut des Hautes Études Alsaciennes 14) Strasbourg: Le Roux, 1955, pp. 316–17; Miriam Usher Chrisman, *Lay Culture, Learned Culture. Books and Social Change in Strasbourg, 1480–1599*, New Haven & London: Yale UP, 1982, pp. 6–20 *passim*; and Miriam Usher Chrisman, art. *Georg Ulricher*, in Bietenholz & Deutscher (eds.), *Contemporaries of Erasmus*, *ad vocem*.

477 Bucer to Zwingli, published in *HZSW Zwinglis BW* IV, (CR XCVII), Leipzig: M. Heinsius Nachfolger, 1929, no. 871. on p. 197. A translation of the letter with analysis and corrected dating is in Hobbs, *Exegetical Projects and Problems*, pp. 89–108.

478 Erasmus, *Epistola contra quosdam qui se falso inactant evangelicos*, Freiburg: Faber Emmeus, 1529. Republished in *Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami Opera Omnia*, vol. 10. (Lugduni Batavorum: Petrus Vander Aa, 1706; reprinted by: London: Gregg Press, 1962), cols. 1573–90.

479 "Nuper, ut audio quidam istius factionis Ecclesiastes non incelebris, verso nomine dicavit librum filio Regis *Galliarum*, & insparsit identidem voces aliquot Gallicas, ne in Auctorem Germanum cadat suspicio, affictis & aliis aliquot conjecturis, ut Liber *Lugduni* à Gallo & scriptus & excusus esse videatur. Agnoscis esse verissimum quod dico, neque enim obscurum est, quis hanc technam commentus sit, & alias in lusu simili deprehensus. Hunc ludum si sibi permitteret in re vulgare, & profana, tamen indignus esset gravi viro: nunc quid minus conveniebat eum, qui se profitetur sacrosancti Euangelii præconem?" (Erasmus, *Epistola contra quosdam qui se falso inactant evangelicos*, col. 1581 D-F).

480 Martin Bucer, *Epistola Apologetica ad syncerioris Chistianismi sectatores per Frisiam orientalem, & alias inferioris Germaniæ regiones, in qua Enuanglij Christi uere studiosi, non qui se falso Euangelicos iactant, ijs defenduntur criminibus, quæ in illos Erasmi Rotterdami epistola ad Vulturium Neocomum, intendit*, Strasbourg: Petrus Schæfer & Iohann. Apronianus, 1530. Republished as Martin Bucer, *Epistola Apologetica*, in Martin Bucer, *Martini Buceri Opera Latina*, vol. 1, (SMRT 30), eds. Cornelis Augustijn, Pierre Fraenkel & Marc Lienhard, Leiden: Brill, 1982, pp. 75–225.

and the Strasbourg Reformers reached its widest point.[481] In his apologetical epistle Bucer pointed out that even Roman Law only punished the alteration of names in books if it was meant to defame or harm someone.[482] Furthermore, the OT presents Abraham (Gen. 12:14–20), Isaac (Gen. 26:7–11), and David (1 Sam. 21:10–15.27) deceiving people about their identity, Bucer claimed. Therefore, he called his pseudonymity only a pious fraud, which harmed no one but benefited many.[483] The deceit was successful. 'Felinus' became popular among both Protestants and orthodox Catholics, and even Johann Eck consulted and cited 'Felinus' (albeit with reservations) on several occasions.[484]

In the volume, which would later play a pivotal role in the Antwerp controversy, Bucer gives a translation and a detailed commentary of the 150 psalms. Bucer draws extensively on Hebrew material and comments upon the language, vocabulary, and style of the psalmist. He often refers to Jewish sources, too. One of the most cited Hebrew authors in the book is Rabbi David Kimhi, whose commentary on the Psalms was the first book ever printed to contain a book of the Hebrew Bible.[485]

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481 Martin Bucer, *Martini Buceri Opera Latina*, vol. 1, p. 61.

482 Cf. "Si quis librum ad infamiam alicuius pertinentem scripserit composuerit ediderit dolove malo fecerit, quo quid eorum fieret, etiamsi alterius nomine ediderit vel sine nomine, uti de ea re agere liceret et, si condemnatus sit qui id fecit, intestabilis ex lege esse iubetur" (*Corpus Iuris Civilis*. Digesta XLVII,10.5.9).

483 "Pius dolus est, qui nocet nemini, prodest multis" (Bucer, *Martini Buceri Opera Latina*, vol. 1, p. 128). Erasmus was not impressed by Bucer's arguments and refuted Bucer's book with his *Epistola ad Fratres Germnaniæ Inferioris*, (Erasmus, *Responsio ad Epistolam Apologeticam*, August 1530, republished in: *LB* 10, cols. 1589–1632). On the debate, see J.V. Pollet, *Bucer et Gerhard Geldenhauer: dispute avec Érasme*, in J.V. Pollet (ed.), *Martin Bucer. Études sur les relations de Bucer avec les Pay-Bas, l'Électorat de Cologne et l'Allemagne du Nord avec de nombreux textes inédits*, vol. I, (SMRT 33), Leiden: Brill, 1985, pp. 26–34.

484 Johannes Eck, *Explanatio psalmi vigesimi*, 1538, republished in Johannes Eck, *Explanatio psalmi vigesimi (1538)*, ed. Bernhard Walde, (Corpus Catholicorum 13), Münster: Aschendorff, 1928. Walde pointed out in his introduction that "Diese Psalmenerklärung war weithin auch in katholischen Kreisen beliebt, bis der wahre Name des Verfasser bekannt wurde. Ob Eck diesen gekannt hat, geht aus den Zitaten nicht hervor" (p. XXXIII, n. 8). But to the contrary: Hobbs, *How Firm a Foundation*, p. 478.

485 Kimhi's commentary was first printed in 1477, probably in Bologna. The volume is one of the most beautiful early Hebrew printed works. The biblical text is printed in square type and pointed by hand. Kimhi's commentary is in a cursive type along the corresponding verses. Daniel Bomberg (*c.*1480–*c.*1550) included the commentary in the first edition of the Biblica Rabbinica (1516–17). Burnett mentions only the first edition of the *Mikra'ot Gedolot* owned by Bucer, but Hobbs asserted that the Strasbourg Reformer also made use of the second edition, which dropped Kimhi's commentary in favour of the commentaries of Abraham ben Meir Ibn Ezra (1089–1167) and Rashi alongside the text of the Psalms. (Cf. Stephen G. Burnett, *'Spokesmen for Judaism'. Medieval Jewish Polemicists and their Christian Readers in the Reformation Era*, in Peter Schäfer & Irina Wandrey

Bucer's translation of Ps. 1:5 reads as follows: "Quare in iudicium acti improbi haudquaquam consistent, neq*ue* stabunt flagitiosi in concilio iustorum."[486] In his commentary Bucer noted that he translated the words לא יקמו {*Lo iakumu*} as *non consistent*, but many translate it as *non surgent* and elaborate on the resurrection of the dead. But the same verb (קוּם), Bucer pointed out, can carry several different significations, such as 'to stand' (*stare*), 'to consist' (*consistere*), oftentimes 'to erect oneself' (*se statuere*) or 'to rise' (*erigere*), and, further, 'to stand up' (*surgere*).[487] In fact, as he remarked, this verb is used in the original Hebrew text as a synzeugma (the same verb governing and joining more than one clause), but the Alsatian theologian translated the verse with two separate verbs (*consistent*, *stabunt*).[488] In Bucer's understanding the verse does not mean that the wicked would not rise up, but that they will not 'stand in the judgement,' which is a metaphor to say that they will not be vindicated or win their cause in the judgement.[489] The judgement (מִשְׁפָּט) in v. 5, Bucer clarified, is the Last Judgement, when Christ will come in the power of God the Father to judge. Therefore, the wicked shall rise (i.e. will be resurrected) but not "in resurrectione*m* uitæ," for they will stand before the tribunal of Christi, and as soon as the sentence is passed on them, they will be taken to the eternal fire prepared for them by the devil and his angels (Mt. 25:41).[490] For support, Bucer referred to Kimhi's commentary, which understood the word 'judgement' as the day of death. Kimhi also took the

(eds.), *Reuchlin und seine Erben. Forscher, Denker, Ideologen und Spinner*, Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke, 2005, pp. 41–51, see p. 43; Hobbs, *How Firm a Foundation*, p. 487, n. 40). Bucer quoted from all three medieval Jewish commentators. On David Kimhi and Rashi, see *supra* in n. 152 on p. 154. On Bomberg and his Rabbinical Bibles, see: Juhász, Cat. 38 in *TT*, pp. 94–95. On the itinerant Jewish commentator Ibn Ezra and his commentary on Psalm 1, see: Shlomo Sela & Gad Freudenthal, *Abraham Ibn Ezra's Scholarly Writings. A Chronological Listing*, in *Aleph. Historical Studies in Science and Judaism* 6 (2006), pp. 13–55; Stefan C. Reif, *Ibn Ezra on Psalm I 1–2*, in *VT* 34 (1984), pp. 232–36; Uriel Simon, *Four Approaches to the Book of Psalms. From Saadiah Gaon to Abraham Ibn Ezra*, trans. Lenn J. Schramm, (SUNY series in Judaica), Albany: State UP New York, 1991 (original in Hebrew Ramat-Gan: Bar-Ilan University, 1982).

[486] Martin Bucer (trans.), *Sacrorvm Psalmorvm libri quinqve*, p. 1.

[487] Bucer, *Sacrorvm Psalmorvm libri quinqve*, p. 11

[488] "Inest prę̃terea huic uersiculo schema, quod συνζευγμένον uoca*n*t, quo ad unum uerbu*m* plures senten*t*iæ referuntur. nam uerbo, non consistent, & in iudicio, et in concilio, subiungitur" (Bucer, *Sacrorvm Psalmorvm libri quinqve*, p. 10).

[489] "Stare in iudicio, per Metaphora*m*, pro uincere iudiciu*m*, caussamq*ue* probare, accipitur" (Bucer, *Sacrorvm Psalmorvm libri quinqve*, p. 10).

[490] "Cę̃teru*m* resurgent, sed non in resurrectione*m* uitæ: astabunt tribunali Christi, sed ut pronunciata sententia, mox se recipiant in igne*m* æternum, paratum diabolo, & huius angelis" (Bucer, *Sacrorvm Psalmorvm libri quinqve*, p. 11).

council of the righteous to mean the assembly of the souls of the saints, to which the saints are admitted after this life, Bucer added. From this assembly the wicked are excluded, so they will perish in body and soul.[491]

Bucer's representation of Rabbi David Kimhi's commentary is fairly accurate. Kimhi's commentary runs as follows:

> **לא יקומו במשפט**—רוצה לומר: ביום הדין, והוא יום המיתה, לא תהיה להם תקומה
> **וחטאים**—גם כן, והוא הדין ל"לצים" לא תהיה להם תקומה.
> **בעדת הצדיקים**; כי הצדיקים—במיתתן תהיה להם תקומה, אבל הרשעים—לא תהיה להם תקומה, אלא תאבד נפשים עם גופם ביום המיתה.
> ואמר: **בעדת**, כי כשימות הצדיק נפשו עם נפשות הצדיקים מתענגת בכבוד האו בעולם העליון.[492]

In line with other medieval Jewish commentators (*inter alios* Rashi) and with the Aramaic *Targum*, Kimhi understood Ps. 1:5 in the light of the future judgement. Apparently this judgement takes place, in Kimhi's understanding, immediately after (on the day of) the death of the person. The soul (נֶפֶשׁ) of the righteous (צַדִּיקִים) "will be able to stand in the judgement." And after the person's death, he or she will join the assembly of the souls of the righteous in glory. But neither the wicked (רְשָׁעִים) nor the sinners (חַטָּאִים) will be able to stand in the judgement,[493] for the sinners will perish both soul and body (תאבד נפשים עם גופם), and therefore will not stand in the judgement. Kimhi's recurring expression לא תהיה להם תקומה to explain the Hebrew verb יָקֻמוּ is an allusion to Lev. 26:37: וְכָשְׁלוּ אִישׁ־בְּאָחִיו כְּמִפְּנֵי־חֶרֶב וְרֹדֵף אָיִן וְלֹא־תִהְיֶה לָכֶם תְּקוּמָה לִפְנֵי אֹיְבֵיכֶם. A very literal rendering of Kimhi's expession in English could be: there will not be for them (the possibilty of) standing (תְּקוּמָה). This explanation,

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491 "R. Kim. iudicium hic die*m* mortis cuiusq*ue* intelligit, & concilium iustoru*m*, cœtum sanctarum animarum, in quem sancti post hanc uitam admittentur, & ex quo reprobi excludentur, ut qui pereant animo & corpore" (Bucer, *Sacrorvm Psalmorvm libri quinqve*, p. 11).

492 "THEY WILL NOT RISE IN THE ASSEMBLY—this wants to say: in the day of the judgement, and this is the day of death, they shall not be able to stand. AND THE SINNERS—also likewise, and this will be the judgement for those who scorn: they shall not be able to stand IN THE ASSEMBLY OF the RIGHTEOUS; for the Righteous, when they will die, they will be able to stand; but surely the SINNERS—they shall not be able to stand but their souls will be destroyed together with their bodies on the day of death. And: IN THE ASSEMBLY: for when the righteous die, their souls will be delighted with the souls of the righteous in glory in the supreme world" (my translation). Republished in: *Mikra'ot Gedolot 'Haketer'. Psalms.*, ed. Menachem Cohen, Ramat-Gan: Bar-Ilan UP, 2003–04, p. 4.

493 There are differing views in medieval Jewish exegesis whether these represent two different groups and whether or not the sinners will rise at all. Rashi e.g. differentiates between the two groups. Cf. *Mikra'ot Gedolot 'Haketer'*, (2003–04), pp. 3–6.

of course, is somewhat ambiguous, for it uses the noun (תְּקוּמָה) derived from the same verb (קוּם). On the whole, however, there seems to be a consensus that Kimhi understood this as the bodily resurrection.[494] Bucer, however, employed the Latin expression "cœtum sanctarum animarum" to translate the term "assembly of the righteous" (עֲדַת צַדִּיקִים). In doing so he gave a Christian character to the text. This Christian interpretation of Kimhi is reinforced by seamlessly integrating the presentation of Christ as the judge of both the righteous and the sinners in Kimhi's text.

The same verb (קוּם) is used again in Ps. 3:8, which Bucer rendered with "Exurge Iehoua" and explains that the verb '*surge*' here means 'profer, declara contra hostem, in meam salutem, tuem potentiam' (Stretch out and show your power in my salvation against the enemy).[495]

In Psalm 107 (Vg: 106), verse 29, Bucer commented on the meaning of the same verb (קוּם) once more. Here, the Strasbourg Reformer translated the Hebrew יָקֵם סְעָרָה לִדְמָמָה וַיֶּחֱשׁוּ גַּלֵּיהֶם with the Latin *Facessit uentus procellosus, ut mare fileat, taceant fluctus eius*. Thus, the verb קוּם that normally means "to rise" (*quod surgere significat*) is used to express the calming of the storm (*procellam sedatam, ac inde fluctus resedisse*). A few verses earlier, in verse 25 of the same psalm, another verb—namely, עָמַד 'to stand' (*que stare significat*)—is used to express the opposite—namely, to excite a stormy wind: וַיֹּאמֶר וַיַּעֲמֵד רוּחַ סְעָרָה.[496] As in verse 25 עָמַד means 'to be there' or 'to come forth,' so should קוּם be understood in verse 29 as 'to cease' or 'to retire,' Bucer stated.[497]

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494 Solomon B. Freehof, *The Book of Psalms. A Commentary*, Cincinnati: Union of American Hebrew Congregations, 1938, p. 13. Cf. "In de joodse overlevering wordt de stam *qūm* vertaald met het oog op het goddelijke eindgericht (LXX, Targum, Midrasj, ook Vulgata: resurgent), maar de betekenis 'opstaan' geldt alleen waar sprake is van gestorvenen" (N.A. Van Uchelen, *Psalmen*, vol. I (1–40), (De prediking van het Oude Testament), Nijkerk: Callenbach, 1971, p. 14). See also: Sawyer, *Hebrew Words for the Resurrection of the Dead*, pp. 218–34, esp. p. 232.

495 Bucer, *Sacrorvm Psalmorvm libri quinqve*, pp. 40 and 44.

496 Bucer, *Sacrorvm Psalmorvm libri quinqve*, pp. 506 and 508.

497 "Vt ergo illud, stetit, accipiendum est pro adfuit, prodijt: ita illud surgere, quidam pro facescere, cedere, accipiunt." (Bucer, *Sacrorvm Psalmorvm libri quinqve*, p. 508.) However, the commerntary of verse 25, to which Bucer referred, does not contain any explanation of the verb עָמַד; instead, Bucer quoted there verse 29—"Ver. 25. Et dicit, & fiat spiritus procellae. Ver.29. Surrexit procella ad silentium, & omnis iniquitas claudet os suum"—and expounded upon the profundity of God's miracles and deeds in connection with the sea, which was even recognized by Pliny, whom Bucer cited off-handedly: "nihil ulla in parte naturae esse, quod non etiam in mari sit, & praeterea multa in mari, quae nusquam alibi." Pliny's text reads: "vera ut fiat vulgi opinio, quicquid nascatur in parte naturae ulla, et in mari esse praeterque multa quae nusquam alibi" (Caius Plinius Secundus, *Naturalis historia*, IX,1. Bucer mistakenly refers to chapter 2).

Besides his comments on the verb קוּם, Bucer touched upon issues of the afterlife while explaining the meaning of the Hebrew nouns שְׁאוֹל, בּוֹר, שַׁחַת and קֶבֶר (all being synonyms for grave). Ps. 6:5–6 (Vg: 6:4–5) gave him his first opportunity to reflect on these nouns. These two verses read in his translation as follows: *Recipe ab ira te, ô Iehouah, eripe animam meam, serua me pro tua bonitate. Etenim inter mortuos nemo tui memor est, apud infernos quis te celebret?*[498] In this passage, Bucer translated the Hebrew בִּשְׁאוֹל with *apud* or *in infernos*, although the noun שְׁאוֹל technically means 'grave' (*sepulchrum*), Bucer noted. The Hebrew language has four words that can be translated as 'grave' (שְׁאוֹל, בּוֹר, שַׁחַת, and קֶבֶר), but their meanings differ, Bucer stated.[499] שְׁאוֹל is the grave which is always open and swallows everything; בּוֹר is a small pit which is dug out; שַׁחַת is the grave in which everything that is buried will be destroyed; and קֶבֶר is the grave that has to be dug.[500] At the same time, the OT has no specific word to describe the state of the souls after this life, Bucer asserted.[501] Just as the Latin language uses the word *infernus* to describe the dead, the OT authors make use of the noun שְׁאוֹל for referring to the souls of the dead.[502] By way of illustration, Bucer quoted Gen. 37:35, where Judah cries out in his grief over Joseph: "Descendam luge[n]s שאולה, id est in infernum, ad filium meum."[503] Another example for such a usage can be found in the story in Num. 16 about the revolt of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, Bucer pointed out. There, upon Moses' words, it is said about the rebels that they "uiui desce[n]derint שאולה, id est in infernum."[504] The two examples show that the noun שְׁאוֹל is semantically neutral, for it can denote the state of the righteous as well that of the wicked, Bucer explained. For nobody

498 "{*Biscol.*} בשאול, id est in sepulchro (quidam uertunt in inferno, & si sepulchrum p*ro*priè significet" (Bucer, *Sacrorvm Psalmorvm libri quinqve*, p. 69).

499 "{*Sceol. bor. Scachath. Keba.*} קבר שחת בור שאול. His omnibus sepulchrum significatur, sed diuersa ratione." (Bucer, *Sacrorvm Psalmorvm libri quinqve*, p. 69.)

500 "שאול, quod sepulchrum uidetur semper patere, absumit enim omnia. בור, quod effodiatur, sitq*ue* fouea quædam. שחת, à corrumpendo. nihil enim non corrumpitur & dissoluitur, quod fuerit sepultu*m*. קבר, item à fodiendo" (Bucer, *Sacrorvm Psalmorvm libri quinqve*, pp. 69–70). Bucer's semantic description of the synonyms is accurate and proves that he is well-versed in Hebrew.

501 "Cum autem de statu spirituum nostrorum post hanc uitam […] in ueteri instrumento, desunt & nomina eius" (Bucer, *Sacrorvm Psalmorvm libri quinqve*, p. 70).

502 "Vt igitur Latini, ab eo quòd terra reconduntur mortui, ac ita infrà nos ponunt*ur*, Inferos dixerunt: ita & scriptura, à sepulchro mutuato nomine, eorundem conditionem שאול, {*Sceolah.*} id est quod infernu*m* reddunt, uocat" (Bucer, *Sacrorvm Psalmorvm libri quinqve*, p. 70).

503 Bucer, *Sacrorvm Psalmorvm libri quinqve*, p. 70.

504 Bucer, *Sacrorvm Psalmorvm libri quinqve*, p. 70.

can doubt that Judah had hoped to be carried by angels to the bosom of Abraham, in the assembly of the blessed faithful fathers, while the rebels descended to somewhere else entirely.[505] Consequently, שְׁאוֹל can signify the state of the dead, whether they be the righteous or the wicked.[506]

Nonetheless, the OT does have a proper term to indicate the place of the wicked after their death, Bucer continued. This expression is Gehenna, which is derived from the Hebrew "גיאבן הנם {*Geben hinnom.*}, id est ualle filij Hinon."[507] Into this valley of the Son of Hinnon cadavers and the filth of Jerusalem were dumped, and it is also where, according to Jer. 7:31–32; 19:2–6; and 32:35, the ungodly sacrificed their children to Molech, Bucer related. From the name of this valley the noun "גהינם, id est gehennam" is contracted, and by way of transfer of meaning it is used to describe the condition of those who are sentenced to eternal punishment.[508] These people are like the excrement of the world (*mundi excrementa*) for whom there can be no place in Jerusalem, the city of the saints, Bucer concluded his explanation.[509]

But why were the OT saints so afraid of death? asked Bucer. He found the answer in the idea that the knowledge about the future life was not as clearly revealed to them as it was after Jesus' glorification.[510] Among the examples illustrating his point, Bucer cited Phil. 1:23: There is no Christian, the Alsatian exegete wrote, who does not hope to live eventually with Christ in the blissful mansion in eternal, inconceivable happiness. But how few people can eagerly say together with Paul that they long to depart and be with Christ? If people really hoped to win the blissful life with God, they would sooner lay down this present life with all of its dreadful sufferings as soon as possible than they would deny the Lord,

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505 "Quis autem dubitet, Iacob nunquam aliò peruenturu*m* se sperasse, quàm quò translatus ab angelis fuit Lazarus in sinum Abrahæ, in beatum fidelium patrum concilium: seditiosos atuem illos longe aliò descendisse?" (Bucer, *Sacrorvm Psalmorvm libri quinqve*, p. 70).

506 "Significatur ergo hoc nomine שאול, quod per infernum ferè redditur, status mortuoru*m*, tam bonorum quàm malorum" (Bucer, *Sacrorvm Psalmorvm libri quinqve*, p. 70).

507 Bucer, *Sacrorvm Psalmorvm libri quinqve*, p. 70.

508 "Hunc ergo locum contracto nomine גהינם, id est gehennam uocarunt, & eodem per translationem, conditionem eorum, qui æternis addicuntur supplicijs" (Bucer, *Sacrorvm Psalmorvm libri quinqve*, p. 70).

509 "Hi enim sunt ceu mundi excrementa, quib. in Ierusalem, ciuitate sanctorum, locus esse non potest" (Bucer, *Sacrorvm Psalmorvm libri quinqve*, p. 70).

510 "Quare prisci sancti mori tantopere horrurerint? [. . .] Prima, q*ue* illis ratio uitæ futuræ non tam reuelata fuit, atq*ue* post glorificatu*m* Christum" (Bucer, *Sacrorvm Psalmorvm libri quinqve*, p. 72).

Bucer maintained.[511] Therefore, to think about death as a gain (*ut mori pro lucro habeamus*), it is necessary to be fully convinced about the benefits of the future life (*de bonis futurę uitę*), Bucer exhorted his readers.[512] Death is therefore not to be feared, he argued, because the future life is a life with Christ in the fullness of happiness. From Bucer's use of Paul's words it is clear that the Strasbourg Reformer understood this being with Christ as taking place immediately after the death of the human person and as a real, temporal alternative to remaining in the body.

Bucer reflected on the word שְׁאוֹל again in his comments on Ps. 16:9–10. The joy and the confidence of the Psalmist in verse 9 stem from his faith in the resurrection, which is professed in the following verse, Bucer explained, because the faith in the resurrection renders everything light and sweet, and the fruit of true faith is the intense joy of the soul.[513] While in his translation Bucer opted to use 'sepulchrum,' the literal meaning of the word שְׁאוֹל in verse 10, in the paraphrase Bucer rendered it with *infernum* because, he argued, the Hebrew word means both the grave (*sepulchrum*) and the state of the dead (*conditionem mortuorum*).[514] The verse also contains another Hebrew synonym for 'grave': שַׁחַת. This, as Bucer noted, is translated in the Greek of the LXX as διαφθορά, which means 'corruption' or 'decay.'[515] The Greek noun reflects the root of the Hebrew noun because the body in the grave decomposes and perishes. The translators of the LXX therefore expressed more simply (*simpliciter*) what the Psalmist

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511 "Nemo siquide*m* est Christianus, qui no*n* credat sibi apud Christum beatam mansione*m* paratam, in qua olim incredibili fœlicitate in æternu*m* uiuat. at quotusquisq*ue* tame*n* ex animo dicat cu*m* Paulo: Cupio dissolui, et esse cum Christo? Inuenias quide*m* & huius fidei aliquot, sed plures qui hunc nondu*m* uenerun*t*: & si adeò creda*nt* apud Deum beata*m* se uita*m* uicturos, ut hanc diris cruciatibus posituri sint citius, q*ue* Dominu*m* abnegaturi" (Bucer, *Sacrorvm Psalmorvm libri quinqve*, p. 73).

512 Bucer, *Sacrorvm Psalmorvm libri quinqve*, p. 73.

513 "Veræ fidei fructus […] solida animi lætitia est. […] Vbi enim spiritus fide certa donatus est, & uerum diuinæ bonitatis, gustum percepit, redundat illico eius gaudium, & in carnem, ut nihil trepidet, secureq*ue* manum Domini sustineat, & si crux illi ferenda sit, & renasci nequeat, nisi antea destructa. Nam illi resurrectionis spes, omnia leuia & dulcia reddit. Hanc uersus decimus canit, nam ait, Non deseres animam meam in sepulchro: id est non ita destitues me, ut anima mea morti concedat" (Bucer, *Sacrorvm Psalmorvm libri quinqve*, p. 134).

514 "Verse 10 was translated as "Neq*ue* enim deseres animam meam ut sepulchrum subeat: neq*ue* permittes, ut uideat bonus, quem tibi delegisti, foueam." Bucer paraphrased the translation in the commentary: "Quia no*n* deseres anima*m* meam ad infernum, non dabis bonu*m* ad uidendu*m* foueam" (Bucer, *Sacrorvm Psalmorvm libri quinqve*, pp. 129 and 134).

515 "שחת Græci, per διαφθοράν reddu*n*t, quod corruptione*m* significat" (Bucer, *Sacrorvm Psalmorvm libri quinqve*, p. 135). Bucer is correct asserting that the verb שָׁחַת means 'to corrupt,' 'to destroy.'

says figuratively (*figuratè*).[516] Bucer also pointed out that the LXX correctly renders לִשְׁאוֹל as εἰς ᾅδην and not as ἐν ᾅδου, for the Psalmist uses the particle ל (to/towards/into) and not the particle ב (in).[517] This means that even the translators of the LXX might have conceived God's protection of His saint as not letting the saint descend into the netherworld.[518] Also, in the Acts of the Apostles, Ps. 16:9–10 is quoted in this form, although when the apostles Peter and Paul quote the psalm (Acts 2:27 and 13:35), they apply it to prove the resurrection of Christ. There are uneducated people (*rudiores*), Bucer maintained, who therefore would object in the following way to such a reading of the psalm: according to our faith, Christ did go to the netherworld, did die, and was really buried, but His spirit could not be detained by the netherworld, nor could His body be kept in the grave.[519] But when they cite Ps. 16:10 to prove their case, the Jews, who conceive the Psalm to be referring to David, laugh at us Christians and say: 'David was thus mistaken when he thought that he would be preserved by God, in whom he put his hope that God would preserve him and not let him descend to the grave or to the netherworld.'[520] But Peter foresaw this argument and refuted it when he pointed out that David died eventually, and his monument was still present in Peter's time (Acts 2:29).[521] Consequently, the Psalm could not refer to David, Bucer argued, because his soul descended into the netherworld and his body decayed in the grave.[522] But the prophecy is fully fulfilled in the Saviour, who, although He died and was buried, did not remain dead and buried in the grave, but instead

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516 Bucer, *Sacrorvm Psalmorvm libri quinqve*, pp. 129 and 134.

517 The Greek ἐν ᾅδου would translate the Hebrew בִּשְׁאוֹל.

518 "unde liquet & ipsos intellexisse sic seruari sanctum, ne ad inferos descendat" (Bucer, *Sacrorvm Psalmorvm libri quinqve*, p. 135).

519 "Fides nostra habet Christum inferos adijsse, uerè mortuum & sepultum: at neq*ue* animam apud inferos, neq*ue* corpus eius in sepulchro detineri, atq*ue* ita corru*m*pi potuisse" (Bucer, *Sacrorvm Psalmorvm libri quinqve*, p. 135).

520 "Ad huius ueritatis confirmationem, cum adducit*ur* præsens Psalmi huius locus, uti & Petrus atq*ue* Paulus eum ad probandam Christi resurrectionem adduxerunt, rident nos Iudæi, atq*ue* dicunt hic Dauidem cecinisse se seruandum à Domino, quem colendum sibi, & in quo speraret, unicum proposuerit, ne in sepulchrum uel ad inferos descenderet, & ne uideret foueam, id est ne reconderetur in foueam corrumpendus" (Bucer, *Sacrorvm Psalmorvm libri quinqve*, p. 135).

521 "His obijcere licebit, quod diuus Petrus citato hoc loco in Actis, patribus illorum obiecit, patriarcham Dauide*m* mortuum esse et sepultum, et sepulchrum eius ad eum usq*ue* diem, quo ista Petrus loquebatur, fuisse apud Iudæos" (Bucer, *Sacrorvm Psalmorvm libri quinqve*, p. 135).

522 "Non est igitur in Dauide, quod hic canitur, impletum. Anima enim eius tande*m* ad inferos descen*d*it, & uidit caro eius foueam, in qua & consumpta est" (Bucer, *Sacrorvm Psalmorvm libri quinqve*, p. 135).

rose on the third day, and His body was inaugurated into the happy and immortal life.[523] So if Christ said of those who believed in him that they would not taste death, this can be applied even more so to Himself, who is called life and resurrection (Jn. 8:52; 11:25; cf. Mt. 16:28 *et par.*).[524]

Commenting on Ps. 49(48):16, Bucer also alluded very briefly to the intermediate state of the soul between death and resurrection. This verse, which Bucer rendered with *Sed anima*m *meam reducet ab inferno Deus: nam suscepit me. Selah*, speaks about God bestowing immortality (*dare immortalitatem*) on those who leave behind this world: while the body is given to earth and becomes food for worms (*corpus humo demandatum esca uermium est*), the soul enjoys God's comfort.[525] And when the Psalmist declares his reason for rejoicing in this verse (because He receives me), he preaches about all believers, for the Saviour promised that the elect, to whom He gave His spirit, will never taste death.[526] The believers will be resurrected at the end of the world, but in the meantime God gives happiness to their souls in Heaven, a mystery which can barely be understood, and therefore the Psalmist added Selah at the end of the verse.[527]

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523 "At in Seruatore uerè completum illum scimus. Licet enim mortuus & sepultus fuerit, non tamen in morte & sepulchro hæsit, sed in triduo rediuiuus, immortalem & beatam uitam in corpore quoque suo auspicatus est, ut non iniuria dicatur inferos nunquam adijsse, neq*ue* uidisse sepulchrum" (Bucer, *Sacrorvm Psalmorvm libri quinqve*, p. 135).

524 "Etenim si de credentibus in se propter resurrectionis expectationem Seruator dixit, morte*m* huiusmodi nunquam gustaturos: id multo rectius de ipso, qui ipsa uita est & resurrectio, dicitur" (Bucer, *Sacrorvm Psalmorvm libri quinqve*, p. 135).

525 Bucer, *Sacrorvm Psalmorvm libri quinqve*, p. 323.

526 "Huius uerò felicitatis dum caussam reddit, prędicat eandem omnibus crede*n*tibus communem. Ait enim, Quia sescepit me. Quoscunq*ue* enim suscepit Deus, suscipit autem quos eligit ad uitam, quibus suum donat spiritum, ij omnes ut Seruator dixit, mortem nunqua*m* gustabunt" (Bucer, *Sacrorvm Psalmorvm libri quinqve*, p. 323).

527 "Nam suscitabit illos in die nouissimo, et interim mentibus sua gaudia donabit in cœlis. Et hoc ænigma est, quod caro & sanguis intelligere haud possunt, ideo & Selah adiectum est" (Bucer, *Sacrorvm Psalmorvm libri quinqve*, p. 323). Bucer noted that the Aramaic Targum renders the last clause of the verse by 'because He will teach me His Law forever', but Kimhi interpreted the qal imperfect third-person masculine singular יִקָּחֵנִי from the verb לקח as 'he will take me away,' as it is said in Gen. 5:24 about Enoch that he was taken away and existed no longer, because Kimhi thought that the soul would be extinguished together with the body. Yet Ibn Ezra interpreted the clause as referring to God receiving the soul of the Psalmist after his death, as the Psalmist says at another place: 'he will guide me with his council and will receive me with honour' (Ps. 73(72):24). "Chaldæus habet hic: Quonia*m* docebit me legem suam in æternum. Kimhi uero accipit לקח {*Lacah.*} pro tollet me, sicut accipitur Gen.5. de Chanoc: Et no*n* erat, qua לקח, id est sustulit illum Deus. uult enim sensum esse, Redimet Deus animam meam ab inferno, uel sepulchro, quum sustulerit me & mori fecerit, ut scilicet anima cum corpore extinguatur. A.Ezra autem, suscipiet me, idem esse putat atq*ue*, assumet ad se in morte spiritum meum. Iuxta illud: Deducet me consilio suo, & postea gloria suscipiet me." Again, Bucer's quotations

Bucer's outstanding biblical scholarship established him as one of the major exegetes of the early Reformation period. His sound methodology, his extensive use of medieval Rabbinical commentators, and his linguistic ability were exceptional for his era. It should also be noted that his works employing Jewish commentaries made these commentaries available to some extent to the majority of his contemporaries who were not well versed (enough) in Hebrew. Joye is an example of such a person who relied on Bucer for the use of Jewish material in his biblical scholarship.

Heinrich Bullinger

In the summer, or autumn at the latest, of 1526 the Swiss theologian Heinrich Bullinger (1504–75) wrote a small pamphlet with the title *Quod animae a corporibus separatae non dormiant, sed cum Christo in cœlis vivant*.[528]

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are correct, as the Targum has the following text: אֲמַר דּוִד בְּרוּחָה נְבוּאָה בְּרַם אֱלָהָא יִפְרוֹק נַפְשִׁי מִן דִּין גֵּהִנָּם אֲרוּם יַלְפִּינַנִי אוֹרַיְתֵיהּ לָעָלְמִין (Paul A. de Lagarde, *Hagiographa Chaldaice*, Leipzig: Teubner, 1873, reprint: Osnabrück: Zeller, 1967 p. 27; *Mikra'ot Gedolot 'Haketer'*, p. 154). In the English translation by Stec: "David said through the spirit of prophecy, 'But God will redeem my soul from the judgement of Gehenna, for he will teach me his Law.' Forever" (David M. Stec (trans.), *Targum of Psalms*, (The Aramaic Bible 16), London: T & T Clark, 2004, p. 103). Stec also notes that 𝔓^{110} reads "and he will lead me to his portion on the world to come" instead of "Forever," which is printed in the *Mikra'ot Gedolot 'Haketer'*, p. 154: וְיַדַּבְּרַנַנִי בְּחוּלְקֵיהּ לְעָלְמָא דְאָתֵי The Bomberg Bible (which Bucer used) contained the shorter reading. Kimhi's comment reads: כי יקחני—כי ימיתני ראיננו כי לקח אותו אלהים "FOR HE WILL TAKE AWAY ME—FOR he will kill me as in HE WAS NO MORE FOR GOD TOOK HIM AWAY" (my translation). Finally, Ibn Ezra's comment: יקחני—שתדבק נשמתו בנשמה העליונה, שהיא נשמת השמים; וכמוהו כי לקח אותו אלהים ואחר כבוד תקחני "FOR HE WILL RECEIVE ME—his spirit shall be joined to the spirit on high, that spirit of Heaven as in FOR GOD TOOK HIM AWAY (Gen 5,24), AND AFTERWARD YOU WILL RECEIVE ME WITH HONOUR. (Ps 73(72),24)" (my translation).

[528] The booklet is preserved in manuscript form in Zürich (ZB, Msc A82, fos. 116^{r}–119^{r}). Published in Heinrich Bullinger, *Heinrich Bullinger Theologische Schriften*, vol. 2, ed. Hans-Georg vom Berg, pp. 127–33. [Hereafter: *HBTS*, II.] On Bullinger's life and theology, see: Joachim Staedke, *Die Theologie des jungen Bullinger*, Zürich: Zwingli-Verlag, 1962; J. Wayne Baker, *Heinrich Bullinger and the Idea of Usury*, in *SCJ* 5 (1974), pp. 49–70; J. Wayne Baker, *Heinrich Bullinger and the Covenant. The Other Reformed Tradition*, Athens: Ohio UP, 1980; Charles S. McCoy & J. Wayne Baker, *Fountainhead of Federalism. Heinrich Bullinger and the Covenantal Tradition*, Westminster: John Knox Press, 1991; Aurelio A. Garcia Archilla, *The Theology of History and Apologetic Historiography in Heinrich Bullinger. Truth in History*, San Francisco (CA): Mellen Research UP, 1992; J. Wayne Baker, *Heinrich Bullinger, the Covenant, and the Reformed Tradition in Retrospect*, in *SCJ* 29 (1998), pp. 359–76; Bruce Gordon & Emidio Campi, *Architect of Reformation. An introduction to Heinrich Bullinger, 1504–1575*, (Texts and Studies in Reformation and Post-Reformation Thought), Grand Rapids: Baker, 2004; Peter Opitz, *Heinrich Bullinger als Theologe. Eine Studie zu den Dekaden*, Leipzig: Evangelisches, 2004; Fritz Büsser, *Heinrich Bullinger (1504–1575). Leben, Werk und Wirkung*, Leipzig: Evangelisches, 2004–05; Emidio Campi, *Heinrich Bullinger als*

The booklet was to satisfy the repeated requests of Paul Beck (d. 1547) of Munderkingen, who had joined the Reformation in Zürich at an early stage and to whom Bullinger's book is addressed.[529] Bullinger began his exposition by referring to the pagan writers of Antiquity (including Seneca, Ovid, and Cicero). Since it involved oblivion, they considered sleep (ὕπνος) to be an image of dying (*mortis imago*). Bullinger posed the rhetorical question: "Somnus enim quid alius est quam quies et cessatio?"[530] But the soul, Bullinger believed, is perpetual—ἐντελέχεια, as Aristotle says in his *De anima*—hence, it cannot cease to exist.[531]

Not only ancient pagan philosophy but also the teachings of Christ, who is the Truth, demonstrated the immortality of the soul, Bullinger argued, when He answered the Sadducees in Mt. 22:32. Jesus' answer is a general law that does not contain anything about the bodily resurrection.[532] Therefore, Bullinger asserted, all deceased believers must be alive because God is the God of every believer. Since their bodies are sleeping, they can only be alive according to their souls (*iuxta animam*). But Christ's answer was given to the exact question that was put to him, because the Sadducees, according to Josephus, denied the immortality of the soul, so their question must have been about the immortality of the soul and not about bodily resurrection.[533] Next, Bullinger quoted Jn. 6:40: "This is indeed the will of my Father, that all who see the Son and believe in him may have eternal life; and I will raise them up on the last day." Here, Bullinger maintained, Christ evidently refers to two distinct notions: (1) the eternal life of the souls that starts at the moment of corporeal death and (2) the

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Theologe, in Gudrun Litz, Heidrun Munzert & Roland Liebenberg (eds.), *Frömmigkeit—Theologie—Frömmigkeitstheologie. Contributions to European Church History*. FS für Berndt Hamm zum 60. Geburtstag, (SHCT 124), Leiden: Brill, 2005, pp. 423–436; W.J. Torrance Kirby, *The Zurich connection and Tudor Political Theology*, (SHCT 131), Leiden: Brill, 2007; Emidio Campi & Peter Campi, *Heinrich Bullinger. Life—Thought—Influence. Zurich, Aug. 25–29, 2004, International Congress Heinrich Bullinger (1504–1575)*, (Zürcher Beiträge zur Reformationsgeschichte 24), Zürich: Theologischer, 2007.

529 Paul Beck was registered at the University of Heidelberg in January 1516, where he obtained his B.A. in 1523. Subsequently, he was chaplain in Heidelberg, parish priest of Munderkingen, preacher in Geislingen and Langenau, and dean in Esslingen. (Georg Burkhardt, *Paulus Beck, der este evangelische Geistliche Geislingens*, in *Blätter für Würtembergische Kirchengeschichte* 35 (1931), pp. 249–65; and 36 (1932), pp. 63–108.)

530 *HBTS*, II, p. 129.

531 "Anima porro perpetua est ἐντελέχεια" (*HBTS*, II, p. 129). Cf. Aristotle, *De anima*. II,1.

532 "Quae quidem sententia generalis γνώμη est; unde nihil agunt, qui resurrectionem tantum obiiciunt" (*HBTS*, II, p. 129).

533 "Lege Iosephum, Antiqui. lib. 18, cap. 2" (*HBTS*, II, p. 129).

resurrection of the flesh on the Day of Judgement.[534] The conclusion, therefore, is that the souls live an eternal life after death, even before the general judgement.[535]

According to Jn. 11:24–26, Martha had already believed in the resurrection of the dead, yet Christ deemed it necessary to reveal to her that those who believe in Him, despite dying, will live, and everyone who lives and believes in Him will never die. This means, Bullinger explained, that Lazarus will not just appear on the Day of Judgement in the upper spheres, but will appear there instantly at that time, for all of the dead who firmly believe will promptly overcome death. Consequently, the dead do not sleep but are alive.[536] According to Bullinger, the immortality of the soul is also attested to in Jn. 12:26 and in Jn. 17:24, where Christ says that He wants the believers to be with Him and wants them to serve Him and to behold His glory, because everyone knows that Christ lives in the heavenly home.[537] Therefore, only the blind do not see, Bullinger wrote, that the souls are living together with Christ in Heaven, as Paul wrote in 2 Tim. 2:11f. God gave us His spirit (2 Cor. 5:5) so that we become the children of God. As such, we are heirs of God and joint heirs with Christ (Rom. 8:16f). Our heritage is eternal life, the Swiss theologian asserted, and this could not be the case unless our souls are preserved as joint heirs with Christ until the Day of Judgement.[538]

In the beginning of 2 Cor. 5, Paul describes in clear language the incorruptible life of the soul after the corporeal death, Bullinger continued. And in Phil. 1:21 Paul calls death a gain (*lucrum*), and therefore he yearns not to fall asleep and snore, but to live together with Christ.[539] Furthermore, one should take into account the descriptions in Scripture of the deaths of the first Christian champions. While suffering on the cross, Christ promised the Repentant Thief that he would be with him on that very day in Paradise (Lk. 23:43). Christ was talking about the Good Thief's

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534 *HBTS*, II, p. 129.

535 "Vivunt itaque animae post mortem ea vita, quae aeterna est, sic it quemadmodum ea vita post iuditium erit, sic a morte usque ad iuditium sit, nisi quod glorificatio corporis nondum accessit" (*HBTS*, II, p. 129).

536 "Lazarum non modo in iuditii die superas prodituruum in auras, verum etiam nunc e vestigio prodituruum, imo omnes a mortis statim articulo victuros, quotquot sibi certo fiderent. Constat itaque, quod fideles non dormiant, sed vita vivant" (*HBTS*, II, p. 130).

537 *HBTS*, II, p. 130.

538 *HBTS*, II, p. 130.

539 "Et in Phillipen. epistola mortem vocat lucrum, quandoquidem desyderio moriendi se adserverat teneri, atque inde non addormiendi, non adstertendi (ut ita dicam) animaliter, sed cohabitandi Christo" (*HBTS*, II, p. 131).

soul and referring to eternal life, the Swiss exegete maintained. And when he was stoned to death, the protomartyr Stephen saw the glory of God and Christ standing on the right hand of God, and he prayed, "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit" (Acts 7:55–59). Stephen asked Jesus to receive his spirit, which means his soul (*spiritum, hoc est animam*), but not to receive it in the reign of dreams (*non in somni regiam*).[540] To the possible objection that the souls of the deceased rest in the bosom of Abraham (*in Abrahae sinu quiescere*), Bullinger explained that the bosom of Abraham is not a dormitory (*non somni aulam*), but signifies eternal life (*vitam sempiternam*), because it is said that "many will come from east and west and will eat with Abraham and Isaac and Jacob in the kingdom of Heaven" (Mt. 8:11) and that Lazarus was comforted there (Lk. 16:25). Now, because the Word of God cannot be false (Num. 23:19; Heb. 6:18; Ps. 33(32):4), Bullinger argued, the souls are not detained by sleep, because resting can by no means be characterized as bliss.[541]

But the very usage of the verb 'to sleep' in the sense of dying (this usage, according to Bullinger, takes its origin from 1 Thes. 4:13ff) should reveal that it can be applied properly only to the body and not to the soul. For in sleep, one falls asleep for a short period of time, and afterwards one rises again. In a similar way, the body is abandoned by the soul for a while, and it rises afterwards and lives together with the soul forever. Therefore, sleeping and rising again can properly refer only to the body, not to the soul, Bullinger maintained,[542] for only things that pass away can rise again, and the soul does not pass away.[543] Finally, the passages in which Paul speaks about our dwelling place (*conversatio*) in Heaven, from where we expect our salvation (Phil. 3:20), and about the crown of righteousness he is going to receive (2 Tim. 4:8), as well as John's words in 1 Jn. 3:2 (we are God's children now; what we will be has not yet been revealed)—all of these places refer to the final Day of Judgement at the end of the world, Bullinger argued, when God will transform the body of our humiliation so that it may be conformed to the body of His glory (Phil. 3:21), and we will be like Him, for we will see Him as He is (1 Jn. 3:2).[544]

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[540] *HBTS*, II, p. 131.

[541] *HBTS*, II, pp. 131–32.

[542] "Ideo corporibus proprie competit dormitio, corporibus resurrectio, animae vero non item" (*HBTS*, II, p. 132).

[543] "Nam quae ceciderunt, resurgunt. Anima non cadit" (*HBTS*, II, p. 132).

[544] *HBTS*, II, pp. 132–33.

A few months later, at the end of 1526, Bullinger wrote another booklet on the article of the Creed about Christ's descent into Hell.[545] The occasion for the writing of the book was the teaching of a certain Rudolf Weingartner (d. 1541), who was the addressee of several letters and works by Bullinger between 1524 and 1528.[546] In a short letter to Zwingli, Bullinger asked Zwingli's assistance in answering Weingartner concerning Christ's descent into Hell.[547] Zwingli's answer has not survived, but we know Zwingli's position on the matter, as it is articulated in his letter to Berchtold Haller.[548] Bullinger's stance shows several points related to Zwingli's.

Bullinger started by clarifying 1 Pt. 3:17ff and 4:1–7 to explain the soteriological character of Christ's descent. He pointed out that Christ died for our sins so that we, purged by His blood from sin, would become apt to behold God (1 Pt. 3:18).[549] To that Peter adds that Christ went to preach to the spirits in prison (1 Pt. 3:19) and the Gospel was even proclaimed to the dead (1 Pt. 4:6). Bullinger maintained that these spirits in prison, as well as the dead who stayed *apud inferos*, were the faithful of the OT who were detained there from the time of Adam until Christ's death.[550] They had been waiting for the coming of the Messiah in order to be released. But the question arises as to how they were released by Christ. Based on the quotation Peter uses in Acts 2:27 where he cites Ps. 16:10—"you will not leave my soul *in inferno*"[551]—and based on Gen. 42:38 and 44:29, Bullinger identified the word *infer(n)um* with *sepultus* (grave).[552] Consequently, Bullinger rejected both the bodily and the spiritual interpretation of this

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545 Heinrich Bullinger, *De articulo fidei "Descendit ad inferna" de suffocato item et sanguine ab apostolis in Actis inhibito*, Zürich, 1526. The booklet is preserved in manuscript form in Zürich (ZB, Msc A82, fos. 119^{r}–122^{v}). Published in *HBTS*, II, pp. 174–80.

546 On his life, see Ulrich Gäbrel & Endre Zsindely, *Heinrich Bullinger Briefwechsel*, vol. 1., Zürich: Theologischer, 1973, p. 47. n. 1. [Hereafter: *HBB*, I.]

547 "Hulderycho Zuinglio, fratri in domino charissimo. Gratia et pax a domino. Rogo te plurimum, Zuingli mi, ut paucis mihi mentem tuam adaperias atque edoceas, quid rei sit, quod Christum ad inferna descendisse confitemur. Sunt enim ex doctis hodie non pauci, qui mira hic comminiscuntur, interim ut nihilo minus ipse sese torqueant et lectores avidos a se dimittant. Vale. Heilrych Bullingerus tuus" (published in *HZSW* IX, p. 597). See *HBB*, I, p. 123.

548 See *supra* on p. 199.

549 *HBTS*, II, p. 175.

550 "Qui apud inferos ab Adae hactenus tempore detenti sunt" (*HBTS*, II, p. 177).

551 To prove his point he also cites Felix Pratensis' (d. 1558) translation of Ps. 16:10 (1515): "Non dabis sanctum tuum videre foveam" (*HBTS*, II, pp. 177–78).

552 "Infernus Ebreis plurimum usurpatur loco sepulturae" (*HBTS*, II, p. 177).

article of faith.[553] Rather, he argued that the virtue of Christ's death and salvation had its beneficial effect on the faithful of the OT, just as baptism, through the virtue of Christ's resurrection, washes away the sins of the baptized. It is Christ who is announced to the dead and it is by Him that they are redeemed—the very same Christ who is also announced to us.[554]

But how, Bullinger asked, would these souls of the blessed leave *infer(n)um* if they are pure spiritual substances? His answer is that they will do so *per procatalipsin* (προκατάληψις: anticipation). Their flesh will be judged with all other flesh (with all other people), but in the meantime their souls have already been liberated, and they live by Christ and rejoice in God.[555] From this, Bullinger interjected, one can see whether the souls are sleeping.[556] And to avoid all ambiguity Bullinger marked in the margin: "animae vivunt."[557]

Bullinger also raised the question of what happened to Christ during those three days. Surely He could not have been *apud inferos*, could He?[558] Bullinger's answer is unambiguously negative (*Non, Hercule!*).[559] Christ is believed to consist of spirit, soul, and body.[560] His spirit is of divine nature, and this part was never separated from God the Father.[561] His soul and body were human, but the body was locked in the grave, and His human soul was in the hands and glory of God the Father because that is where the dying Christ commended it (Lk. 23:46).[562] The hands of God the Father, Bullinger explained, signify the conservation and protection in the heavenly kingdom. Consequently, he claimed, all stories about Christ's entrance and incursion into Hell, and His fight, glory, and triumph are pure poetical fables and similes.[563] Concerning the destination of the liberated souls Bullinger held that their aspiration is the bosom of Abraham

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553 "Ita ut per Christum non corpus aut animam Christi intelligas, sed totum redemptionis negotium per synechdochen, sic et inferorum nomine eos accipias, qui tenebantur apud inferos, iuxta metonymiam" (*HBTS*, II, p. 174).

554 *HBTS*, II, p. 177.

555 *HBTS*, II, p. 176.

556 "Hic obiter vide, an animae dormiant" (*HBTS*, II, p. 176).

557 *HBTS*, II, p. 176.

558 "Interim tamen rogas, scio, ubi interea et per triduum fuerit Christus; numquid apud inferos?" (*HBTS*, II, p. 178). Cf. Bonaventure, Sent. III. d. 22, qu 3.

559 *HBTS*, II, p. 178.

560 "Credimus enim Christum constare ex spiritu, anima et corpore" (*HBTS*, II, p. 178).

561 "Spiritum divina natura est, ceterum iuxta eam partem numquam fuit a patre separatus" (*HBTS*, II, p. 178).

562 "'Spiritum' vero, hoc est humanam animam, quae spirat, vitae et humanorum adfectuum sedes est" (*HBTS*, II, p. 178).

563 *HBTS*, II, p. 178.

(*sinum Abrahae*), which is the *conservatorium animarum fidelium*. The Swiss theologian, as in his *Quod animae a corporibus separatae non dormiant*, here, too, identified this with eternal life (*vita sempiterna*).

In 1535, Bullinger's *Adversvs Omnia Catabaptistarvm Prava Dogmata* was published.[564] The book takes the form of four dialogues between Simon, who takes up the defence of the Anabaptists' teachings, and Ioiada, who refutes their position. The last chapter in the first dialogue received the title *Animas exvtas corporibvs non dormire, sed uiuere cum Christo*.[565] Bullinger repeated his earlier arguments, claiming that the Anabaptists' position invalidates Christ's resurrection. Simon tries to argue that Ioiada does not understand their teachings, because the Anabaptists' teaching about the souls sleeping in the bosom of Abraham (Lk. 16:23), which the Anabaptists equate with Paradise, is based exclusively on the the use of language of the OT as well as on Paul's choice of word in 1 Thes. 4 and that of Luke in Acts 7:59, but the Anabaptists also acknowledge eternal life and the resurrection of Jesus.[566] Nonetheless, saying that the souls sleep until Judgement Day is the same as saying that they die, Ioiada argues, because the soul is incapable of resting.[567] This can be deduced from the pagan philosophers, but it is also attested to in Scripture: Lazarus' soul was rejoicing in the bosom of Abraham; consequently, it could not have been asleep, and the bosom of Abraham cannot be a dormitory.[568] That

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564 Heinrich Bullinger, *Adversvs Omnia Catabaptistarvm Prava Dogmata Heinrychi Bullingeri lib. IIII.*, Tiguri: Apud Christophorum Froschoverum, 1535. In 1531 Bullinger's *Von dem unverschämten Frevel* appeared in Zürich, in which he formulated similar arguments. The book was translated into English by John Vernon with the title: *An Holesome Antidotus or Counter-Poysen against the pestylent heresye and secte of the Anabaptistes*, London, 1548.

565 Bullinger, *Adversvs Omnia Catabaptistarvm Prava Dogmata*, fos. 38^{v}–44^{v}.

566 "SIMON. Tu catabaptistas non capis, Nam neq*ue* euangelium, neq*ue* resurrectionem Christi negant. Animas post corporis mortem (si fide hinc excesserint) in sinu Abrahæ, ad ultimum usq*ue* diem dormire dicu*n*t, tum demum uitam æternam ingredi. Atq*ue* hanc suam doctrinam ex euangelii & Paulo probant Lucæ 16. 1. Thessalon. 4. Nolo uos ignorare […] In ueteris testamento de patribus scribitur quod dormierint cum patribus suis. Item de Stephano qui dicitur obdormiuisse in domino" (Bullinger, *Adversvs Omnia Catabaptistarvm Prava Dogmata*, fo. 39^{r}). "Paradisus & sinus Abraha/e catabaptistis idem sunt, in quo animas dormire aiunt" (fo. 44^{r}).

567 "Nam dicere animam dormire, idem est, ac si dicas eam non esse. Si dormit, requiescit quoq*ue*: si requiescit, non operatur: si no*n* operatur, non est: nam operari & esse in anima idem sunt, quum sit perpetua ἐνδελεχία. Sed anima est, ergo non dormit" (Bullinger, *Adversvs Omnia Catabaptistarvm Prava Dogmata*, fo. 43^{v}).

568 "Consequitur ergo Abrahæ sinum non dormitorium esse, sed uitam iam æternam. Quod ex cap. 16. Lucæ […] Si gaudet anima, impoßibile est quod dormiat. […] ut interim taceam somnum naturæ animæ (quæ ἐντελέχεια siue ἐνδελέχια est) omnino aduersari" (Bullinger, *Adversvs Omnia Catabaptistarvm Prava Dogmata*, fo. 41^{r}).

the souls do not sleep is also proved by Phil. 1:23 and Jn. 14:2–3.[569] The immortality of the soul was even proved by Christ's answer to the Sadducees in Mt. 22:29–32.[570] But the Anabaptists are wrong because on the basis of the unity of body and soul they attribute to the soul what really pertains to the body. This, however, gives rise to dogmatic problems, because then Christ's soul, too, must have died with His body, and the resurrection is done away with, which, Bullinger asserted, was clearly a blasphemous position.[571] The doctrine about soul sleep is not only repugnant to Scripture and faith, and not only eliminates Christ's resurrection and the Gospel, but is against common sense and displays a vulgar and imprudent ignorance.[572]

Bullinger later reiterated his position in his commentary on the Gospel of Matthew (and in his commentary on Mark he referred the reader to his commentary on Matthew).[573] The Sadducees, Bullinger claimed, for whom the Torah was the sole authority and who attributed everything to free will, taught that one can be justified by one's own efforts, and they

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569 Bullinger, *Adversvs Omnia Catabaptistarvm Prava Dogmata*, fos. 39^{v}–41^{v}.

570 "Sadducæi docebant resurrectionem nullam esse, & per hoc animæ immortalitatem & endelechiam negaban*t*, in summa & angelos, et spiritus omnes Acto.13. Horum ora dominus his rationibus obstruit: Erratis inquam ignorantes scripturas, neq*ue* uirtutem dei animaduertentes. Deus post mortem patrum se deum uocat Abraham Isaac, & Iacob, qui deus sit non mortuorum sed uiuentium: mortuos ergo nos esse Abrahamum reliquosq*ue* patres. Iuxta corpus quidem mortui iam olim erant et sepulti etiam: de animæ ergo uita loquitur Christus. Anima ergo à corpore separata uera est & operatur uiuens, nunquam dormit. Hunc syllogismum catabaptistis omnibus proponi, ut ad hunc respondeant, & sese Sadducæ hæresi liberent. Sadducæis enim sunt et Manicheis similes" (Bullinger, *Adversvs Omnia Catabaptistarvm Prava Dogmata*, fos. 43^{v}–44^{r}).

571 "Si animæ nostræ post mortem corporis dormiunt, dormit et anima Christi, & resurrectio abolita est. Nam sua resurrectione æternam uitam testatur Christus, quæ æterna esse non potest, si anima dormit, & tum demum uiuere incipit dum iudicium sit. Catabaptistarum ergo somnus Euangelium & resurrectionem euacuat" (Bullinger, *Adversvs Omnia Catabaptistarvm Prava Dogmata*, fo. 39$^{r–v}$). And further: "In hoc ergo falluntur illi, quod animæ attribuitur, propter unionem animæ & corporis in una eademq*ue* persona. Quod exemplum supra de Christo quoq*ue* adductum est. Dicitur enim Christus mortuus esse, quum tantum corpus in Christo mortuum sit, non diuinitas, non anima. Sic obdormit homo, sed corpore non anima. Hanc synekdocham (ut cæteros tropos) non intelligunt (aut non intelligere uolunt) catabaptistæ, & hac de causa in multis errant" (fo. 41^{v}).

572 "Doctrina de somno animarum non solum scripturis & fidei repugnat, non solum euangelium et resurrectionem Christi eneruat, set & sensui communi aduersatur, rudis quædam & indocta ignorantia" (Bullinger, *Adversvs Omnia Catabaptistarvm Prava Dogmata*, fo. 42^{v}).

573 Heinrich Bullinger, *In sacrosanctum Iesu Christi domini nostri Evangelium secundum Matthaeum, commentariorum libri XII*, Zürich: Apud Froschoverum, 1542; Heinrich Bullinger, *In Sacrosanctvm Euangelium Domini nostri Iesu Christi secundum Marcum, Commentariorum lib. VI per Heinrychum Bullingerum*, 1545.

denied the existence of spirits and angels.[574] They also denied "resurrection of the dead." Since "resurrection" is the renewal or resuscitation of what fell, it can refer to the immortality of the soul and the resuscitation or restoration of the body.[575] Bullinger reaffirmed that the verb *resurgere* is used in Scripture in the sense to 'endure' or 'persist,' and consequently *resurrectio* can be used for the endurance or immortality of the soul and spirit.[576] And even if Christ's answer does not prove the resurrection of the body, there are enough passages in those books of the OT which are not recognized by the Sadducees as authoritative, and their fallacy, Bullinger asserted, and all of the later heresies concerning the resurrection were effectively refuted by Augustine and Epiphanius.[577]

Bartholomäus Westheimer and Otto Brunfels

The polemics against the Catholics brought about not only new Bible translations, commentaries, sermons, and treatises, but other, practical

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574 "Porrò Sadducæi præter legem Mosis nullas alias obseruationes custodire uideri uolu*n*t. Iidem fato nihil, libero arbitrio omnia tribuu*n*t. Omnia enim nostræ potestati subijciu*n*t, bonorumq*ue* nosipsos authores fatentur. Nega*n*t spiritus & angelos, quod & Lucas in Actis apostolicis retulit, & resurrectionem mortuorum" (Heinrich Bullinger, *In Evangelium secundum Matthaeum*, fo. 31^{v}). "Porrò Sadducæi nouum quoddam Iudaicorum monachorum genus, nimirum Iustitiarij ex eo dicti, quod sancte uiuere, no*n* spe praemij, sed amore iustitiæ uiderentur. Negabant enim resurrectionem mortuorum, negabant & angelos & spiritus: quemadmodum 3. cap. huius operis ex Luca & Iosepho indicaui" (fo. 198^{v}). Bullinger pointed here to Josephus as a source of information, without specifying the exact place. For information on the Essenes, he noted: "De Essenis qui copiosa legere cupit, inueniet apud Plinium lib. Nat. hist.5.cap.17.& apud Iosephu*m* de Antiq.lib.18.cap.2. & de Bello Iudaico 2.cap.7" (fo. 31^{v}).

575 "Est item Resurrectio eius quod cecidit instauratio sive resuscitatio. Refertur itaque Resurrectio, tam ad immortalitatem animarum quam corporum resuscitationem sive restitutionem." However, Bullinger noted, dying, falling, and decomposition can only be properly said of the body, for the soul does not decompose, nor does it die or fall unless by the tumbling and death of sin: "Haec enim proprie moriuntur, cadunt & computrescunt: animae non computrescunt, neque cadunt aut moriuntur, nisi lapsu & morte peccati" (Bullinger, *In Evangelium secundum Matthaeum*, fo. 198^{v}).

576 "Resurgere autem in scripturis accipitur pro eo quod est emergere & non interire aut occidere, sed permanere atq*ue* subsistere: ita resurrectio usurpari poterit pro animæ ac spirituum permanentia siue subsistentia vel immortalitate" (Bullinger, *In Evangelium secundum Matthaeum*, fo. 198^{v}).

577 "Locus ille Deuteronomii nihil faciebat ad approbandam vel improbandam mortuorum resurrectionem [. . .] Erant praeterea multa alia prophetarum de resurrectione illustria testimonia, quae cum Sadducaei non reciperent, bonam scripturae partem ignorabant" (Bullinger, *In Evangelium secundum Matthaeum*, fo. 198^{v}). Cf. Henrich Bullinger, *In Euangelium secundum Marcum*, fo. 31^{r}. On Augustine, see *supra* on p. 97. On Epiphanius, see *supra* on p. 92. On the canon of the Sadducees, see *infra* on p. 373.

works and aids, such as thematic collections of biblical texts and biblical dictionaries. They served as guides and resources for preachers of the new learning. One such work, which was used by Joye, was compiled by the German Reformer and Lutheran theologian Bartholomäus Westheimer (1499–*c.*1567), who later was also active as a printer in Basel between 1536 and 1547.[578] Richard Rex suitably described his publications as "bibliographical nightmare[s]," for every time Westheimer brought out a new edition of a work, he gave it a new title.[579] The book Joye used bears the title *Collectanea Troporvm Commvnivm Bibliorum* and is made up of two parts (*tomus*).[580] The first one (*Schematum et troporum Bartholomaei Westhemeri tomus primus*) treats the definition of various rhetorical figures of speech (e.g. prolepsis, zeugma, anaphora, epanalepsis, homoeoteleuton, asyndeton, climax, antipophora, procatalepsis, metanoea, aethiologia, synonymia, paradoxum, eclipsis, litotes, epitasis, analogia, mimesis, ellipsis, etc.) with examples from the Scriptures (and some from ancient classical literature). The second (*Troporum in sacris literis usus*) explains the usage of a number of words and concepts as tropes in the Sripture, based mainly on excerpts of commentaries and clarifications by other biblical scholars.

In his first introduction, under the heading *Scriptvrae sacrae tractandae ratio, in primis consyderanda*, Westheimer summarized how one can

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578 On Westheimer, see: Josef Benzing, *Buchdruckerlexikon des 16. Jahrhunderts (Deutsches Sprachgebiet)*, Frankfurt: Vittorio Klostermann, 1952, pp. 25–26; Philippe Mieg, *Barthelemy Westheimer, Pasteur à Mulhouse et Horbourg 1499–1567*, in *Annuaire de la Société historique et littéraire de Colmar* 6 (1956), pp. 41–49; Marie-Joseph Bopp, *Die evangelischen Geistlichen und Theologe in Elsaß und Lothringen von der Reformation bis zur Gegenwart*, Neustadt/Aisch: Degener, 1965, no. 5604; Hermann Ehmer, art. *WESTHEIMER, Bartholomäus*, in *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*, vol. XXI, 2003, cols. 1559–60.

579 Richard Rex (ed.), *A Reformation Rhetoric. Thomas Swynnerton's The Tropes and Figures of Scripture*, (Renaissance Texts from Manuscript 1), Cambridge: RTM Publications, 1999, p. 39.

580 Bartholomäus Westheimer, *COLLECTANEA TROPORVM COMMVNIVM Bibliorum, non æstimandis sudoribus recognita & locupletata, summa tum diligentia, tum iudicio, ex sacrorum Patrum scriptis, excerpta. BARPTHOLOMAEO VESThemero collectore*, BASILEAE: APUD Thomam Volfium, M.D. XXXIII. Mense Martio. An earlier version was published with the title: *Tropi insigniores Veteris atque Novi Testamenti, summa*, Basel, 1527. The Placard of Charles V in 1540 as well as the Indices of forbidden books issued by the University of Leuven in 1550 condemned "Phrases seu modi loquendi Divinae Scripturae ex sanctis et orthodoxis scriptoribus per eruditissum Barptolomaeum Westhemerum, in studiosorum usum diligenter congestae." This refers to the Antwerp edition by Johannes Grapheus for Johannes Steels, 1536. In 1551 a reworked edition was published under the title: *Troporum, schematum, idiomatumque communium liber/ ex omnibus orthodoxis ecclesiae patribus singulari industria tam collectus, quam in ordinem [. . .] alphabeticum, dispositus [. . .] Barptolemaeo Westhemero [. . .] collectore* (Basileae: per Ioannem Hervagium, 1551).

establish the sense of those words, the meaning of which is obscure. If doubt arises, one should not use one's own mind or turn to frivolous glosses, but try to establish the meaning by looking at other places where the meaning is clearer, taking the context and the characteristics of the biblical languages into consideration.[581] This has to be done in the spirit of piety, by which one seeks not one's own honour but that of God through Christ and the education of one's neighbours.[582] Then, Christ, who has the key of David, will open and reveal the meaning of that which is closed and cannot be opened by anyone else, and He will reveal it to whomever He wishes.[583] Westheimer's approach consciously echoes the interpretative rules of Augustine, and he acknowledges this in his second foreword. In this section, Westheimer gave a detailed description of the use of tropes in Scripture, quoting from Augustine's own interpretatory rules and those of Tichonius.[584] Westheimer underlined that the understanding of tropes

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581 "Si qvando literae sacræ dißidere uidentur, no*n* adferendu*m* est nostri cerebri, aut capitis glossema friuolum, sed per clariorem locum alium, illustrandus uenit obscurior. Consule*n*da linguarum (quibus primu*m* scripti sunt) proprietas, attendantur præcedentia una cu*m* sequentibus sanè collatis, ipse uerborum co*n*textus" (Westheimer, *Collectanea Troporvm Commvnivm Bibliorum*, fo. 1r). Cf. *supra* on p. 100.

582 "Deniq*ue* pio et timido animo non nostra quide*m*, sed gloria Dei summi patris per Christum, in ædificationem proximi, omni studio inquirenda summa est: dona dei, eruditio, linguaru*m* peritia, in scripturis exercitatio, quærenda & magnifacie*n*da sunt: nequa*m*q*ue* illis uel fidendum uel superbiendum" (Westheimer, *Collectanea Troporvm Commvnivm Bibliorum*, fo. 1r).

583 "Imo improbus conatus industriæ, crebis præcibus adiuuandus, donec aperiat nobis librum septem signaculis obsignatum, is qui habet clauem Dauid. Qui claudit & nemo aperit, arcana patris, quæ nemo nouit nisi filius, & cui uoluerit filius reuelare. Cui enim ipse mente*m* intelligendaru*m* scripturaru*m* no*n* donauerit, obsignatus ille liber erit, quicquid acuminis eruditio*n*is uel peritiæ habuerit, usq*ue* adeo sine ipso nihil possumus, ne cogitare quidem aliquid boni tanquam ex nobis sufficientes. Sed sufficientia nostra ex Deo est per Christum" (Westheimer, *Collectanea Troporvm Commvnivm Bibliorum*, fo. 1r–v).

584 *Troporvm vsvs obseruandus & necessarius* (Westheimer, *Collectanea Troporvm Commvnivm Bibliorum*, fos. 1v–3r). "Cæterum ad quid sana Troporu*m* co*n*sideratio co*n*ferat, August. de doctrina Christiana in hæc uerba scriptum reliquit. Troporum cognitio propterea Scripturaru*m* ambiguitatibus dissoluendis est necessaria. Quia, cu*m* sensus ad proprietate*m* uerborum, si accipiatur, absurdus est, quærendum est utiq*ue*, ne forte illo uel illo Tropo dictu*m* sit, quod non intelligimus: & sic pleraq*ue* inuenta sunt quæ latebant, Nam locutiones Tropicæ, ut idem de Ciuitate Dei adserit, proprijs prophetico more miscentur ut ad intellectum spiritualem intentio sobria cum quoda*m* utili & salubri labore perueniat. Pigritia uero carnalis, uel ineruditæ, uel inexercitatæ tarditas mentis, cōtenta literæ superficie, nihil putat interius requirendum. Hæc ille. Idem de doctrina Christiana scribit: Ticonius quidam fecit librum, quem Regularum uocauit. Quia in eo quasdam septem regulas executus est, quibus quasi clauibus diuinaru*m* scripturarum aperientur occulta. Quarum primum ponit de Domino, & eius corpore, Secundam, de Domini corpore bipertito. Tertiam, de promißis & lege. Quarta*m*, de specie & genere. Quintam, de temporibus. Sextam, de recapitulatione. Septimam, de diabolo, & de eius corpore" (fo. 2r–v). On Tichonius and Augustine, see *supra* on p. 100.

is indispensable because Scripture is full of them.[585] Nonetheless, he cautioned against taking everything to be a trope; a true trope is recognizable by the absurdity of the literal sense of the text, which would contradict an article of faith.[586] He also established that the meaning of the tropes cannot be arbitrary but should be substantiated by plain words of Scripture, and that mystical and allegorical interpretations can be dangerous and should be avoided.[587] Nonetheless, not everything in Scripture is self-explanatory, and there are interpreters who obscure the meaning of the Bible. Therefore, Westheimer, following Augustine and Rabanus, insisted on the necessity of an advanced knowledge of biblical languages.[588]

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585 "Quonia*m* quide*m* maxima pars itteligen*t*iæ sita est in Tropis locutio*n*is, præsertim in sacris literis, quæ suos habe*n*t Idiotismos: Quoru*m* ignorantia gra*n*des nebulas suscitat quandoqu*e* in clara luce. Est enim Hebræis ante alios mos, creberrimis Tropis uti. Quod lingua eorum, ut angusta, ita densitate Troporum angusta, ut ueluti coga*n*tur linguæ parsimonia ad Troporum uim conuerti. Vnde & sacrosancta scriptura Tropis plena est, quibus studiosos adsuefieri oportet" (Westheimer, *Collectanea Troporvm Commvnivm Bibliorum*, fo. 1[v]).

586 "Veru*m* in nullo Scripturæ loco admitte*n*dus est Tropus, nisi id urgeat circu*m*stantia uerborum euidens, & absurditas rei manifestæ in aliquiem fidei articulu*m* peccans. Sed ubiqu*e* inhærendum est simplici puræqu*e* & genuine signifcationi uerborum, quam Grammatica & usus loquendi docet, habetque" (Westheimer, *Collectanea Troporvm Commvnivm Bibliorum*, fos. 1[v]–2[r]).

587 "Quod si cuiuis liceat, pro sua libidine, Tropos in Scripturis fingere, quid erit scriptura tota, nisi aru*n*douentis agitata, aut uertumnus aliquis? Imo nihil certi neq*ue* statuetur neq*ue* probabitur in ullo articulo fidei, q*uo*d no*n* poßis aliquo co*m*me*n*to Tropo cauillari. Sicq*ue* uniuersa sacra scriptura, hac licentia simul & semel inuerteretur. Vitari ergo debet omnis tropus, sicut præsentis simu*l* uenenu*m*, que*m* no*n* cogit ipsißima scipturæ sente*n*tia. Porró mysticas intellige*n*tias, quia mirum in modu*m* periculosæ sunt, magnopere fugie*n*das suadet syncerior Theologia. Vitanda etiam est Allegoria, ne simplicita te sensus amissa, in mortuis nostris somnijs uagemur, nisi alijs scripturæ locis euincatur Allegoria. Id quod sit euidenti circu*m*stantia dictoru*m*, aut aliquo manifesto Scirpturæ testimonio & authoritate" (Westheimer, *Collectanea Troporvm Commvnivm Bibliorum*, fo. 2[r]).

588 "Sed quia, eodem teste, non omnia quæ ita scripta sunt, ut non facile intellegantur, possunt his regulis inueniri, sed alijs modis pluribus, quos hoc numero septenario usq*ue* adeo non est complexus, ut idem ipse multa exponat obscura, in quibus harum regulaurm adhibet nullam: operepræcium erit hisce generalibus & communioribus aliquot magis speciales, ut ita dicam addere, quibus mediocriter docti no*n* paruum profectu*m* se facturos sciant, maxime ubi trilinguis eruditionis studiosi fuerint. Neq*ue* enim satis curiosi in seruanda uocum synceritate possumus esse. Quod simul atq*ue* illæ à siginificatio*n*e spiritus detortæ fuerint, an peregrina etia*m* sensa prolabamur. Quod autem Hebræa omnium prima & communis fuerit, testatur Augusti, de Ciui.dei lib.6.ca.11. Enimuero si Augustino de doctrina Christiana credimus: & Latine quide*m* linguæ homines, duabus alijs ad scripturarum diuinarum cogitationem opus habent Hebræa scilicet & Græca, ut ad exemplaria præcedentia recurratur, si quam dubitatione*m* attulerit Latinorum interpretum infinita uarietas. Id quod & Rabanus ille, de Vniuerso scribens, attestatur in hæc verba. Propter obscuritate*m* sanctaru*m* scripturarum, trium linguarum cognitio necessaria est, ut ad alteram recurratur, si aliquam dubitationem nominis uel interpretationis sermo unius lingæ attulerit" (Westheimer, *Collectanea Troporvm Commvnivm Bibliorum*,

In the second part of the volume, where the various biblical concepts as tropes are discussed, Westheimer included an article on resurrection entitled *RESVRRECTIO* קום. There, following Zwingli, Westheimer argued that the expression 'resurrection of the dead' does not refer exclusively to the resurrection of the body at the end of the world, but also to the immortality of the soul (the life after this life) and the resuscitation of corpses.[589] The first illustration for this usage is to be found in the denial of the 'resurrectio' by the Sadducees. This means, Westheimer suggested, that they thought that the soul enters into sleep (or dies) when it leaves the body at death. According to the German theologian, this is evident from Christ's answer to the Sadducees, which proved that the patriarchs are alive; hence, 'resurrectio' should be understood as the state of the souls after death.[590] The following example is taken from the Gospel of John. In chapter 6, Jesus promises to those who believe in him that he will raise them on the last day (Jn. 6:39–44). Now, 'last day' should be understood here, Westheimer maintained, as 'their last day' and not as the Day of Judgement, and accordingly, Christ's promise is that their souls will be preserved when they die.[591] This is corroborated by Christ's similar pronouncement in the previous chapter, where He promised that those who listen to His words and believe in Him and in God, who sent Him, will have eternal life and will not enter into judgement but will pass from death into life. This means, Westheimer argued, that even if they undergo bodily death, they will not perish but will enter into immortal life.[592] Similarly,

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fos. 2^{v}–3^{r}). Westheimer is quoting Rabanus Maurus Magnentius (also known as Rhabanus or Hrabanus; *c.*780–856), Frankish Benedictine theologian and later archbishop of Mainz: Rabanus, *De universo libri XXII*, XVI,1.

589 "RESVRRECTIO MOTRVOrum Hebræis non solum ultimam illa*m* corporum resuscitationem, sed etiam uitam ac subsistentia*m* animæ immortalem, post hanc uitam significat, etiam antequam corpus reuiuiscat" (Westheimer, *Collectanea Troporvm Commvnivm Bibliorum*, fo. 313^{v}). Cf. *supra* p. 204.

590 "Saducæi negabant resurrectione*m*, hoc est, putabant animas post egreßione*m* à corporibus dormire (nam no*n* uidetur uerisimile tam crassam sectam fuisse inter Iudæos, quæ aut immortalitam animæ negaret, aut animas cu*m* corporibus dormire uel interire assereret) quo in loco ut ex responsione Christi, qui Saducæis animas Abrahæ, Isaac & Iacob uiuere probat, colligitur, resurrectio, pro eo statu uitæ capitur, quo anima post mortem corporis uiuit" (Westheimer, *Collectanea Troporvm Commvnivm Bibliorum*, fo. 313^{v}).

591 "Item Ioannis. 6. Resuscitabo eum in nouißimo die, inquit Christus, ubi, per nouißimu*m* diem no*n* illu*m* ultimu*m* intellegit, sed diem mortis cuiusqu*e*, ut sit sensus, resuscitabo eum, id est, in uita seruabo eu*m*, dum moritur" (Westheimer, *Collectanea Troporvm Commvnivm Bibliorum*, fo. 313^{v}).

592 "Ioan.5.Christus dicit: Ame*n* ame*n* dico uobis, quod qui uerbum meum audit, & credit ei qui misit me, habet vita*m* æternam, & in iudicium non ueniet, sed transit à morte in uitam. Hoc est, dum corporaliter moritur in nullam mortem aut perditionem uadit, sed

in Jn. 11:24, where Christ calls Himself 'Resurrectio' and 'Vita,' Resurrectio, Westheimer asserted, should be taken for 'life,' as 'Vita' stands in apposition to 'Resurrectio.'[593] Also, in Heb. 11, where Paul writes that the OT martyrs rejected deliverance in order to obtain a better 'resurrectio,' he really means that the martyrs could easily despise this life because they were to enter into a better life.[594] According to the Lutheran exegete, Paul uses the term here in the same sense as it is applied in Jn. 5:29: they will rise to the resurrection of life, that is, they live forever.[595] Furthermore, in 1 Thes. 4, where Paul denounced the exaggerated grief of the Thessalonians over their dead, he spoke not only about the resurrection of the body at the end of the world, but also about the immortality of the soul, Westheimer believed. For Paul's logic can be paraphrased as follows: if the soul died together with the body, then the Thessalonian Christians would not grieve without reason, but since we are certain that those who passed away from this world not only left all troubles upon their death but also gained perennial life, it is unwise and clearly unchristian to grieve so much about the dead, as if they had perished.[596] To explain why the Gospel was preached to those who are dead, Westheimer quoted 1 Pt. 4:6: so that even though the dead will be judged in the flesh as humans, they may live in the spirit according to the will of God as souls in the bosom of Abraham. The dead will be judged just like any other human being at the resurrection of the flesh, but in the meantime they live according

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in uitam immortale*m*. Et hæc est consolatio morientibus in Christo" (Westheimer, *Collectanea Troporvm Commvnivm Bibliorum*, fo. 313^{v}).

593 "Proinde Christus se, Ioan.11. Resurrectione*m* et uita*m* esse dicit, hoc est, eum per quem omnes in vita seruentur. Nam & illic resurrectio pro uita accipitur: ut, Et κατ' εφεξήγύσιν [*sic*], id est, expositiue ponatur" (Westheimer, *Collectanea Troporvm Commvnivm Bibliorum*, fos. 313^{v}–314^{r}).

594 "Apostolus dicit, Sanctos, aspernatos esse redemptionem, ut meliorem inuenirent resurrectione*m*, id est, hanc uitam facile contempserunt, ut meliorem uitam fortirentur" (Westheimer, *Collectanea Troporvm Commvnivm Bibliorum*, fo. 314^{r}).

595 "Hic Paulus accipit resurrectione*m*, pro uita semper consistente, sicut & Christus Ioan.5. Resurge*n*t (inquit) in resurrectione*m* vitæ, id est, ut semper uiuant" (Westheimer, *Collectanea Troporvm Commvnivm Bibliorum*, fo. 314^{r}).

596 "In Epistola priori ad Thessalonicenses cap.4. Quum Paulus ab immodico luctu pro mortuis Thessalonicenses deterret, no*n* de ultima illa mortuoru*m* resurrectione duntaxat agit, sed ut ostendat animas post mortem uiuere. Quasi dicat. Si anima simul cum corpore interiret, non immerito doleretis, iam quum spe certa scimus eos qui hinc exeunt, per mortem non solum omnibus molestijs exui, sed etia*m* uitam perhennem adipisci, stultum est & plane aethnicum sic lugere mortuos, quasi perijssent" (Westheimer, *Collectanea Troporvm Commvnivm Bibliorum*, fo. 314^{r}).

to the spirit.[597] Westheimer's last example is taken from Isaiah. Here, he quoted Zwingli's commentary on 26:14 word for word.[598] His conclusion is again taken from Zwingli: 'resurrection' can refer to (1) the life after this life, (2) the resurrection of the flesh, or (3) the general judgement at the end of the world.[599]

Westheimer also includes a short article entitled *SVRGERE*. Zwingli gives the lead to Westheimer here, too: in the Hebrew, he argued, the verb 'to stand' seems to be used in the sense of 'persisting' and 'enduring'; hence, resurrection of the dead can be taken for the post-mortem life and survival of the soul. Paul himself uses it in that sense in 1 Cor. 15:29 because the Sadducees, and those against whom Paul wrote, thought that the soul died together with the body.[600] But the same verb can also mean to confirm (as in Gen. 23:20)[601] or to declare (as in Ps. 3:7–8).[602]

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597 "Petrus in sua prima epistola.4.caP.[*sic*] In hoc mortuis Euangelion prædicatum esse ait, qui sic quidem iudicabuntur secundum homines carne, uiuunt autem iuxta Deum spiritu, hoc est, Euangelij prædicatio & fructus etiam ad mortuos peruenit, id est, ad illas animas quæ fuerunt in sinu Abrahæ, nempe eorum qui in fide uenturi Christi excesserant, qui quidem iuxta iudicium carnis, sed iuxta communem omnium hominum cursum iudicabuntur, cum caro resurget in ultimo iudicio, quum tamen interim iuxta spiritum uiuant" (Westheimer, *Collectanea Troporvm Commvnivm Bibliorum*, fo. 314$^{r–v}$).

598 "Propheta Esaia.27.cap. [*sic*] dicit. Neque sunt in resurrectione mortuorum. Hic plane uidemus resurrectionem pro fœlici iucundoque beatorum contubernio, in quo post hanc uitam degunt, accipi" (Westheimer, *Collectanea Troporvm Commvnivm Bibliorum*, fo. 314^{v}). Cf. *supra* p. 204.

599 "Breuiter, Resurrectio mortuorum capitur semel pro uita ea, quæ protinus mortalem istam sequitur. Iterum pro carnis resurrectione, quæ futura est ultimo die. Item nonnunquam autem pro ultimo & uniuersali omnium hominum ponitur, quomodo dicitur: Videbit omnis caro salutare Dei, quum care quocunque uertas non recipiat salutarem Christum in hac uita, sed caro pro hominibus accipitur. Aliquando uero pro quotidiano quod iuge est, quomodo Christus dixit: Nunc iudicium est mundi, iudicium pro quotidiana Dei ultione" (Westheimer, *Collectanea Troporvm Commvnivm Bibliorum*, fo. 314^{v}). Cf. *supra* p. 204.

600 "Surgendi uerbum, Hebr. pro persistendi, manendíque uerbis accipi uidemus. Hinc resurrectio mortuorum pro uita, & duratione animarum etiam Paulo accipitur. Quum ait: Cur baptizantur pro mortuis, si mortui non resurgunt, hoc est, non uiuunt post hanc uitam. Adparet ergo Sadducæos, et istos aduersus quos Paulos scribit, non crassum istum errorem profiteri fuisse ausos, quod animæ cum corporibus intermoriantur" (Westheimer, *Collectanea Troporvm Commvnivm Bibliorum*, fos. 345^{v}–346^{r}). Cf. *supra* p. 205.

601 "Item Surgere pro confirmari aut augere, Gene.83. [*sic*! *vere* Gen. 23,20] In Hebræo legitur, Et surrexit ager Ephronis, pro quo Latinus transtulit: Confirmatus est ager. Germanice dicimus, **Er ist den zů gestanden/beståtiget/bewårt/auffgericht/gefertigt**. Ager surrexit ipsi Abrahæ cum spelunca & omnibus, quæ ad agrum pertinent" (Westheimer, *Collectanea Troporvm Commvnivm Bibliorum*, fo. 346^{r}). Cf. Zwingli's *Farrago annotationum in Genesin*, Tiguri: ex aedibus Christophori Froschouer, M.D. XXVII Mense Martio, p. 262 on Gen. 23:20.

602 "Item Surgere, idem est nonnunquam quod proferre, declarare contra hostem, & plerunque Deo attribuitur. Iacere enim ceu quiescere Deus dicitur, dum sinit malos pro eorum libidine ferri, Psalmo.3. Surge Domine, id est, profer, declara contra hostem, in

Another practical polemical preaching aid was compiled by the German former Carthusian monk Otto Brunfels (*c.*1488–1534), who is also remembered as a good botanist.[603] His *Pandectarum Veteris et Noui Testamenti*, one of the first Protestant biblical concordances, was first published in 1527, became very influential, and was reprinted several times in subsequent years (among others by Westheimer).[604] Brunfels collected biblical passages on articles of faith and theological concepts arranged according to twelve subjects.[605] In his foreword, dedicated to Lefèvre d'Étaples, whom Brunfels called the most learned and pious of all Frenchmen, the German writer claimed that his collection contains the words of the living God, which He desired us to know for our salvation.[606] His work was

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meam salutem, tuam potentiam" (Westheimer, *Collectanea Troporvm Commvnivm Bibliorum*, fo. 346[r]). Westheimer quoted Bucer's Psalter here, see *supra* p. 219.

603 The Swedish botanist Carl von Linné (1707–78) called him "the father of modern botany" (quoted by Williams, *The Radical Reformation*, 1962, p. 200). On Brunfels, see: Karl Hartfelder, *Otto Brunfels als Verteidiger Huttens*, in *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins* 8 (1893), pp. 565–78; Hans Arthur Vollmer, *Zur Geschichte des biblischen Unterrichts. Theoduli Ecologa und die Catalogi des Otto Brunfels*, Tübingen, 1904; Erich Sanwald, *Otto Brunfels 1488–1534. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Humanismus und der Reformation: I. Hälfte 1488–1524*, (Inaugural Dissertation, Munich) Bottrop: Buch- und Kunstdruckerei Wilh. Postberg, 1932; Carlo Ginzburg, *Il Nicodemismo. Simulazione e dissimulazione religiosa nell'Europa del '500*, Turin: Giulio Einaudi, 1970, pp. 11–60; Gerhard Baader, *Mittelalter und Neuzeit im Werk von Otto Brunfels*, Hildesheim & New York: Georg Olms, 1978; Sylvia Weigelt, *Otto Brunfels. Seine Wirksamkeit in der frühbürgerlichen Revolution unter besonderer Berücksichtigung seiner Flugschrift 'Vom Pfaffenzehnten'*, Stuttgart: H.-D. Heinz, 1986; Erika Rummel, *The Confessionalization of Humanism in Reformation Germany*, Oxford: UP, 2000, *passim*, esp. pp. 88–89 and 118.

604 Otto Brunfels, *Pandectarum Veteris et Noui Testamenti, Libri. XII. Othonis Brunfelsii*, Argentorati: apud Ioannem Schottum, 1527. Reprints e.g. in 1528 and in 1529 (Strasbourg), in 1530 (Strasbourg?), in 1543 (Baseleae: Barptolemaeus Westhemerus), in 1551 and in 1557 (Baseleae: Nicolaus Brylingerus), and in 1563 (Baseleae: Iacob Hertel). In German translation: *Pandect Büchlin Beylauffig aller Sprüch beyder Testament usszugt, in Titel zerlegt, und XII Büchlin vervasßt*, Straßburg: bey Hans Schotten zum Thyergarten, 1528. Rerpint e.g. in 1532 (Straßburg: bey Hans Schotten), in 1559 (Augspurg: Othmar).

605 1. De Deo, Christo et Spiritu sancto; 2. De Ecclesia, & populo dei; 3. De charitate, fide, Spe, Prædestinatione, libero Arbitrio; 4. De Euangelio, Gratia, Meritis, Lege, Peccato, Pœnitentia, Litera, & Spiritu; 5 De Ecclesiastica potestate, principatu, Obedientia, & Homine; 6. De Officijs; 7. De Legibus reipublicæ Mosaicæ; 8. De Ceremonijs, Signis, Operibus externis, Donis, & Oratione; 9. De Virtitutibus, & Vitijs contrarijs; 10. De Quatuor nouissimis; 11. De antichristo, & regno illius; 12 Miscellanearum.

606 "uerba proferimus dei uiuentis, & de rebus omnibus differimus, quæ ille ad salutarem scire nos uoluit" (Brunfels, *Pandectarum Veteris et Noui Testamenti*, sig. Bb6[v]). The foreword, entitled *Otho Brvnfelsvivs Iacobo Fabro Stapvlensi, Gallorum gentis doctissimo iuxta atq*ue *piüssimo. S*, runs on sigs. Bb6[r]–Bb8[r]. Brunfels also called Lefèvre the Frenchman who knew the most about controversies: "Atq*ue* ideo tuo potissimum nomini inscripsi, ut qui circa controuersiam Gallorum omnium doctissimus es, non solum sub tuo nomine legatur liber, uerumetiam si quid in illo uel desyderetur, uel dictum sit ineptius, uel coheserit perperam, tuis adeo calculis uel damnet*ur*, uel censeatur" (sig. Bb7[r]). Brunfels clearly

a novelty, Brunfels pointed out, because the book was not a commentary but a consistent application of the Protestant principle of *sola scriptura* by virtue of presenting the pure text of Scripture without any notes.[607] The apostles did not have commentaries, Brunfels argued, and the sole reason the Jews do not believe in Jesus is that they depend on the rabbinical commentaries while neglecting to consult the pure word of the Scriptures.[608] That his own contemporaries were thrown into such a dense darkness of ignorance is explained by their perpetually relying on the works of scholars instead of scrutinizing Scripture itself.[609] Therefore, Brunfels asserted, most commentaries are wrong.[610]

The tenth chapter is a gathering of texts relating to the Four Last Things (death, judgement, Heaven, and Hell) and other issues of the afterlife.[611] The first title is *De resurrectione*, where the following texts are adduced: Job 19:25; Is. 26:19; Ez. 37:1–14; Zeph. 3:7–8; Mt. 22:31–32 and 25:31; Lk. 14:13–14; Jn. 5:21.25; Rom. 6:8; 1 Cor. 15; Phil. 3:20–21; Col. 3:4; 1 Thes. 4:14; Acts 23:6 and 24:15; and Rev. 20:6.[612] This list is followed by the references to those who denied the resurrection: Mt. 22:23; 1 Cor. 15:12; 2 Tim. 2:17–18; and Acts 23:8.[613] It should be pointed out that some of the passages in this list do not contain the term resurrection or any cognate of it at all

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mentioned the attack by Beda (see *supra* in n. 202 on p. 162), whom he called a stupid theologian without any erudition: "Quanq*uam* mouit quoque nonnihil & hoc, q*uod* uidebam que*n*dam Beda, thologum [*sic*] insultare tibi, hominem tam sine omni eruditione, ut deplorandus mihi potius uideatur q*uam* incessendus, cuius stultis atque ineptis commentis, in hoc quoq*ue* uolumine, sine ullis quidem ambagibus: uerum supplicibus tantum scripturis respondebitur: ut nisis prorsus animam non habeat, ipse possit agnoscere uictum se" (sig. Bb7^{r}).

607 "Si q*uid*e*m* quod hactenus multis Com*men*tarijs actu*m* est ab eruditis uiris, ut negotium euangelij confirmaretur, id nos sine ullis prorsus commentis, scripturis solis praestitimus" (Brunfels, *Pandectarum Veteris et Noui Testamenti*, sig. Bb6^{v}).

608 "Apostolos nihil commentarium habuisse. Iudæos nulla alia ratione Christo diffidere, quam q*uod* Rabinorum comme*n*tis abducti, scripturas non co*n*ferunt, neq*ue* metiuntur" (Brunfels, *Pandectarum Veteris et Noui Testamenti*, sig. Bb6^{v}).

609 "Nos pręter ea nulla alia caussa [*sic*] i*n* tam densissimas tenebras præcipitatos, qua*m* quod perpetuo scribaru*m* commentarijs nixi, rem potius ipsi scrutati non sumus" (Brunfels, *Pandectarum Veteris et Noui Testamenti*, sig. Bb6^{v}).

610 "Et ut dicam libere quod sentio [...] nephas est commentari. Non quod omnes quidem damnem commentarios, sed quod cuperem esse pauciores, & id sciam, ubi plurimum accesserit sensus humani, illic quoq*ue* uanitatis plurimum intercidere" (Brunfels, *Pandectarum Veteris et Noui Testamenti*, sig. Bb6^{v}).

611 *Liber Decimus. De quatuor nouissimis, Angelis, & animae immortalitate.* (Brunfels, *Pandectarum Veteris et Noui Testamenti*, pp. 279–96.)

612 Brunfels, *Pandectarum Veteris et Noui Testamenti*, pp. 279–80.

613 *Quaedam negant resurrectionem.* (Brunfels, *Pandectarum Veteris et Noui Testamenti*, p. 280.)

but speak about a (future) life (e.g. Jn. 5:25) and that some of them cannot refer logically to the general resurrection of the flesh at the end of the world (e.g. 2 Tim. 2:17–18).

At the end of the chapter Brunfels included a heading on the immortality of the soul (*Septimo. De Animæ immortalitate*).[614] Contrary to his general practice, here Brunfels judged it necessary to introduce the texts adduced under this heading with a few words that carry a clear anti-Jewish message. With the marginal note *Error Iudaicus*, Brunfels wrote that the immortality of soul can be proved by many texts of the Scripture, yet the Jews tell tales that these promises of God are only temporal, relating to this earthly life. But they talk nonsense, Brunfels added, because they err, not knowing the Scripture.[615] Interestingly, in his rebuttal of the Jews' questioning the immortality of the soul Brunfels alluded to Christ's words to the Sadducees about the question of resurrection (Mt. 22:29 *et par*). After his anti-Jewish remark, the Lutheran writer listed the following proof texts in favour of the immortality of the soul: Gen. 37:35; Num. 16:30; 1 Sam. 28:3–25 (with the remark that if Saul had not believed in 'the resurrection and immortality,' he would not have cared to resuscitate Samuel);[616] 2 Sam. 2:13; and 1 Kgs. 17:17–24 (with the remark that the resuscitated son of the widow must have been alive prior to the resuscitation, even if his flesh was dead).[617] The next proof is a general remark on the parlance of the OT: when the people passed away from

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[614] Brunfels, *Pandectarum Veteris et Noui Testamenti*, pp. 295–96. Other headings are: *Secundo de morte. Mors omnib. incumbit. & horror illius* (280), *Mors non timenda homini Christiano, sed viriliter subeunda pro nomine Christi* (282), *Non libenter quidam ex patribus mortui sunt* (283), *Etiam mali optant mori morte iustorum* (283), *Mors peccatorum & tyrannorum pessima, & horribilis semper fuit* (283), *Tertio, de iudicio domini, seu aduentu Christi ad iudicium. Aduentus domini ad iudicium certus* (286), *Dies Aduentus domini in iudicium incertus* (289), *Licet incertus sit iudicij dies, tamen semper expectandus* (289), *Christo datum est iudicium facere* (290), *Quarto, De vita beata. De gaudio fælicitatis æternæ* (290), *Quinto, de diabolo. Lucifer de cœlo præcipitatus* (292), *Diabolus non cessat die ac nocte infidiari nobis quærens quem deuoret* (292), *Diabolus non habet potestatem in quenquam, nisi Deus permittat* (293), *Diabolus mendax* (293), *Sexto, De Spiritibus & Angelis bonis ac malis. Spiritus quidam mali sunt* (293), *Angeli boni assistunt hominibus, & custodiunt eos* (294), *Angeli sunt nuncij dei & executores mandatorum eius* (295).

[615] "Animæ immortalitas ex multis scripturis probari potest, tametsi fabulentur Iudæi, omnes promissiones temporales esse, & huius uitæ, nihilq*ue* adeo meminisse deum de promissione uitæ futuræ. Id autem nugantur, quia errant, nescientes scripturas" (Brunfels, *Pandectarum Veteris et Noui Testamenti*, p. 295).

[616] "Saul nisi credidisset resurrectionem & immortalitatem, non curasset suscitari Samuelem" (Brunfels, *Pandectarum Veteris et Noui Testamenti*, p. 295).

[617] "Viuebat igitur, etiam carne mortuus" (Brunfels, *Pandectarum Veteris et Noui Testamenti*, p. 295).

this world, Scripture says that they slept (with their fathers); but if they sleep, Brunfels argues, then they are going to be raised and are not dead (cf. 1 Kgs. 1:21; 2:10; and 11:21).[618] The list of proof texts continues: Tob. 2:18; Eccl. 12:7; Wis. 5:14–15; Is. 14:4–41 (with the remark that the Babylonian king was surely defeated in the netherworld);[619] 2 Macc. 6:26; 7; and 14:46; and Mt. 10:28. The following proof text is Jesus' debate with the Sadducees in Matthew, listed with the remark that the Sadducees denied 'resurrection and immortality.'[620] Also, the parables of the wicked steward (Lk. 16:1–8) and Lazarus and the rich man (Lk. 16:19–31) prove the immortality of the soul, Brunfels stated.[621] The last four proofs are Rom. 7:24; 2 Cor. 5:1; Phil. 1:23; and Acts 7:59.

Although resurrection and immortality of the soul are seemingly two distinct concepts for Brunfels, it is not difficult to understand how anyone who had read Zwingli, Melanchthon, and Westheimer would discover in Brunfels' collection of proof texts and remarks a confirmation of the idea that the Hebrew and Greek original of the Latin term 'resurrectio' could refer to the immortality of the soul.

William Roye, Simon Fish, and William Tracy

At the end of the year 1527, just around the time when Joye probably arrived there, a tract of forty-eight unnumbered leaves was published in the city of Strasbourg.[622] The book, which became known as *A Brefe Dialoge*

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618 "Patres cu*m* migrauerun*t* de incolatu huius seculi, testatur scriptura de eis. Et dormiuit ille, uel cu*m* pa*t*ribus suis.&c. Si dormiunt, ergo resurrecturi, non mortui" (Brunfels, *Pandectarum Veteris et Noui Testamenti*, p. 295).

619 "In Esaia propheta cap. 14. describitur detrusio Nabuchodonozar ad inferos, ubi certe uicturus erat" (Brunfels, *Pandectarum Veteris et Noui Testamenti*, p. 296).

620 "Saducæi cum negarent resurrectionem & immortalitatem animæ, respondit eis Dominus. Non legistis quid scriptum sit?, Ego sum Deus Abraam, Isaac, & Deus Iacob. Non est Deus mortuorum, sed uiuentium.{Exod 3[,6]}" (Brunfels, *Pandectarum Veteris et Noui Testamenti*, p. 296).

621 "Parabolæ Domini de Lazaro & diuite, de uillico iniquitatis, indicant animae immortalitatem" (Brunfels, *Pandectarum Veteris et Noui Testamenti*, p. 296).

622 William Roye, *A Lytle treatous or dialoge very necessary for all christen men to learne and to knowe*, Argentine: Johann Schott, 1527. The work received its common name from the heading on B1^{r}: *A Brefe Dialoge bitwene a Christen Father and his stobborne Sone/ whom he wolde fayne brynge to the right vnder stondynge of a christen mans lyvynge*. Critical edition: William Roye, *A Brefe Dialoge bitwene a Christen Father and his stobborne Sonne: The First Protestant Catechism Published in English by William Roye*, eds. Douglas H. Parker & Bruce Krajewski, Toronto: UP, 1999. [Hereafter PK, *A Brefe Dialoge*]. On Joye's presence in Strasbourg, see supra on p. 19.

bitwene a Christen Father and his stobborne Sonne, was an English adaptation of Wolfgang Capito's (1478–1541) *De pueris instituendis*, which appeared earlier in the same year in the same city.[623] The adaptation was the work of the English Protestant Reformer William Roye, an apostate Franciscan Observant of the Greenwich house. Roye was born in Calais and was of Jewish descent.[624] He was a former collaborator of Tyndale who had helped Tyndale in Cologne and in Worms with the publication of his NT.[625] The tract was the first Protestant catechism ever to be published in English, providing a popular understanding of the New Learning in the vernacular, and only the fourth known Protestant publication in English.[626] Even if the claim on the jacket of the critical edition—that "the *Brefe Dialogue* electrified the spiritual imagination of English-speaking reform-minded believers as intensely as Tyndale's 1526 English New Testament"—is probably overstated, the book certainly formed a practical corollary to Tyndale's Lutheran translation of the NT in propagating the cause of the Reformation.[627] Roye started his preface *To the Right nobles Estates/ and*

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[623] Wolfgang Capito, *De pueris instituendis Ecclesiae Argentinensis Isagoge*, Argentorati: Köpfel, 1527. In German translation: *Kinderbericht und fragstuck von gemeynen puncten Christlichs glaubens*, Strasbourg: Köpfel, 1527.

[624] Roye's Jewish origin is called into question by some (see PK, *A Brefe Dialoge*, p. 12), but it is difficult to interpret Roye's following words other than a complaint about an anti-Semitic remark made about his late father by his adversaries in order to defame Roye himself: "Ye and where as they hade no thynge wheron to grounde theym selves agaynst vs/ they were nott aschamed faulcely to diffame theym/ which longe be fore that tyme were deed and rotten/ as my father. Thynkinge that defamynge of hym/ they shoulde qwenche and dercken the cleare and evident light of god [...] sayinge/ his father wolde eate noo porke/ what frute can soche a tre brynge forthe" (Roye, *A Lytle treatous or dialoge*, A1^{v}; PK, *A Brefe Dialoge*, p. 99.) On Roye and his work, see: Edward Arber, *The First Printed English New Testament Translated by William Tyndale*, London: s.n., 1871, pp. 27–36; Clebsch, *England's Earliest Protestants*, pp. 229–40; Anthea Hume, *William Roye's 'Brefe Dialoge' (1527). An English Version of a Strassburg Catechism*, in *HTR* 60 (1967), pp. 307–21; and the introduction by Parker and Krajewski: PK, *A Brefe Dialoge*, pp. 3–76.

[625] Entered as "Guilhelmus Roy ex landino," Roye matriculated in Wittenberg on 10 June 1525, approximately one year after Tyndale's alleged matriculation. (See *supra* on p. 14.) Smith suggested that they might have met there (*Album Academiae Vitenbergensis* I, p. 125, as cited by Smith, *Englishmen at Wittenberg in the Sixteenth Century*, p. 422).

[626] Hume and the introduction of the critical edition claim that it was the third (the first being Tyndale's 1526 Worms NT edition, and the second Tyndale's *A compendious introduccion/ prologe or preface vn to the pistle off Paul to the Romayns* (Worms, 1526), but they forget the abortive NT edition of Cologne (1525), of which the already printed sheets were published (Hume, *William Roye's 'Brefe Dialoge' (1527)*, p. 307; PK, *A Brefe Dialoge*, p. 3).

[627] Cf. Clebsch, who introduces the section on Roye, Jerome Barlowe, and Simon Fish with the following words: "A few men of rather more zeal than ability, apprentices who never became journeymen, enlisted in the early English Protestant literary endeavor led by Barnes, Frith, Tyndale and Joye. Often they helped, occasionally they hindered, the

to all wother of the toune of Cales with an advertisement for the Worms NT and recommended it be read, despite its suppression by "soche cruell/ and infame dogges."[628] He also urged the reader to read his own catechism, not only once but ten times, hoping that both "yonge and olde" would learn what "greate vniversites/ and notable Rabys knowe nott," i.e. the Gospel (understood in a Lutheran sense).[629]

The book is construed in the form of a dialogue between the Protestant father and his interested but 'stubborn' son.[630] Over the course of their dialogue the father introduces the son to the Lutheran doctrine of justification by faith, explains the Creed and the two sacraments (baptism and a spiritualized Eucharist in symbolic terms), advises his son on how to meditate on the Ten Commandments and how to pray the Lord's Prayer (again a spiritualistic interpretation), and offers practical tips on how to live a good Christian life. The book is seasoned with railings against pilgrimages, auricular confession, and the veneration of saints.

Expounding upon the articles of the Creed about Christ's death, burial, descent into Hell, and resurrection, the father explains that Christ died the same death as every other human, and that with Him Christians will also die and be buried, which can only be achieved if "we forsake all flesshely workes/ and soffre god only to worke in vs."[631] This, the true sanctification of the Sabbath, cannot be realized in the flesh, but only after death.[632] Christ descended into Hell in order "that all his therby shuld be delivered both from death and also hell."[633] To answer the son's question of in what

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cause." Yet he recognizes that "the most famous member of the outer circle of early English Protestant writers, and the one whose ability is most difficult to assess, was William Roy or Roye" (Clebsch, *England's Earliest Protestants*, p. 229).

628 "It is not vnknowne to you all my lordes/ and masters/ and all wother my singuler gode frendes and brethren in Christ/ howe that this last yere/ the newe testament of oure saveour/ was delyvered vnto you/ through the faythfull and diligent stody/ of one of oure nacion/ a man no doute/ ther vnto electe and chosen of God/ named William Hitchyns/ vnto whome I was (after the grace geven me of the lorde) as healpe felowe/ and parte taker of his laboures/ that every christen man/ myght therby heare and vnderstonde/ at home/ and in his owne housse/ the sprete of God speakynge therin/ and thorowe his holy apostels" (Roye, *A Lytle treatous or dialoge*, sig. A1^{v}; PK, *A Brefe Dialoge*, p. 99).

629 Roye, *A Lytle treatous or dialoge*, sig. A3^{r}; PK, *A Brefe Dialoge*, p. 100. "For good thynges ten tymes redde agayne please" (Roye, *A Lytle treatous or dialoge*, sig. A3^{v}; PK, *A Brefe Dialoge*, p. 101).

630 In Capito's original work the roles are just the other way. The Father poses questions of the catechism, and the son answers them according to his Protestant faith.

631 Roye, *A Lytle treatous or dialoge*, sig. C6^{r}; PK, *A Brefe Dialoge*, p. 120.

632 "For this is the halowynge of the Saboth daye which fyrst after this lyfe shalbe fulfild" (Roye, *A Lytle treatous or dialoge*, sig. C6^{r}; PK, *A Brefe Dialoge*, p. 120).

633 Roye, *A Lytle treatous or dialoge*, sig. C6^{r}; PK, *A Brefe Dialoge*, p. 120.

sense Christians can be called free from death, when Scripture also affirms that all persons have to die, the father replies by denying the mortality of the soul and claims that the souls enter heavenly bliss instantaneously upon death, despite the fact that they "slepe in the lorde" and "rest" until their resurrection.[634] Roye's words are undoubtedly made in reference to the doctrine of soul sleep as opposed to the immortality of the soul. Admittedly, Roye's words are somewhat misleading at a casual reading (cf. his terminology "slepe" and "rest"), yet it is clear that Roye thought of the soul's situation between death and resurrection as an active life, the beginning of the perpetual blissful life.[635] At the end of the world, all people will be judged and will be admitted to "life eternall" or to "perpetuall fyre of hell" according to God's predestination.[636]

It should be noted that Roye, not unlike Joye, was only a year later to suffer Tyndale's ingratitude and carping. While Roye regarded Tyndale as "the electe and chosen of God," Tyndale depicted Roye as dishonest and reckless. In the preface to *The parable of the wicked mammon*, Tyndale characterized Roye as "a man somewhat craftye when he cometh vnto new accoyntaunce and before he be thorow knowen and namely whe*n* all is spe*n*t."[637] Tyndale's remark that he could 'control' his helper

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[634] "Though christen menne slepe in the lorde. yett dye they not/ for the soule departynge out of this wretched body entreth immediatly into grett ioye and rest/ for remaynynge vntill that oure lorde shall a wake it agayne" (Roye, *A Lytle treatous or dialoge*, sig. C6^{r}; PK, *A Brefe Dialoge*, p. 120).

[635] "Christ is oure lyfe in whom yf we dwell withouten dout through mercy obtayned yn hyme/ we shall perpetually live/ and with hym arise agayne" (Roye, *A Lytle treatous or dialoge*, sig. C6$^{r–v}$; PK, *A Brefe Dialoge*, p. 120). The commentators of the critical edition have the following baffling remark: "A reference to the doctrine of soul-sleep as opposed to resurrection. [*sic*] The controversy over this issue arose between the reformers themselves, the most serious in England being between William Tyndale and George Joye. [. . .] The view represented in lines 713–716 [quoted here in this note and in n. 1185] would seem to support the soul-sleep doctrine, endorsed by both Zwingli and Joye" (PK, *A Brefe Dialoge*, pp. 200–01). The Latin original by Capito had the following dialogue: "P. Qui vero credis Carnis resurrectionem? F. Qui in domino hinc demigrant, in fide, hoc est, sinu Abrahae quiescunt, redemptionem corporis eorum expectantes, donec appetat iudicii dies, Rom.8. Tum gloria Dei, tam diu et tantopere desyderata, revelabitur in nobis, creaturae a servitute corruptionis liberabuntur. Mali iuxta ac boni resurgent in carne, mortaleque, si in nobis reliquum est, a vita absorbebitur." The following question is about eternal life. In his answer the son affirms that "translati vero in aliam vitam, liberi erimus et a peccato et morte, victuri semper in Deo. Contra impii, ubi vitae huius umbra evanuerit, in ipsam mortem transferentur" (PK, *A Brefe Dialoge*, p. 282).

[636] Roye, *A Lytle treatous or dialoge*, sig. C7^{v}; PK, *A Brefe Dialoge*, p. 122.

[637] Tyndale, *The parable of the wicked mammon*, sig. A2^{r}.

only as long as Roye was penniless is interesting for two reasons.[638] (1) It betrays Tyndale's feeling of superiority: apparently Tyndale did not treat his co-worker as equal to him but thought that it was his business to 'rule' Roye.[639] (2) Tyndale's remark also reveals his interest in financial matters. Tyndale also intimated that as soon as he could get rid of Roye, Tyndale dismissed him with the hope of never seeing him again.[640] And speaking about a rhyming lampoon on Cardinal Wolsey, the Church, and the Eucharist authored by Roye and Jerome Barlowe that was published in the same year, Tyndale announced that Roye "whose to*n*ge is able not only to make foles sterke madde/ but also to disceave the wisest that is at the fyrst sight a*n*d accoyntaunce [...] set him [i.e. Barlowe] a werke to make rimes/ while he him selfe translated a dialoge out of laten in to englisch."[641]

It is evident that "Tyndale recalled the association with bitterness and calumny."[642] Clebsch accurately observed that Tyndale took the same "stance of injured superiority that he later assumed toward Joye" because Tyndale had the impression that Roye "had both tricked Barlowe and betrayed Tyndale."[643] Since Tyndale knew that the English authorities, on the basis of reports from Cochlaeus and Rinck, identified Roye as one of two Englishmen who printed the NT in Cologne and Worms, Tyndale feared that Roye's activities would bring him into discredit through guilt

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638 "As longe as he had money/ somewhat I could ruele hi*m*. but as sone as he had goten him money/ he became lyke him self agayne" (Tyndale, *The parable of the wicked mammon*, sig. A2^{r-v}).

639 Cf. also Tyndale's supercilious remark: "And when he had stored him of money he gote him to Argentine where professeth wonderfull faculties and maketh bost of no small thinges" (Tyndale, *The parable of the wicked mammon*, sig. A2^{r}). This condescending attitude cannot be explained by Tyndale's alleged superior linguistic abilities. Roye's command of languages is attested to by a letter from two former confreres of Roye dated 12 June 1529, who refer to Roye as "sometime the familiar of our convent at Richmond" who "does speak all manner of languages" (cited in *CWTM* VIII/3, p. 1159). Roye, when he emphasized the importance of the knowledge of the three biblical languages, seems clearly to have spoken from experience: "Thou mayst in maner with one laboure learne as moche greke and hebrewe with thy laten/ as shall suffyse. For one tonge healpeth/ and garnesseth another. Insomoche that by theym a manne sone maye come to the trewe meanynge and intent off the authoure. and obtayne a profownde iudgement in all thynges" (Roye, *A Lytle treatous or dialoge*, G3^{v}; PK, *A Brefe Dialoge*, p. 158).

640 "Never the lesse I suffered all thinges till y*t* was e*n*ded which I coulde nor doo alone without one both to write & to helpe me to co*m*pare y*e* textes to gether. Whe*n* that was ended I toke me leve a*n*d bode him farewell for oure two lyves/ a*n*d as me*n* saye a daye lo*n*ger" (Tyndale, *The parable of the wicked mammon*, sig. A2^{v}).

641 Tyndale, *The parable of the wicked mammon*, sig. A3^{r}.

642 Clebsch, *England's Earliest Protestants*, p. 230.

643 Clebsch, *England's Earliest Protestants*, p. 230.

by association.[644] Therefore, Tyndale, who deemed himself to be the Apostle of England, warned his readers with the following fitting simile: "Let it not offende the that some walke inordinatly let not the wickednes of Judas cause the to despice the doctrine of his fellows."[645] In 1529 *A proper dyaloge/ betwene a Gentillman and a husbandman* and another volume, which contained the English translation of Erasmus' *Paraclesis* and a translation of Luther's commentary on 1 Cor. 7, were published by "Hans Luft in Marburg" (*vere* Antwerp: Merten de Keyser).[646] The first work has

644 Cf. Clebsch, *England's Earliest Protestants*, p. 231. Cochlaeus later recounted the story of the abortive printing of Tyndale's NT in Cologne in his *Commentaria de Actis et scriptis Martini Lutheri* (St-Victor near Mainz: Francis Behem, September 1549). Cochlaeus only mentioned two English apostates who had been in Wittenberg (*Duo Angli Apostatæ, qui aliquandiu fueant Vuittenbergæ*) and who wanted to print and hide the copies of a Lutheran NT in English among other merchandise and to smuggle them secretly into England (*occulte sub alijs mercibus deueherent inde in Angliam*) (pp. 132–35. For a more detailed account, see: Juhász, Cat. 93, pp. 149–51). Cochlaeus' two earlier (shorter) reports of the same story are similarly vague (Cochlaeus, *An expediat laicis, legere Noui Testamenti libros lingua vernacula?*, Dresden, vi. Idus Junij [=10 June] 1533, sig. A^{6}, and Cochlaeus, *Scopa [. . .] in araneas Richardi Morysini Angli*, Lipsiæ, March 1538, sig. B2). In a letter by Hermann Rinck, a senator of Cologne, whom Cochlaeus had approached to take measures against the plans of the two Englishmen, the names of Tyndale and Roye are mentioned in connection with the Worms NT. The letter is dated 4 October 1528 and is written to Wolsey, who apparently had asked Rinck to buy up everywhere books printed in English and to arrest Tyndale and Roye ("Literæ gratiæ vestra ad me [. . .] de commercandis undique libris Anglica lingua excussis, et de capiendis Roy et Huckynck"). Rinck wrote that they had not been seen in Frankfurt since Easter and the market after Lent (April 1528), and that he did not even know if they were still alive, but he would do everything in his power to arrest them ("Insuper et summa opera curabo in prædictis Roy et Huckyng cæterisque regiæ gratiæ et vestræ æmulis et rebeltionibus, tum capiendis, tum ubi locorum agant, percipiendo"). He also reported that he questioned Johannes Schott (the publisher of Roye), and Schott had no knowledge of their whereabouts but had told Rinck that their books were pawned to the Jews of Frankfurt. Rinck reported that he had seized all of the books, but he not only had to pay the pawning costs to the Jews but also had to provide remuneration for the paper and the work of the printer. He also intimated that if he had not discovered them and interfered, the books would have been shipped to England and Scotland, hidden in paper covers and packed in ten bundles covered with linen so that they would not incite suspicion, under the guise that they were destined to be sold as blank paper. Rinck was confident that none or only very few books were sold that way. ("Debeant autem libri ipsi, (nisi percepissem et intervenissem) in thecas chartaceas compingi et occultari et decem inclusas sarcinis, lino obductis, callide et sine omni suspicione, per mare, tempore transmitti in Schotiam et Angliam, ut ibidem ac sola et nuda papirus venderetur, sed admodum paucos aut nullos transvectos vel venditos puto."). Rinck's letter was published in: Arber, *The First Printed English New Testament*, pp. 32–36. On the Cologne printing, see: Guido Latré, *William Tyndale: Reformer of a Culture, Preserver of a Language, Translator for the Ploughboy*, and Cat. 92 in *TT*, pp. 11–23 and 148–49. See also *supra* on p. 14.

645 Tyndale, *The parable of the wicked mammon*, sig. A3^{v}.

646 Jerome Barlowe & William Roye, *A proper dyaloge/ betwene a Gentillman and a husbandman/ eche complaynynge to other their miserable calamite/ through the ambicion of the clergye*, Marburg: Hans Luft [*vere* Antwerp: Merten de Keyser], 1529; William Roye

been ascribed with much probability to the joint efforts of Jerome Barlowe and William Roye, and the second to Roye alone.[647] If these ascriptions are correct, then Roye and Barlowe were issuing their tracts at the same press Tyndale was using at the same time.[648] This, according to Clebsch, could suggest that "Tyndale's temper may have cooled somewhat since he had vowed lifelong separation from Roy in 1528."[649]

In early 1529, a little over a year after Roye's *Brefe Dialoge*, an anonymous pamphlet called *Supplicacyon for the Beggers* appeared from the press of the Antwerp printer Johannes Grapheus (fl. 1520–69). The booklet amounted to only a few pages, but its importance can hardly be underestimated.[650] And although its author intended to write a (mainly) political tract, the book gained its importance due to a couple of lines bearing doctrinal importance on the Catholic teaching on Purgatory. The author was a certain Simon Fish, an Oxford graduate and amateur actor who went to London around 1525 and entered Gray's Inn, where he became one of the most important dealers of Tyndale's NTs.[651] He was denounced as a heretic, fled to the Continent in 1527, and died in the plague of 1531.[652] In his satire of the Church and religious practice of his age, Fish called upon "the King Ovre souereygne lorde" to take measures against the unruly members of the Church, the minions of Satan. Fish "most lamentably compleyneth" that the "wofull mysery" of "lepres, and other sore people, nedy, impotent, blinde, lame, and sike" did not receive the generous "almesse" given by "all the weldisposed people" of Henry's realm because of the "Bisshops, Abbottes, Priours, Deacons, Archedeacons, Suffraganes, Prestes, Monkes, Chanons, Freres, Pardoners and Somners," who "haue gotten ynto theyre hondes more then the therd part of

(trans.), *An exhortation to the diligent studye of scripture. An exposition in to the seventh chaptre of the first pistle to the Corinthians*, Marburg: Hans Luft [*vere* Antwerp: Merten de Keyser], 1529.

647 Clebsch, *England's Earliest Protestants*, pp. 236–37; PK, *A Brefe Dialoge*, p. 17.

648 Cf. *supra* on p. 15.

649 Clebsch, *England's Earliest Protestants*, p. 237.

650 Simon Fish, *Supplicacyon for the Beggers*, Antwerp: Joannes Grapheus, 1529. That the book was taken seriously is proved by the fact that it was considered dangerous enough to be put on the list of forbidden books in England and to generate a lengthy reaction by Sir Thomas More. Although there is no reliable evidence for it, Henry VIII might have read the book. (In his martyrology Foxe has preserved two different accounts of how the King became familiar with Fish's pamphlet.)

651 On Simon Fish, see: Clebsch, *England's Earliest Protestants*, pp. 240–51.

652 After his death, his wife married James Bainham, who was executed as a heretic in 1532. (Lester Warren Fish, *The Fish Family in England and America. Genealogical and Biographical Records and Sketches*, Rutland (VT): Tuttle, 1948, p. 15).

all youre Realme" and steal the money from the poor "by probates of testamentes, priuy tithes, and by mennes offeringes to theyre pilgremages, and at theyre first masses."[653] Therefore, Fish claimed, the wealth and legal autonomy of the Church were the cause of much social tension and moral corruption. The greediness of the Church is the cause of the poverty of the people, and consequently of all of the difficulties to levy "taxes, fiftenes and subsidies" by the King, which Henry "most tenderly of great compassion hath taken emong your people to defend theim from the thretened ruine of theire comon welth."[654] Accordingly, Fish appealed to the monarch to make them 'obedient' by subordinating the hierarchy of the Church ("this vnkind idell sort") to himself.[655] One of the tricks of the clergy to extract the money from the people was the Catholic teaching on Purgatory, Fish asserted, which maintained that only by the prayers of the clergy and by the pardon of the Pope can souls be freed from Purgatory.[656] Yet Purgatory had been questioned by knowledgeable persons who had risked their reputation by claiming that the Catholic teaching had no scriptural basis and was invented as a false device by the Church to rob the commonwealth.[657] If Purgatory existed, Fish argued, and if the Pope had the power to liberate the souls from Purgatory, then the Pope is a cruel tyrant because he could liberate everyone from there out of charity, but he only liberates those who pay for it.[658]

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653 Fish, *Supplicacyon for the Beggers*, fo. 1r.

654 Fish, *Supplicacyon for the Beggers*, fo. 2r.

655 Fish's repeated use of the term 'obedient' throughout the pamphlet is a clear allusion to Tyndale's *Obedience* (see *supra* on p. 15). Cf. *CWTM* VII, pp. lxvii–lxx *passim*.

656 "Nether haue they eny other coloure to gather these yerely exaccions ynto theyre hondes but that they sey they pray for vs to God to delyuer our soules out of the paynes of purgatori without whose prayer they sey or at lest without the popes pardon we coude neuer be deliuered thens, whiche if it be true then is it good reason that we gyue theim all these thinges all were it C times as moche" (Fish, *Supplicacyon for the Beggers*, fo. 6r).

657 "But there be many men of greate litterature and iudgement that for the love they haue vnto the trouth and vnto the comen welth haue not feared to put theim silf ynto the greatest infamie that may be, in abiection in this matter, whiche is that there is no purgatory but that it is a thing inuented by the couitousnesse of the spiritualtie onely to translate all kingdomes from other princes vnto theim and that there is not one word spoken of hit in all holy scripture" (Fish, *Supplicacyon for the Beggers*, fo. 6r).

658 "They say also that if there were purgatory, and also if that the pope with his pardons for money may deliuer one soule thens: he may deliuer him aswel without money: if he may deliuer one soule thens: he deliuer a thousand: yd he may deliuer a thousand he may deliuer theim all, and so destroy purgatory. And then is he a cruell tyraunt without all charite if he kepe theim there in pryson and in paine till men will giue him money" (Fish, *Supplicacyon for the Beggers*, fo. 6r).

The third pamphlet that receives our attention in this section was written by someone who probably had no intention of achieving any fame during his lifetime, let alone after his death. Yet it was his testament that made William Tracy famous.[659] Tracy, a Gloucestershire man like Tyndale, died shortly after his testament (dated 10 October 1530) was drawn up. Two years later, however, his body was exhumed by Thomas Parker, vicar general of the bishop of Worcester, and burned as that of a heretic.[660] All this was done on account of the fact that in his testament Tracy forbade payments for masses for his soul, supported by his belief that faith in Christ is the sole means of justification.[661] Tracy's testament also contained his confession of his faith in the remission of his sins by Christ's merits through His death and resurrection, and expressed his hope in the resurrection, founded on Job 19:25–27.[662] Tracy used the peculiar formulation "resurrection of bodye and soule," which, seen in the light of Luther's doctrine of soul sleep, caused problems to the effect that Tracy would have believed in the mortality of the soul, but this cannot be established

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659 On Tracy's testament see: John Craig & Caroline Litzenberger, *Wills as Religious Propaganda. The Testament of William Tracy*, in *JEH* 44 (1993), pp. 415–31; Caroline Litzenberger, *Official Religious Policy in Gloucestershire (1541–1580)*, Cambridge Ph.D. thesis, 1993; John T. Day, *William Tracy's Posthumous Legal Problems*, in John A.R. Dick & Anne Richardson (eds.), *William Tyndale and the Law*, (Sixteenth-Century Essays & Studies 25), Kirksville: SCJ Press, 1994, pp. 103–13.

660 Tracy's son, Richard Tracy, sued Parker for the exhumation and disgrace of the body of his father, and the vicar general was fined £300 (Clebsch, *England's Earliest Protestants*, p. 107). Tracy's will was found among Tyndale's belongings at the time of his arrest. The exhumation of Tracy's body in 1532 would became the subject of one of Tyndale's posthumously published works.

661 "And as towching the wealth of my sowle/ *ye* fayth yt I haue and rehersed/ is sufficient (as I suppose) w*ith* out any other mannis worke/ or workes/ My gronnde & my belefe is/ that ther is but one god & one mediatour betwene god & man/ whiche is Jesus christ. So that I do except none in heauen nor in earth to be my mediatoure betwene me and god/ but onely Jesus Christ/ al other be but petitioners in receyui*n*g of grace/ but none able to geue influence of grace. And therfore wil I bestowe no part of my goodes for that intent that any man shulde saye/ or do/ to healp my soule for therin I trust onely to the promyse of god/ he that beleueth and is baptyzed shalbe saued/ and he that beleueth not shalbe damned/ marcke the last chapter" (William Tracy, *The Testament of master Wylliam Tracie esquier/ expounded both by William Tindall and Ihon Frith. Wherin thou shalt perceyue with what charitie ye chaunceler of worcetter Burned and made asshes of hit after hit was buried*, 1535 [*vere* Antwerp: Merten de Keyser, 1536], sig. A3$^{r–v}$).

662 "First/ and before all other thinge, I commyt me vnto God/ and to his mercye/ trustinge with owt any dowte or mistrust/ that by his grace and the merytes of Jesus Christ/ and by the vertue of his passion/ and of his resurrection, I haue and shall haue remission of my synnes/ and resurrection of bodye and soule/ accordinge as hit is written Job. xix. I beleue that my redeamer lyueth/ and that in the last day I shall ryse owte of the erth/ and in my flesh shal see my sauiour/ this my hope is layde vp in my bosome" (Tracy, *The Testament of master Wylliam Tracie*, sig. A3^{r}).

unequivocally on the basis of his testament.[663] For obvious reasons, the testament became extremely popular among English Protestants, and by 1531, only a year after Tracy's obscure death, the possession of a copy of his testament "had become part of a standard litany of evidence of heresy."[664]

John Fisher and the Defenders of Purgatory

It was only three and a half years after the appearance of Luther that the English Church took open steps to repudiate the teachings of the German Reformer.[665] The first such public performance was a sermon to refute Luther, delivered at St Paul's Cross on 12 May 1512 by John Fisher, bishop of Rochester (1504–35) and former Chancellor of the University of Cambridge (1504–14).[666] In his sermon the bishop focused on the operation

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[663] See *infra* on p. 274.

[664] Day, *William Tracy's Posthumous Legal Problems*, p. 108. Cf. "In any case, whether printed or copied by hand, Tracy's will, because of its brevity, because it was in English, and because it so boldly asserted salvation through faith alone and the uselessness of masses for the dead, became, within six months of its presentation in the ecclesiastical court, a 'sacred text' and prima facie evidence of heresy" (*ibid.* p. 107). "Tracy's confession was used in their wills by people of evangelical persuasion as far as mid-Suffolk and Yorkshire: some of the best evidence we have of a kind of jungle telegraph in action in these early stages of the English Reformation" (Patrick Collinson, *William Tyndale and the Course of the English Reformation*, in *Reformation* 1 (1996), pp. 72–97). See also: Donald Dean Smeeton, *Lollard Themes in the Reformation Theology of William Tyndale*, (SCES 6), Kirksville: SCJ, 1984, p. 69.

[665] Cecilia A. Hatt, *English Works of John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester (1469–1535). Sermons and Other Writings 1520–1535*, Oxford: UP, 2002, p. 48.

[666] John Fisher, *The sermon of Iohan the bysshop of Rochester made/ agayn the pernicious doctryn of Martin luther within the octaues of the ascensyon by the assingnement of the most reuerend fader in god the lord Thomas Cardinal of Yorke and Legate ex latere from our holy father the pope*, Wynkyn de Worde, 1521. Critical edition: Hatt, *English Works of John Fisher*, pp. 77–144. Tyndale made several references to Fisher's preaching at St Paul's Cross, randomly scattered over twenty-three pages in his *The obedience of a Christen man* (fos. 60^{v}–72^{v}). David Daniell, mistakenly believing that Tyndale's references hinted at a later sermon by the bishop, thought that Tyndale's "23 page section" was "a grand refutation. Under it Fisher looks not just wrong, but small" (Daniell, *William Tyndale*, p. 235). Besides the fact that Tyndale had no intention of systematically refuting Fisher, "the picture [Tyndale] paints in the *Obedience*, of a rabidly furious prelate, soused in malice, sorts oddly with the patiently pacific tone of Fisher's letter introducing [Fisher's later] sermon. Nor does it readily harmonize with the bishop's known character, and this, oddly enough, may be part of the reason for Tyndale's splenetic comments" (Hatt, *English Works of John Fisher*, p. 55). Hatt calls Daniell's remark "a judgement which surely stretches partisanship to breaking-point" (Hatt, *English Works of John Fisher*, p. 54, n. 26). Tyndale abused Fisher in other works, too. In his *Obedience*, Tyndale described the bishop as "Rochester both abhominable & shamelesse: yee a*n*d sterke mad with pure malice/ & so abased in y*e* braines/ of spite that he ca*n* not overcome the trouth that he seith not or rather careth

of the Holy Spirit in the world through the Church, especially through the successor of Peter; but the principal subjects of Luther (the supreme authority of Scripture and justification by faith) were treated only as topics of minor importance.[667] King Henry VIII joined the polemics with his *Assertio Septem Sacramentorum*, confirming papal authority and the validity of indulgences.[668]

Fisher's voluminous *Assertionis Lutheranae Confutatio* came out in Antwerp in 1523.[669] He reacted to Luther's rejection of the Pope's authority to grant indulgences systematically and refuted all forty-one articles of Luther's *Assertio*.[670] The bishop's book contained numerous mentions of Purgatory in various articles (4, 17, and 18 on indulgences, and 37–40 addressing the question of Purgatory itself). Although Fisher recognized that the teaching on Purgatory was not accepted by the Eastern Church and that the early Church Fathers do not mention it frequently, he insisted that the existence of Purgatory cannot be called into question.[671] The silence of the early Church on Purgatory is explained by the fervour of the Church Fathers to do penance for their sins during their earthly life, and only when the fear of the pains of Purgatory diminished did the

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not what he saith" (Tyndale, *The obedie[n]ce of a Christen man*, sig. I1^{r}). According to Hatt, these "impassioned, if unspecific, accusations [...], the often disingenuous objections to the bishop's terminology or his quotations and the rather inept facetiousness are of more psychological than theological value" (Hatt, *English Works of John Fisher*, p. 55). On Fisher's life and theology, see also: Edward Surtz, *The Works and Days of John Fisher. An Introduction to the Position of St. John Fisher (1469–1535), Bishop of Rochester*, in *The English Renaissance and the Reformation*, Cambridge (MA): Harvard UP, 1967; Richard Rex, *The Theology of John Fisher*, Cambridge: UP, 1991.

667 Cf. Hatt, *English Works of John Fisher*, p. 63.

668 On Henry's book, see: Arblaster, Cat. 71 in *TT*, pp. 71–73; Juhász & Tournoy, Cat. 18 in *TT*, pp. 73–74. See also: Basil Hall, *Early Rise and Gradual Decline of Lutheranism in England (1520–1600)*, in Derek Baker (ed.), *Reform and Reformation. England and the continent c. 1550–c. 1750. FS Clifford W. Dugmore*, (Studies in Church History. Subsidia 2), Oxford: Blackwell, 1979, pp. 111–12 and *passim*.

669 The popularity of Fisher's book can be illustrated by the fact that the tract saw nineteen editions up to 1564, and a German translation was reprinted four times before 1536. (Hatt, *English Works of John Fisher*, p. 10). I have used the following edition from the Opera: John Fisher, *Assertionis Lutheranae Confutatio*, in *Ioannis Fischerii Roffensis in Anglia Episcopi Opera, quae hactenus inveniri potuerunt omnia, singulari studio diligenter conquisita, partim antea quidem excusa, nunc autem sedulo recognita; partim iam primum in lucem edita*, Würzburg: Apud Georgium Fleischmannum, 1597.

670 See *supra* on p. 168.

671 "Nemo certè [...] iam dubitat orthodoxus, an purgatorium sit, dequo tamen apud priscos illos, nulla, vel quàm rarissima fiebat mentio. Sed & Græcis ad hunc vsque diem, non est creditum purgatorium esse. Legat qui velit Græcorum veterum commentarios, & nullum quantum opinor, aut quàm rarissimum de purgatorio sermonem inveniet" (Fisher, *Assertionis Lutheranae Confutatio*, col. 496).

institution of indulgences start.[672] Yet the Church Fathers are not the ultimate authority on matters of faith, the bishop pointed out, for the Church has not approved every single tenet of the Church Fathers, nor has it accepted every article written by Thomas Aquinas, as their human nature is often manifested in their writings and they do err.[673] To Luther's assertion that Purgatory lacks a scriptural basis, Fisher replied that even if that is the case, the existence of Purgatory has always been held by all Christians, and the ancient custom of the Church of praying for the souls of the dead proves this. Augustine had already used this argument, Fisher pointed out, after having proved the existence of Purgatory by biblical arguments.[674] For Scripture does contain teaching about Purgatory, but the places have to be interpreted in the same spirit as the Church interprets them—"secundum orthodoxorum interpretationem," because heretics use the same passages but attribute a different meaning to them.[675] Besides Augustine, other Church Fathers (Chrysostom, Gregory the Great, Jerome, and Ambrose) also found biblical foundations for the teaching, especially in Mt. 12:32 and 1 Cor. 3:11–15.[676] More proof of Purgatory can be found in 1 Jn. 5:16, with its distinction between sins that lead to death and those that do not. Both Phil. 2:20 and Rev. 5:13 speak about the praise

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672 "Cœperunt igitur indulgentiæ, postquam ad purgatorij cruciatus aliquandiu trepidatum erat. Tunc enim credibile est sanctos patres accuratiùs cogitasse, quibus modis aduersus illos cruciatus, suis gregibus consulere potuissent, & ijs præsertim, quibus ætas non sufficeret, ad complendam per canones institutam pœnitentiam" (Fisher, *Assertionis Lutheranae Confutatio*, col. 497).

673 "Hæc tua similitudo nequaquam adamussim quadrat, nempe de doctrinæ, & de sanctitatis comprobatione. Neque enim vniuersam doctrinam Thomæ. Pontifex ita comprobauit, vt singula (quæ scripsit) vera esse credantur. Imo nec Augustini, nec Hieronymi, nec alterius cuiuslibet auctoris doctrinæ sic Ecclesia subscripsit, quin aliquot locis ab eis liceat dissentire. Nam in nonnullis ipsi locis se planè monstrarunt homines esse, atque nonnunquam aberrasse" (Fisher, *Assertionis Lutheranae Confutatio*, col. 728).

674 "Tametsi non possit ex scripturis probari purgatorium, veritas eius nihilominus Christianis cunctis credenda est & maximè cum ex Ecclesiæ vetustissima consuetudine, pro defunctorum animabus, quæ in purgatorio esse creduntur, commemoratio specialis à Sacerdotibus in missa fieri consueuit. Propter quod & Augustinus libro dè cura pro mortuis agenda, postquàm ostenderit ex scriptura, prodesse defunctis ea suffragia, quæ post mortem eorum fiunt, docet nihilo minus eius rei sufficientem probationem capi posse, ex longa totius ecclesiæ consuetudine" (Fisher, *Assertionis Lutheranae Confutatio*, col. 717). For Augustine, see *supra* on p. 99.

675 "Principio tamen illud firmum sit oportet, vt dissidentibus nobis de vero scripturæ sensu, ille verus habendus est, quem iudex Ecclesiæ catholicæ constitutus, pro genuino sensu potissimum interpretabitur. […] Nam hæreticus alium sæpenumero de scripturis sensum colligit, quàm orthodoxus" (Fisher, *Assertionis Lutheranae Confutatio*, cols. 718–19).

676 For Chrysostom, Gregory the Great, Jerome, and Ambrose see *supra* on pp. 96, 106, 93, and 94, respectively.

of God by those in the netherworld, which, Fisher argued, cannot be Hell, only Purgatory. But Jesus' own words in the parable about poor Lazarus and the rich man (Lk. 16:19–31) and in Mt. 12:36 prove the existence of Purgatory beyond any doubt.[677] When Ps. 65:12 speaks about passing through fire and water, this refers not only to the martyrs (as in Luther's interpretation), but also to the souls in Purgatory.[678] Augustine understood Paul's words in 1 Cor. 3 as transitional fire, Fisher argued, which purged the minor sins. This fire was more painful than any pain that one can feel or even imagine on earth.[679] Further, Fisher denied Luther's alleged assertions that the souls in Purgatory are uncertain of their future destination (art. 38), that souls in Purgatory sin incessantly (art. 39), and that souls liberated from Purgatory by the prayers of the living would enjoy less bliss than if they had themselves provided satisfaction for their sins (art. 40).[680]

Fisher had previously touched upon Purgatory in one of two sermons he preached publicly in 1521.[681] These were published by John Rastell only in 1532, as *Two fruytfull Sermons*.[682] In the first sermon, preached on the Feast of All Saints, Fisher concentrated on the fate of the dead and the spiritual solidarity between the Church Militant, the Church Triumphant, and the Church Suffering in the form of prayers for the intercession of the saints and for the relief of the souls in Purgatory.[683] His purpose was to

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677 With the parable of Lazarus and the rich man Fisher proved that there are some people who are already in Heaven, and some who are in Hell. But it is not credible, he argued, that all those who are not cast into Hell should enter right away into Heaven without any purgation from their venial sins: "Nec est credibile, quod ij omnes, qui non fuerint in gehennam coniecti, quòd euestigio migrauerint in caelum. Quamobrem & interea pro voluptatibus venialibus, quibus in hac vita plusculum quam par fuit, indulserunt, molestias aliquas oportet subeant, quibus emaculentur & expientur, dignique reddantur illa caelesti civitate in quam (vti n Apoca. [21,27] traditur) nihil intrabit coinquinatum" (Fisher, *Assertionis Lutheranae Confutatio*, col. 720).

678 Fisher, *Assertionis Lutheranae Confutatio*, col. 721. Cf. Ambrose *supra* on p. 94.

679 See *supra* p. 99.

680 Fisher, *Assertionis Lutheranae Confutatio*, cols. 729–41.

681 For the dating of the sermons, see: Hatt, *English Works of John Fisher*, pp. 211–18.

682 John Fisher, *Here after ensueth two fruytfull Sermons, made and compyled by the ryght Reuerende father in God Iohan Fyssher/ Doctour of Dyuynyte and Bysshop of Rochester*, London: W[illiam]. Rastell [for] Peter Treuerys, the xxviii. day of June/ the yere of our lorde. M.CCCCC.xxxij. Critical edition: Hatt, *English Works of John Fisher*, pp. 226–288 [hereafter: Hatt].

683 "Now for this day, because it is the feest of all sayntes, it is conuenyent somwhat to speke of the soueraygne Ioyes and pleasures which be aboue in the kyngdome of heuyn/ where these blessed Sayntes be present now with our sauyour Chryst. And for asmoche also as many blessed soules whiche are ordeyned to come thyder into the same kyngedome, be let and taryed by the way in the greuouese paynes of Purgatory (of whome the chyrche as to morow maketh specyall remembraunce): we shall also by the grace of God

exhort his audience so that upon their death his hearers would not have to be 'imprisoned' in Purgatory but could enter heavenly bliss immediately.[684] Fisher turned to Augustine's commentary on Genesis for inspiration, which he repeatedly quoted.[685] The bishop took Mt. 5:20 (Vg: *Nisi abundauerit iustitia vestra plus quam Scribarum et Pharisaeorum non intrabitis in regnum caelorum*; in Fisher's translation: "Oneles your ryghtwyse lyfe be more habundaunt than was the lyuynge of the Scribes and Pharisees, ye shall nat entre into the kyngdome of heuyn.")[686] as the text for his sermon, although it appears only a few verses after the gospel of the day (the Beatitudes, Mt. 5:1–12).[687] Having compared the heavenly bliss with the pleasures of this world and having underlined the exceeding superiority of the joys of Heaven, in which "nat a seuen or eyght thousandes, but many hundred thousandes, ye many thousandes thousandes [...] of blessyd sayntes, Patryarkes, Prophetes, Apostels, Martyres, Confessours, vyrgyns, wydowes, and such as haue trewly kept theyr bonde of matrymony" are partakers, Fisher turned to the "other blessed soules which lykewyse be departed out of this myserable worlde/ but they for theyr dettes lye now deteyned in the pryson of Purgatory."[688] Quoting Augustine, Fisher claimed that "the fyre of Purgatory is more greuouse than any maner of payne that can be sene in this worlde, or felte, or yet thought" and that the souls in this hellish pain "crye vnto vs for helpe."[689] There are "manyfold bondes," Fisher maintained, between the souls in Purgatory and his own audience. The souls in Purgatory are part of the same Church—they share the same faith, hope, and charity; they share the same Saviour and the same Father;

somwhat speke of the greuouse paynes which be there" (Fisher, *Here after ensueth two fruytfull Sermons*, sig. A2^{r-v}. Hatt, p. 226). The other sermon, delivered on the First Sunday of Advent, concentrated on the duties and needs of the Church Militant (e.g. how temptation should be dealt with, the operation of free will), and the two other facets of the Church, namely—the Church Suffering and the Church Triumphant—are only present in an abstract way. See: HATT, *English Works of John Fisher*, pp. 218–19.

684 "As concernynge our owne soules, which as yet be abydynge in this worlde: we may by te remembraunce of bothe those two places, somwhat quyckem and styre theym so to lyue here, that after our departure hence we be nat arested by the waye, and so cast into the pryson of Purgatory, but streyght to be receuyd into that moost gloryouse place and kingdom of Heuyn, whithouten any great delayes" (Fisher, *Here after ensueth two fruytfull Sermons*, sig. A2^{v}, Hatt, p. 226).

685 HATT, pp. 219–20 and 254–88 *passim*. For Augustine's commentary see: *supra* on p. 99.

686 Fisher, *Here after ensueth two fruytfull Sermons*, sig. A2^{r}, Hatt, p. 226.

687 HATT, *English Works of John Fisher*, p. 220.

688 Fisher, *Here after ensueth two fruytfull Sermons*, sigs. B3^{r}–B4^{r}, Hatt, pp. 231–32.

689 Fisher, *Here after ensueth two fruytfull Sermons*, sig. C2^{r}, Hatt, p. 234. See *supra* p. 99.

and they even shared the same sacraments during their earthly life—and they can now be helped by the prayers of the living. This is profitable for both parties involved because prayers help not only the souls in Purgatory but "our owne profyte and our owne welth hangeth therby."[690] Fisher accentuated the personal responsibility of the individual in the process of salvation: Christ "dyd shede all the precyouse blode of his moost noble and blessed body" for every soul, so the penitent would apply Christ's merits wilfully for his or her own salvation during his or her earthly life and trust in the prayers of others after his or her death.[691]

Fisher was not alone in his concern about defending the Catholic doctrine of Purgatory: the Protestants' rejection of it prompted many other Catholic apologists to defend its existence and to show that it is a biblical teaching also attested to copiously by the Church Fathers. Best known among them was Johann Eck, whose *De purgatorio contra Ludderum* saw the light of day in 1523.[692] The Catholic Humanist Johannes Cochlaeus—initially not unsympathetic to Luther, whom he regarded as a friend of Johannes Reuchlin—became one of the most effective apologists against the 'New Learning' after 1520.[693] On 15 October 1523, Guillaume Briçonnet circulated the decree of a diocesan synod in his bishopric.[694] The circular

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690 Cf. "Though shalt be rewarded of these blessyd soules for whom thou prayest. For whan they shall be delyuered out of that paynfull pryson and set aboue in the kyngdome of heuyn, they shal there agayn be as myndefull of the, and a meane for thy delyueraunce" (Fisher, *Here after ensueth two fruytfull Sermons*, sigs. C1^{v}–C2^{r}, Hatt, p. 235).

691 John Fisher, *Here after ensueth two fruytfull Sermons*, sig. D2^{v}, Hatt, p. 238.

692 Johannes Eck, *De Purgatorio Iohan. Eckii contra Ludderum libri III*, Rome: Marcellus Franck, 1523. On Eck's life and theology, see: Johannes Eck, *Enchiridion locorum communium adversus Lutherum et alios hostes ecclesiae (1525–1543). Mit den Zusatzen von Tilmann Smeling O.P. (1529, 1532)*, ed. Pierre Fraenkel, (Corpus Catholicorum 34), Münster: Aschendorff, 1979; Erwin Iserloh, *Johannes Eck, 1486–1543, Scholastiker, Humanist, Kontroverstheologe*, (Katholisches Leben und Kirchenreform im Zeitalter der Glaubensspaltung. Vereinsschriften der Gesellschaft zur Herausgabe des Corpus Catholicorum 41), Münster: Aschendorff, 1981; Siegfried Hofmann (ed.), *Dr. Johannes Eck. Seelsorger—Gelehrter—Gegner Luthers*, Ingolstadt: Courier Druckhaus, 1986; Max Ziegelbauer, *Johannes Eck. Mann der Kirche im Zeitalter der Glaubensspaltung*, St Ottilien: EOS, 1987; Erwin Iserloh, *Johannes Eck (1486–1543) im Streit der Jahrhunderte. Internationales Symposion der Gesellschaft zur Herausgabe des Corpus Catholicorum aus Anlass des 500. Geburtstages des Johannes Eck vom 13. bis 16. November 1986 in Ingolstadt und Eichstätt*, (RST 127), Münster: Aschendorff, 1988.

693 On Cochlaeus, see: Juhász, Cat. 93 in *TT*, pp. 149–51.

694 Published in Toussaint Du Plessis, *Histoire de l'église de Meaux*, vol. II, Paris: Chez Julien-Michel Gandouin et Pierre-François Giffart, 1731, pp. 558–59. French translation is published in: Herminjard, *Correspondance*, vol. I, pp. 153–58. Herminjard corrected the faulty translation of Briçonnet's secretary, J. Lermite, as it was published in Guy Bretonneau, *Histoire généalogique de la maison des Briçonnets. Représentant les plus héroïques actions des personnages tracez au naturel dans ce tableau*, Paris, 1620, pp. 165–69. On Briçonnet, see: Veissière, *L'évêque Guillaume Briçonnet*; Michel Veissière, *Guillaume Briçonnet, abbé rénovateur de Saint-Germain-des-Prés*, in *Revue de l'histoire de l'Eglise de*

warned against the "venom of Luther's pestilent sect," and it claimed that those who deny the existence of Purgatory and the effectiveness of the invocation of the saints abuse the Gospel and expound upon it according to their own mind in order to seduce the common people with the novelty of their teachings.[695] The bishop threatened with excommunication those who bought, read, or sold Luther's books, or propagated his ideas, and exhorted his flock to believe in Purgatory and invoke the Blessed Virgin and the other saints, and to pray the litany frequently to this effect.[696]

More's brother-in-law, John Rastell, a barrister and printer in London, also ventured to publish *A new boke of purgatory* in 1530 to prove the necessity of the existence of Purgatory by logical arguments.[697] Rastell's book took the form of three dialogues between the Turkish Gyngemyn (a Muslim) and the German Comyngo (a Christian). They agree that neither the Koran nor the Bible can be cited. Each dialogue proves a point on the basis of rational arguments that can be accepted even by a Muslim: (1) that there is an eternal God who is the perfection of every good, and accordingly is the perfection of justice and of mercy; (2) that the human soul is immortal; and (3) that consequently there must be a place where some souls are purged after death.[698] John Frith wrote a refutation to Rastell's book.[699] According to John Foxe, Rastell countered Frith's reply while the latter was imprisoned in the Tower. Rastell's pamphlet was then answered by Frith so effectively that Rastell accepted Frith's arguments

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France, 55 (1974), pp. 65–84; Michel Veissière, *Edition et mécénat dans le premier quart du XVIe siècle. Le rôle de Guillaume Briçonnet*, in *Revue française d'histoire du livre* 30 (1981), pp. 21–46; Michel Veissière, *Autour De Guillaume Briconnet. 1470–1534*, Provins: SHA, 1993; M. Lecomte, art. *Briçonnet*, in Alfred Baudrillart, Albert Vogt & Urbain Rouziès (eds.), *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastique*, vol. X, Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1952, pp. 681–82.

695 Du Plessis, *Histoire de l'église de Meaux*, vol. II, pp. 558–59.

696 Du Plessis, *Histoire de l'église de Meaux*, vol. II, p. 559.

697 John Rastell, *A new boke of purgatory/ whiche is a dyaloge & dysputacyon betwene one Comyngo an Almayne a Christen man/ & one Gyngemyn a turke of Machomettes law/ dysputynge by naturall reason and good philosophye/ whether there be a purgatorye or not purgatorye. which boke is deuyded into thre dylogys.// The fyrst dyaloge sheweth and treateth of the merueylous exystens of god.// The seconde dyaloge treateth of the immortalyte of mannys soule.// The thyrde dyaloge treateth of purgatory*, London: John Rastell, .x. day of October M. CCCCC. XXX. On Rastell, see: Arthur W. Reed, *John Rastell's Plays*, in *The Library*, 3rd Series, 37 (1919), pp. 1–17; Arthur W. Reed, *Early Tudor Drama. Medwall, the Rastells, Heywood, and the More Circle*, London: Methuen & Co., 1926, pp. 1–28 and 217–23.

698 *The first dialoge of the merueylous existens of god*: sigs. A3^r–B3^v; *The seconde dialoge for the immortalyte of mannes soule*: sigs. B4^r–E3^v; *The thyrde dialoge/ of purgatory*: sigs. E4^r–H2^v.

699 See *infra* on p. 266.

and became a Protestant.[700] From Rastell's second book only two tiny fragments survive.[701] Based on Frith's second reply (printed posthumously), some of the line of thought can be reconstructed, but this falls outside the scope of our present subject.[702]

Thomas More

Although Thomas More was a twice-married layperson and not a clergyman, a lawyer and not a theologian, he engaged himself, with royal approval and by episcopal commission, in the theological debates with the growing 'sect of Luther' and became one of the champions of Catholic apologetical writers of the early Reformation period.[703] But even prior to Luther's appearance, More had showed his interest in theological matters. In his *Utopia*, he wrote that although King Utopus decreed religious freedom, he made one remarkable exception, namely, that nobody should fall so far below human dignity as to deny the immortality of the soul by asserting that the soul dies with the body at death, because such people undermine society and advocate lawlessness by taking away the possible retribution or reward after death. Accordingly, More informed his readers, Utopians ostracized such people.[704] The question at that time was only

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[700] John Firth, *The Workes of the excellent Martyer of Christ, Iohn Frith*, p. 2 (vol 2. of John Foxe (ed.), *Whole workes of W. Tyndall, Iohn Frith, and Doct. Barnes*, London: Iohn Daye, 1572, sig. HH1^{v}). Rastell died, impoverished, in 1536. His son, William Rastell, judge and printer, remained a Catholic.

[701] "The cause why y*t* Rastell made his boke of purgatory wtout aleggyng any textes of holy scripture" and "I marvell gretely that my broder Fryth doth hold this" (both of them cited by Reed, *Early Tudor Drama*, p. 221).

[702] See: Reed, *Early Tudor Drama*, pp. 220–23.

[703] On More, the literature is virtually endless. For an introduction to his life and theological thoughts and for a bibliography, see: J.B. Trapp, *Erasmus, Colet and More. The Early Tudor Humanists and Their Books*, (Panizzi Lectures 1990), London: British Library, 1991; Jackson Campbell Boswell, *Sir Thomas More in the English Renaissance. An Annotated Catalogue*, (MRTS 83), Binghamton: MRTS, 1994; Richard Curry Marius, *Thomas More. A Biography*, Cambridge (MA): Harvard UP, ('1985) 1999; Péter Benedek Tóta, *Sir Thomas More's Sense of Time as It Is Revealed during the Search towards an Eschatological Approach to A Dialogue of Comfort against Tribulation*, in Tibor Fabiny (ed.), *"What, Then, Is Time?" Responses in English and American Literature*, (Pázmány Papers in English and American Studies 1), Piliscsaba: Pázmány Péter Catholic University, 2001, pp. 83–97; Elisabeth-Marie Ganne, *Thomas More. L'homme complet de la Renaissance*, (Historiques), Montrouge: Nouvelle Cité, 2002; Gerard B. Wegemer & Stephen W. Smith, *A Thomas More Source Book*, Washington (DC): Catholic UP of America, 2004; Jean-Yves Lacroix, *L'utopia de Thomas More et la tradition platonicienne*, (Pétrarque à Descartes), Paris: Vrin, 2007.

[704] "Itaque hanc totam rem in medio posuit, & quid credendum putaret liberum cuique reliquit. Nisi quod sancte ac seuere uetuit, ne quis usque adeo ab humanae naturae

relevant to philosophical discussions, and More's negative judgement was, no doubt, provoked by Pomponazzi and the debate in Renaissance Italy about the natural mortality or immortality of the soul, producing *inter alia* the pronouncement of the Fifth Lateran Council.[705]

By the time of the publication of his *Dialogue concerning Heresies* (1528), the question had taken on another dimension, because Luther in the meantime had advocated the tenet that souls sleep after death.[706] More therefore addressed the issue in chapter 8 of book II, where he answered the objections against praying to saints that had been raised by the Messenger, More's Lutheran-inclined partner in the dialogue. The souls of the saints, filled with heavenly love, do intercede for the living, More asserted, because even the rich man of Jesus' parable (Lk. 16:19–31), despite being in Hell, pleaded for his kin out of "carnall loue".[707] If the souls of the saints are alive, More argued, then they, too, pray for the living. And that they are indeed alive can be seen in Christ's answer to the Sadducees, in which He called Himself the God of the living (Mt. 22:32 *et par*).[708] In the last book of the *Dialogue*, More returned to the question in the passage IV,2, where he listed the errors in Luther's teaching. The Chancellor criticized Luther

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dignitate degeneret, ut animas quoque interire cum corpore, aut mundum temere ferri, sublata prouidentia putet. atque ideo post hanc uitam supplicia uitijs decreta, uirtuti praemia constituta credunt. contra sentientem, ne in hominum quidem ducunt numero, ut qui sublimem animae suae naturam, ad pecuini corpusculi uilitatem deiecerit, tantum abest ut inter ciues ponant, quorum instituta, moresque (si per metum liceat) omnes, floccifacturus sit. Cui enim dubium esse potest, quin is publicas patriae leges, aut arte clam eludere, aut ui nitatur infringere, dum suae priuatim cupiditati seruiat, cui nullus ultra leges metus, nihil ultra corpus spei superest amplius" (Thomas More, *De Optimo Reipublicae Statu deque Nova Insula Utopia*, [Leuven:] Theodoric Martin, [1516]; critical editon: *CWTM* IV; here: pp. 220–22). Besides the belief in the immortality of the soul, the belief in divine Providence is also regarded as non-negotiable by the Utopians. It should be pointed out, however, that the standpoints of the Utopians (e.g. with regard to religious freedom) do not necessarily reflect More's own opinion.

[705] For Pomponazzi, see *supra* on p. 120. For the Fifth Lateran Council, see *supra* on p. 123.

[706] Thomas More, *A dyaloge of syr Thomas More knyghte*, published in *CWTM* VI/1, pp. 5–435.

[707] "yf *ye* the ryche man that lay in hell/ had yet not onely for fere of encreace of his owne punysshment/ by his brothers dampnacyon growyng of his euyll ensample in synne/ but also of carnall loue & flesshly fauour towardes his kynne (whiche flesshly affeccyon beyng without grace of vertue may peraduenture stande with *ye* state of dampnacyon) had a cure & care of his fyue brethrene/ were it lykely that sayntes than beynge so full of blessed charyte in heuyn/ wyll nothynge care for theyr brethrene in Cryst/ whom they se here in this wretched worlde?" (*CWTM* VI/1, p. 212).

[708] "And as lytell doubte/ but that they be alyue/ if god be theyr god/ as he is in dede/ and he not the god of ded men but of lyuyng/ as our sauyour sayth in *ye* gospell" (*CWTM* VI/1, p. 212).

for denying the efficacy of the mass, the invocation of the saints, and the existence of Purgatory, and for believing that souls lie still and sleep until Judgement Day.[709] The subject is mentioned again in the author's reply to the Messenger in IV,8, where More argued that the sect itself is the cause of the malice that is inflicted on them. One of the examples to illustrate this was Luther's belief in predestination combined with soul sleep, which, according to More, is the basis of immorality.[710] A last mention appears in IV,10, where again More wrote that the followers of Luther, who attribute the responsibility for all evil deeds to God by advocating predestination, do not care about damnation, since they believe that judgement will not affect them for a long time.[711]

In his *Dialogue*, More also criticized Tyndale for wilfully mistranslating certain frequently used, theologically important keywords ("wordes of grete weyght") in his NT translations.[712] Three words were of particular importance: instead of the usual "preste," Tyndale translated the Greek πρεσβύτερος by "senior" in his first edition of the NT, which, More argued, is neither good English nor theologically correct.[713] The second term is ἐκκλησία, which is rendered by "congregacion" in Tyndale's version, instead of the traditional "chyrche." And the third criticized term was Tyndale's "love," instead of the established "charyte," for the Greek ἀγάπη.[714] More

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709 "For he techeth also y*t* the masse auayleth no man quyck nor dede/ but onely to y*e* preste hym selfe. [...] Item he techeth that there ys no purgatory. Item that all mennys soulys lye still & slepe tyll the daye of dome. Item that no man sholde pray to sayntes nor sette by any holy relyques nor pylgrymagys/ nor do any reuerence to any ymagys" (*CWTM* VI/1, pp. 354–55).

710 "What harme shall they care to forbare/ that byleue Luther/ that god alone wythout theyre wyll worketh all the myschyef that they do them selfe? What shall he care how longe he lyue in synne/ that byleueth Luther/ that he shall after thys lyfe neyther fele well nor yll in body nor sowle tyll the daye of dome? Wyll not he trowe you saye as the Welsheman sayde?" (*CWTM* VI/1, p. 373).

711 "And yf they shall be dampned/ yet they say yt shall be long or they fele it. For Luther sayth that all soules shall slepe and fele neyther good nor bad after thy lyfe tyll domes day. And than they that shall be dampned/ shall be dampned for such euyll dedys/ as god onely forced and constreyned them vnto but as a ded instrument/ as a man heweth with an hachet" (*CWTM* VI/1, p. 377). In his *Confutatation of Tyndale's Answer*, More will again make several mentions of Tyndale's and Luther's adherence to soul sleep: *CWTM* VIII, pp. 288, 626, and 796.

712 "For so had Tyndall after Luthers counsayle corrupted and chaunged it from the good and holsom doctryne of Cryste to the deuylysh heresyses of theyr owne/ that it was clene a contrary thyng" (*CWTM* VI, p. 285).

713 Later Tyndale used "elder" in his other works and in his second edition of the NT.

714 "For he hath mysse translated thre wordes of grete weyght and euery one of them is as I suppose more than thryse thre tymes repeted and reherced in the boke [...] The one is quod I this worde prestys. The other the chyrche. The thyrde charyte" (*CWTM* VI, p. 285).

is sometimes believed to have faulted Tyndale's translation *only* because he objected to the translator, for Erasmus' translation also used the words *congregatio* instead of *ecclesia*, and *senior* instead of *presbyter*.[715] In what way, then, was Tyndale's translation worse than that of Erasmus? The difference, according to More, is in the intent (and, we can add, the intended recipient) of the translation. Erasmus' intention was a new, elegant, and etymologically correct translation for a well-educated audience. He meticulously clarified his motives for differing from the Vulgate in his annotations. But More was convinced that Tyndale was moved by other motives. The Lord Chancellor condemned Tyndale's translation because Tyndale did not make those changes on the grounds of closer etymological correspondence with the Geek text but on theological grounds, which contradicted the orthodox interpretation of the text and were clearly intended to undermine the Catholic Church.[716]

After the publication of Simon Fish's *Supplicacyon for the Beggers*, the Lord Chancellor wrote an able reply entitled *Supplycacyon of Soulys*.[717] More's work had a twofold structure: while the first book refuted Fish's statements about the covetousness of the clergy, the second established the theological basis of the Catholic position. More accepted his opponents' tactics and based his argumentation predominantly on Scripture. He used ten biblical passages to prove the Catholic teaching of Purgatory: four out of the OT and six out of the NT, "climaxing with two sayings ascribed to Christ himself."[718]

The first argument is taken from 2 Kgs. 20:3: when Isaiah foretold to King Hezekiah that he would die, the King wept bitterly. According to More, Hezekiah's "heuynes and lothenes at that tyme to depart and dye" can be explained by his fear of Purgatory.[719] More acknowledged that this argument was not a proper proof but a "probable reason taken of

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[715] Cf. Bruce, *History of the Bible in English*, p. 41

[716] Cf. Alan K. Jenkins & Patrick Preston, *Biblical Scholarship and the Church. A Sixteenth-Century Crisis of Authority*, Aldershot and Berlington: Ashgate, 2007, p. 92.

[717] Thomas More, *The supplycacyon of soulys Made by syr Thomas More knyght councellour to our souerayn lorde the Kynge and chauncellour of hys Duchy of Lancaster. Agaynst the supplycacyon of beggars*, 1529.

[718] *CWTM* VII, p. lxxiv.

[719] "And fyrst yt semeth very probable and lykely/ that y*e* good kyng Ezechias for non other cause wept at the warnyng of hys deth geuen hym by the prophete/ but onely for the fere of purgatory. [...] Now consyderyd he so the weyght of hys offence/ y*t* he thought and estemyd the onely losse of thys present lyfe farre vnder the iust & condygne ponyshment therof/ and therfore fell in gret drede of farre sorer ponyshment after" (*CWTM* VII, p. 176).

the scrypture," and that there are more and better arguments.[720] Yet Fish, Luther, and Tyndale maintain without any scriptural or rational foundation, More stated, that the souls of the departed sleep until Judgement Day and that Purgatory is the invention of the Popes.[721] Nonetheless, More claimed, the immortality of the soul is held not only by Christians and Jews but also by most of the pagans, including the Turks and the Arabs, who also believe in some kind of post-mortem purgation for those who were neither completely wicked nor entirely spotless.[722]

The following argument from the OT is 1 Sam. 2:6: "*Dominus deducit ad inferos et reducit*: our lord bryngeth folke downe in to hell and bryngeth theym thense agayne," which can only refer to Purgatory, More believed, because that is the only part of Hell from where deliverance can be obtained.[723] The third argument is a quote from Zech. 9:11: "Tu quoque in sanguine testamenti tui eduxisti vinctos tuos de lacu in quo non est aqua: Thou hast in the blood of thy testament brought out thy bounden prysoners owte of the pyt or lake in whych there was no water."[724] For More it is evident that this waterless lake where the spirits are kept in the "pryson of punyshement" is Purgatory, the "drye pyt of fyre/ where in there is no refreshying: For as hote are we here as they are in hell."[725] Even

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720 *CWTM* VII, p. 178.

721 "For albeyt thys beggars proctour sayth y*t* ryght wyse & connynge men wyll say y*t* there ys no purgatory at all/ by which wyse men he menyth Luther and Tyndall & him self: yet was there neuer any of theym all that yet layed anye substancyall thynge eyterh reason or authorytye for theym/ but onely geste and rayle/ and saye that purgatory ys a thyng of the popes awne makynge/ and that souls do nothyng tyll domis day but lye styll and slepe" (*CWTM* VII, p. 177). "For now in hys [i.e. Luther's] dronken sermon that he wrote vppon the gospell of y*e* ryche man & Lazare/ where as he had in hys other bokys before framyed of hys owne fantasy/ new fond fassyons of purgatory/ and told them forth for as playn matters as though he had bene here and sene them: now in thys mad sermon of hys he sayth playnly that there ys none at all/ but that all souls ly still and slepe/ and so slepe shall/ vntyll the day of dome" (*CWTM* VII, p. 212). For Luther's *sermon*, see *supra* on p. 170.

722 "For surely not onely among christen peple and Iewys/ of whom the tone hath/ the tother hath had/ perceyuyng and lyght of fayth/ but also amonge the very myscreaunt and ydolaters/ Turkys/ Saracens/ and Paynyms/ excepte onely suche as haue so farre fallen from the nature of man in to a brutyshe bestely persuasyon as to byleue y*t* soule & body dye both at onys: ellys hath allway y*e* remanaunt comenly thought & byleued/ y*t* after the bodyes ded and deceaced/ the soulys of such as were neyther dedely dampned wreches for euer/ nor on the tother syde/ so good but that theyre offences done in this world hath deserued more punyshement then they had suffred and sustayned there/ were punyshed and pourged by payn after y*e* deth ere euer they were admytted vnto theyre welth and reste" (*CWTM* VII, pp. 172–73).

723 *CWTM* VII, p. 178.

724 *CWTM* VII, p. 178.

725 *CWTM* VII, p. 179.

Christ spoke about "the rych gloton lyeng in such a lake from whense at syght of pore Lazarus in Abrahams bosom/ he desyred heuely to haue hym sent vnto hym wyth one droppe of water to refreshe hys tonge."[726] More's reasoning is the same as in the previous proof: this lake cannot be Hell, "for in y*t* hell ys there no redempcyon."[727] The last proof from the OT is the *locus classicus*, 2 Macc. 12:39–46. More is aware of the fact that Protestants doubted the canonicity of the book, because they followed the Jewish canon. Nonetheless, More argued, the Hebrew canon cannot be authoritative in this question, because then the Gospel of John has to be rejected as well, since the Jews do not accept it in their canon.[728]

The series of proof texts from the NT starts with 1 Jn. 5:16: "Est peccatum ad mortem/ non dico vt pro eu roget quis. There ys sayth he some synne that ys vnto the deth/ I bydde not that eny man shall praye for that."[729] John's words imply, More advocated, that there are other people, too, who do not die in mortal sin, and for them one should pray when they die, which can only refer to the souls in Purgatory, for those in Heaven do not need prayers, and no prayer can help those in Hell.[730] The second NT argument is found in the text of Rev. 5:13. By creatures "vnder the yerthe" John refers to the souls in Purgatory, for those in Hell do not praise God.[731] Peter's quote of Ps. 16(15):10 in Acts 2:24 is the next proof text. "In these wordes he [Peter] sheweth that paynys of hell were losed" cannot refer to Hell, for those pains were not loosened, nor can it refer to the *limbo patrum*, because the OT saints were not in pain.[732] Consequently, More believed, Peter could only speak about Purgatory. After Peter's words, More moved on to Paul's words in the other *locus classicus* (1 Cor. 3:11–15) and expounded upon it in the traditional way as speaking about the purgatorial fire that cleanses all works that cannot enter Heaven. The Chancellor pointed out that Origen, Augustine, and Gregory the Great

726 *CWTM* VII, p. 179.
727 *CWTM* VII, p. 179.
728 *CWTM* VII, pp. 180–81.
729 *CWTM* VII, p. 184.
730 "Then appereth yt clerely that saynt Iohan meaneth that there be other whyche dye not in such case for whom he wolde men shuld pray/ because y*t* prayour to such sowlys may be profytable. But that profyte can no man take neyther beyng in heuen where yt nedeth not/ nor beyng in hell where yt boteth not. Wherfore it appereth plaine y*t* such prayour helpeth onely for purgatory: whych they muste therfore nedys graunte/ excepte they deny saynt Iohan" (*CWTM* VII, p. 184).
731 *CWTM* VII, p. 184.
732 *CWTM* VII, pp. 185–86.

understood the text as referring to Purgatory.[733] The series of proof texts ends with two sayings of Christ: Mt. 12:32 and v. 36, the first one serving as proof for the existence of sins that can be forgiven "in the worlde to cum after mannys lyfe," and the second presenting an example for such a sin (idle words) that is punished in Purgatory.[734]

John Frith

'Young' John Frith (1503–33), as he was called by Joye, is usually seen as having "the finest mind, the most winsome wit, and the boldest spirit among the men who wrote theology in English between 1520 and 1535."[735] His theological attention was focused on attacking the Catholic teachings on Purgatory and the sacraments. His translation of Luther's *Ad Librum Magistri Nostri Magistri Ambrosii Catharini* was published in 1529 with the title *A pistle to the Christen reader. The Revelation of AntiChrist*. Although Frith omitted parts of Luther's treatise, he translated the short passage on Purgatory implying that the Catholic claim about the Pope's ability to deliver souls from Purgatory is only a lie for financial purposes.[736] At this stage, Frith did not yet call into question the existence of Purgatory.

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[733] *CWTM* VII, p. 190. For Origen, see *supra* on p. 91. For Augustine, see *supra* on p. 99. For Gregory the Great, see *supra* on p. 106.

[734] *CWTM* VII, pp. 191–94.

[735] Clebsch, *England's Earliest Protestants*, p. 78. Studying first at Cambridge, then at Oxford, Frith became one of the earliest English followers of Luther. On account of heresy he and some other people were incarcerated in the fish-cellar of Cardinal Wolsey in February 1528. After his escape he fled to the Continent around the end of the same year, where he spent most of his time in Antwerp in the company of Tyndale. In 1531 he secretly visited England, where he was arrested as a vagabond and put in the stocks, but he escaped. A year later, in the summer of 1532, he sailed again to England but was arrested just when he was about to take a ship back to Antwerp, and he was executed after spending more than a year in the Tower. See: Clebsch, *England's Earliest Protestants*, pp. 78–136. On Frith's understanding of salvation, Purgatory, and other escahtological issues, see: Carl R. Trueman, *Luther's Legacy. Salvation and English Reformers, 1525–1556*, Oxford: Clarendon, 1994, pp. 121–55.

[736] "Who is able to numbre the monstrouos mervels/ only of them that are departed. Good lord, what a see of lyes hath envaded vs/ of aperinges, coniuringes and answers of sprites by the which it is brought to passe/ that the Pope is also made the Kinge of them that are dead and raigneth in purgatorye/ to the great disprofite of his prestes (if he continew) which haue all their liuinge/ riches/ and pomp out of purgatory" (Richard Brightwell [*vere* John Frith] (trans.), *A pistle to the Christen reader. The Revelation of AntiChrist. Antitheses/ wherin are compared to geder Christes actes and oure holye father the Popes*, At Malborow in the land of Hesse: by me Hans luft [*vere* Antwerp: Merten de Keyser], The .xii. of Julye MCCCC.xxix, sigs. F8^{r-v}). See *supra* p. 168.

Two years later, in 1531, Frith published in Antwerp his *A Disputacion of Purgatorye*, in which he flatly denied the existence of Purgatory.[737] The work was meant as a reply to three books: John Rastell's *A new boke of purgatory*, Thomas More's *The supplycacyon of soulys*, and John Fisher's *Assertionis Lutheranae Confutatio*, all of which treated (to some extent) the Catholic teaching on Purgatory.[738] Frith agreed to the outcome of the first two dialogues in Rastell's book (there is a just and merciful God, and the soul is immortal), even if he thought that the way Rastell arrived at those points was dubious.[739] He questioned Rastell's methodology, because reason alone cannot be trusted, Frith argued, but has to be controlled by Scripture: anything that contradicts Scripture cannot be true, even if it seems logical.[740] "Rastell wythe his turke" excluded Christ and His death from their reasoning, and so they arrived at a false conclusion: for without Christ we indeed cannot enter Heaven, but one has to first enter Purgatory and then Hell.[741] Then, in a lengthy and somewhat wearisome manner, Frith set forth scriptural proof texts against Rastell's reasoning that all amount to saying that salvation is achieved only by the Blood of Christ and that seeking another way is blasphemous: salvation is God's free gift to the elect. For Frith the belief in Purgatory seemed to attribute God's salvific action to human efforts and to the clemency of the hierarchy in the Church, and as such it was contradictory to the Gospel.[742]

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[737] John Frith, *A disputacio[n] of purgatorye made by Ioh[a]n Frith which is deuided in to thre bokes. The first boke is an answere vnto Rastell, which goeth aboute to proue purgatorye by naturall philosophye. The seconde boke answereth vnto Sir Thomas More, which laboureth to proue purgatorye by scripture. The thirde boke maketh answere vnto my lorde of Rochestre which most leaneth vnto the doctoures*, Antwerp: Symon Cock, July 1531 (NK 3043, STC 11388).

[738] On these books, see *supra* pp. 259, 260, and 254.

[739] "The fyrst dialogue goeth aboute to proue by reason that there is a god/ which is mercyfull and ryghtwyse. The second entendeth to proue/ that the soule of a man is immortall. Agaynst these two dyaloges I wyll not dispute/ partlye because this treatyse shuld not be ouer longe and tedyous/ and partlie because that those two pointes whiche he there laboureth to proue are such as no chrysten man wyll denye (although manye of his probacions are so slender/ that they maye well be improued) but as concernynge his thyrd dialogue wherin he wolde proue purgatorye/ it is hollie iniuryous vnto the bloude of Christ and the instruccyon of al chrysten fayth/ yf men wer so mad as to beleue his vayn persuasions" (Frith, *A disputacio[n] of purgatorye*, sig. B1^{r}).

[740] "Naturall reason must be ruled by scrypture If naturall reason co*n*clude agaynst the scrypture/ so is it false/ but yf it be agrei*n*ge to scrypture the*n* is it to be harde" (Frith, *A disputacio[n] of purgatorye*, sig. B1^{v}).

[741] Frith, *A disputacio[n] of purgatorye*, sig. B2^{r}.

[742] Upon the Rastell apology, Frith replied in his *An other boke against Rastel named the subsedye or bulwark to hys fyrst boke*, which was published posthumously in London in 1537. See *supra* on p. 260.

The second part of the book, answering Thomas More, is similar but more adroit. Frith denied that More's argument, which claimed that even most of the pagans believe in Purgatory, would be compelling for Christians.[743] He omitted to refute More's "disputation by natural reason," which More presented on "a leffe and an halfe," because this section of More's book constituted the source for Rastell's entire book, and those arguments had been refuted in the first part of Frith's book.[744] But he remarked that if Augustine had to prove the existence of Purgatory in his *Enchiridion to Laurentius*, it means that this was not yet an undoubted article of faith 400 years after Christ.[745] What is more, More's scriptural arguments are incorrect, continued Frith. For Hezekiah is not portrayed as a sinner but as a holy man, so he had no reason to fear Purgatory or Hell.[746] Death itself was the reason for Hezekiah's fear, because even Christ felt fear when His death was approaching (Mt. 26:39).[747] More's second argument (based on 1 Sam. 2:6) testifies to his ignorance, Frith argued, because More does not know "that the hebrue worde/ sheol/ doth not sygnyfye hell/ but a graue or a pytte that is dygged," and he does not understand the parallelism of the verse, a commonly used figure of speech in Hebrew, in which the two halves of a verse are synonymous and clarify each other.[748] If he had looked at the first part of the verse

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[743] "I answere/ if it were law full to requye wisdo*m* in a ma*n* so wyse as Master More is counted/ here wold I wysh hi*m* a litle more witte/ for I thinke there is no wyseman that wyll graunte this to be a good argument/ the turkes/ Saracenes/ paynims & Jewes beleue it to be true/ ergo we must beleue that it is true: for I wyll shew you a lyke argument. The Turkes/ Saracenes/ paynims & Jewes beleue that we haue not the ryght Chryst/ but that we are all dampned which beleue in Chryste. Is it therfore true? shall we turne our faith because they beleue that we be deceaued? I thynke there is no man so folyshe as to graunte hym this" (Frith, *A disputacio[n] of purgatorye*, sigs. F8^{v}–G1^{r}). For More's argument, see *supra* on p. 264.

[744] Frith, *A disputacio[n] of purgatorye*, sig. G1^{r}.

[745] For Augustine's argument in the *Enchiridion*, see *supra* on p. 99.

[746] Frith, *A disputacio[n] of purgatorye*, sig. G1^{v}. For More's argument, see *supra* on p. 263.

[747] "Chryste feared and swette so sore: what wold you answere me? that it was for feare of the paynes of purgatorye? forsouth he that wolde so answere shulde be laughed to skorne of al the world/ as he were well worthye. wherfore was it then? Uerelye euen for feare of deeth/ as it playnlye appeareth after: for he prayed vnto his Father/ sayenge: my Father yf it be possyble lett this deeth passe fro me. Mathewe. xxvi. So fearefull a thynge is deeth euen vnto the moost purest flesshe. And euen the same cause wyll I assygne in Ezechias/ that he wept for feare of deeth and not for purgatorye" (Frith, *A disputacio[n] of purgatorye*, sig. G2^{r}).

[748] "Besydes that he is clene ignoraunte of the come*n* maner of all prophetes whiche for the most parte in all psalmes/ himnes and other songes of praise (as this is) make the fyrst ende of the verse to expou*n*de the last & the last to expounde the fyrst. He that obserueth

("The lorde doth kylle & quicken agayne"), he would have realized that the verse refers to the resurrection of the dead rather than to Purgatory as fulfilled in Lazarus (Jn. 11:44) in the literal sense. But the verse can refer figuratively to the afflictions visited on people by God in order to convert them as the Prayer of Azariah confirms (Dan. 3:88(87) NRSV: Prayer of Azariah 1:66).[749] More's third argument from Zech. 9:11 is contradictory to Fisher's argument from Ps. 66(65):12, Frith pointed out, because the Psalm speaks about water and fire, while the passage in Zechariah mentions a waterless pit.[750] Zechariah's text does not prove Purgatory, but instead "sheweth the vertue of chrystes redemption which thorowe his bloude redemed his captiues & prisoners that is to say the*m* whom he fou*n*de bounde with the stro*n*ge bonndes of synne to euerlastynge da*m*pnacio*n* which were subiectes vnto the deuell & the extreme enemies of god."[751] Nor does More's argument from 2 Maccabees hold water, Frith maintained, because Jerome only accepted the book together with the other deuterocanonical books for its pious content, not to prove any article of faith from them.[752] But even if 2 Maccabees could be used with the same authority as Isaiah, Purgatory cannot be proved by it.[753] For the text does not speak of fire or pain, but of a sacrifice offered for the dead, that they might be liberated from their sins, because there is a resurrection of the dead that is painless and without any fire. According to Frith not even a child would believe that this text could possibly support the idea of a painful, fiery Purgatory to punish God's elect.[754] Furthermore, it is not

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this rule shall understonde very moch in the scripture although he be ignoraunte in the hebrue" (Frith, *A disputacio[n] of purgatorye*, sig. G2^{v}). For More's argument, see *supra* on p. 264.

749 "That is/ he bryngeth men in to extreme affliccyon and myserye (whych is sygnifyed by deeth and hell) and after tourneth not his face vnto them & maketh them to folow hym" (Frith, *A disputacio[n] of purgatorye*, sig. G3^{r}).

750 Frith, *A disputacio[n] of purgatorye*, sig. G3^{v}. For More's and Fisher's arguments, see *supra* on pp. 264 and 256, respectively.

751 Frith, *A disputacio[n] of purgatorye*, sig. G4^{r}.

752 Frith, *A disputacio[n] of purgatorye*, sigs. G6^{r}–G7^{r}. For More's argument, see *supra* on p. 265.

753 "But yet for this once/ to do the ma*n* pleasure we wyl let slyppe oure shoteanker and take the sees with him. And for all theyr furyous wyndes and frothye waues/ we wyl neuer stricke saile/ so stronge is oure shyppe & so well belanched. Be it in case that this boke of the Machabees were of as god auctoryte as Esay: yet can he not proue this furye and paynefull purgatorye therebye" (Frith, *A disputacio[n] of purgatorye*, sig. G7^{r}).

754 Frith, *A disputacio[n] of purgatorye*, sig. G7^{r-v}.

certain, Frith believed, that Judas Maccabees' action was good or should be followed by Christians who are not bound by the Jewish law.[755]

Frith thought that More's arguments from the NT were no better. In 1 Jn. 5:16, More took death for physical death, but according to Frith this is wrong because the verse also contains the word life, which should thus be taken for physical life. But the sin to which the epistle is referring is explained by Christ in Mk. 3:29: it is blaspheming against the Holy Spirit, which is, in Frith's understanding, the refusal of faith.[756] Nor does Frith agree with More's interpretation of Rev. 5:13: the creatures that praise God under the earth are not the souls in Purgatory, but the worms and similar creatures within the earth.[757] Furthermore, Frith argued, even devils and the damned souls in Hell praise God as part of their punishment.[758] More's argument from Acts 2:24 (Peter quoting Ps. 16:10) is also false: although the Vulgate uses the noun *infernus*, which can refer to death, grave, or Hell, the Greek text has 'pains of death,' as is evident in Erasmus' Latin translation, and not 'pains of Hell,' Frith explained, which More then interprets as Purgatory.[759] Furthermore, this would mean that Christ spent the time between His death and resurrection in suffering in Purgatory.[760] The words of the *locus classicus* (1 Cor. 3:11–15), Frith maintained, are also used out of

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[755] Frith, *A disputacio[n] of purgatorye*, sigs. G7^{v}–H1^{v}.

[756] Frith, *A disputacio[n] of purgatorye*, sigs. H4^{r}–H5^{r}. For More's argument, see *supra* on p. 265.

[757] "And where he taketh the creatures vnder the erth for the soules in purgatorye: I take it for all manner of creatures vnder the erth/ bothe wormes vermyn and all other" (Frith, *A disputacio[n] of purgatorye*, sig. H6^{r}). For More's argument, see *supra* on p. 265.

[758] "I dare be bolde to adde that euen the verye deunls [*sic*] and dampned soules are co*m*pelled to prayse him. For theyr iust punyshme*n*t commendeth his puysante power and ryghtwysenes" (Frith, *A disputacio[n] of purgatorye*, sig. H6^{r}).

[759] "Here in steade/ of these wordes/ the paynes of deeth/ he setteth the paines of hell (as it is most lyke) euen of a purposed deceyte. For all be it the man wolde not take the payne to reade the greke/ yet yf he had but once loked vppon the translacion of his olde frynde and companion Erasmus/ it wolde haue taught hi*m* to haue saied solutis doloribus mortis/ that is/ dissoluynge the paynes of deeth/ accordynge to the greke & verye wordes of Luke which wrote these actes in the greke to*n*gue. And alveit [sic] the olde translacion vseth this worde infernus/ which is dyversly taken in scrypture/ both for deeth/ for a graue & for hell/ yet in this place is Master More wythout excuse which calleth it hell in oure Englysshe tongue. For al be it the worde of it selfe were indifferent in the latyne/ yet it is not indifferent in the Englysh. For there is none Englysh ma*n* that taketh this worde hell/ eyther for deeth or for a graue/ noo not Master More himselfe. For fyrst he tra*n*slateth the texte falsely callynge it hell/ & the*n* he discanteth on a false grounde & calleth hell not deeth/ but purgatorye" (Frith, *A disputacio[n] of purgatorye*, sig. H6$^{r–v}$). For More's argument, see *supra* on p. 265.

[760] "Besides that/ yf it shulde serue for purgatorye (which no wyseman wyll graunte when he seeth the processe of the texte) it shulde prove nothinge but that Chryste shulde lye in the paynes of purgatory/ vntyl god his father had holpe him out/ for the paynes

their context when they are interpreted as referring to Purgatory, because fire means temptations, tribulations, and persecutions in which the preaching of each of "goddes workmen" is tried and revealed whether their doctrine is built on Scripture or not.[761] Yet even these preachers can be saved, since their false preaching is not out of malice but out of ignorance.[762] And even if More is so "styfnecked" that he still takes this place as referring to Purgatory, then Purgatory, Frith said, applying Luther's and Bugenhagen's argument, is only for preachers.[763] Nor can the young English Protestant accept the Lord Chancellor's last two biblical arguments in Mt. 12:32.36, because there is no biblical foundation for the possibility of remitting sins after death and because More left out the last clause of v. 36, "in the daye of iudgement," which clearly shows that this text refers to the Last Judgement on Doomsday and not to Purgatory.[764]

The last part of the volume is dedicated to refuting Fisher's arguments. Most of the bishop's scriptural arguments are already refuted in the second part of that same volume, Frith pointed out, because More took his arguments from Fisher, so the lion's share of the attention is given to the abundant Patristic arguments of Fisher.[765] Frith expressed his

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which he speaketh of/ were Chrystes paynes/ whiche no man can denye yf he reade the text" (Frith, *A disputacio[n] of purgatorye*, sigs. H6^{v}–H7^{r}).

761 "Fyre sygnifyeth temptacion/ tribulacio*n*/ persecucion &c. whiche shall proue euery mannes workes. If anye mannes worke that he hath buylded do abyde this fyre/ that is/ yf the worde that a man hath preached do abyde all assautes & te*m*ptations/ it is a token that they are surelye grounded on the scrypture of god/ and the*n* shall the preacher receyue his rewarde If any mannes worke be burnte/ that is yf the preachers wordes wyl not abyde the try all and lyght but vanyssh awaye/ then is it a token that they are not well grounded on scrypture/ and so shall he suffre hurte/ for it shalbe a greate cross and vexacyon to the preachers harte that he hath bene so deceyued himselfe and hathe also led other in to his erroure" (Frith, *A disputacio[n] of purgatorye*, sig. H8^{v}). For More's argument, see *supra* on p. 267.

762 "Notwithsto*n*inge he shalbe saued/ because of his fayth in the fundacyon/ which is Chryst and his ignoraunce shalbe pardoned syth he erreth not of a malycious purpose but of a good zele. But yet shall it be as it were a fyre to him/ for it shall greue his harte to se that he had laboured i*n* vaine & that he must destroie the same whith he before thorow ignorau*n*ce preached: this is the p*ro*cess & pure vnderstondynge of the texte" (Frith, *A disputacio[n] of purgatorye*, sigs. H8^{v}–I1^{r}).

763 Frith, *A disputacio[n] of purgatorye*, sig. I1$^{r–v}$. See *supra* on p. 176.

764 "Neither affirmeth the scriptur in any place that any syn*n*e is forgeue*n* after this lyfe/ but saith be ready for ye know not the time whe*n* the lord shall come/ as who shuld say/ i*n* this life is remissio*n* & full mercy to be had/ laboure therefore to attayne it for after this lyfe is no such forgeuenesse/ but eve*n* as the lord fyndeth the so shall he judge the" (Frith, *A disputacio[n] of purgatorye*, sig. I2$^{r–v}$). For More's arguments, see *supra* on p. 266.

765 "How be it the chefest of his scryptures hath master More pervsed & hath in a maner nothinge but that was before wryten by my lord of Rochestre/ saui*n*ge that he maketh the selye soules to pule to helpe his matter wyth all. My lord of Rochestre is the

amazement at Fisher's tactic to prove the existence of Purgatory using Patristic arguments, since the bishop himself acknowledged that the Church Fathers make no or very few references to this doctrine.[766] Now, the Church Fathers lived many centuries after Christ and they reacted to various heresies, Frith explained, so their testimony has to be seen in the context of these heresies.[767] When Augustine used Paul's words in 1 Cor. 3, he reacted against those who abused these words of the apostle and claimed universal salvation for all humankind through Purgatory.[768] Augustine, to come 'near' the position of his adversaries, admitted that besides tribulations on earth, by fire Paul can also mean the purgatorial fire; however, the bishop of Hippo denied that everyone was going to be saved. But his acceptance of his adversaries' position was only tactical, Frith maintained, and in another work Augustine confessed his true belief that all souls enter either Hell or Heaven immediately after death according to their merits.[769] According to Frith, neither Ambrose

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first patrone & defender of this phantasye. And euen as master More toke his work out of my lord of Rochesters/ eue*n* so plucked Rastell as his boke out of Master Mores" (Frith, *A disputacio[n] of purgatorye*, sig. K3^{r}). The expression "selye soules" (silly souls) is used by More repeatedly to denote the helpless, miserable condition of the souls in Purgatory. The expression goes back to the Middle English *seli* or *silli*, and the Old English *gesælig*, meaning blessed, innocent. See: art. *silly* in *AHD*, *ad vocem*.

766 "I wondre what obliuiousnes is comen vppon him that he so cleaueth vnto the doctoures/ whom he affirmed before eyther to make no mencion of it or els verye seldome" (Frith, *A disputacio[n] of purgatorye*, sig. K3^{v}). For Fisher's statement, see *supra* on p. 254.

767 "To speke of the doctoures & what their mynde was in this matter/ it were necessarye to declare in what tyme they were and what condicion the worlde was in in theyr dayes. S. Austyne, Ambrose and Hierome were in one tyme/ euen aboute.iiii. hundred yeare after Chryste/ & yet before theyr tyme were there arysen infinite heretykes by hole sectes/ as the Arryans/ Domitians/ Eunomians/ Vigilancians/ Pelagians wyth infinyte other/ whiche had in swerued fro*m* the truth and wrested the scriptur out of frame that it was not possible for one man/ no nor for one mannes age to restore it agayne vnto the true sense" (Frith, *A disputacio[n] of purgatorye*, sig. K3^{v}).

768 "They affirmed that euerye man were he neuer so vicious shulde be saued thorowe that fyre" (Frith, *A disputacio[n] of purgatorye*, sig. K4^{r}). On the idea of universal salvation, see *supra* on p. 90.

769 "But after in his boke whych he entytled de vanitate huius seculi/ there doth he fullye sheue his minde in these wordes: Scitote quod cu*m* ani*m*a a corpore auellit/ statim aut pro meritis bonis i*n* paradiso collocatur aut pro meritis malis in inferni tartara precipitatur. That is/ wete ye well that when the soule is departed fro*m* the body/ eyther is it by & by put in paradyse accordi*n*ge to his good desertes: or els it is thruste hedlyng in to hell for his syn*n*es. Here he clene conde*m*pneth purgatorye. For if this be done by & by assone as the soule is departed from the bodie/ the*n* ca*n* there be no purgatory" (Frith, *A disputacio[n] of purgatorye*, sig. K4^{v}). Frith is referring to a Pseudo-Augustine work that was considered to be authentic in the Middle Ages and was later frequently printed among Augustine's works: e.g. in November 1472 in an anonymous publication in Lauingen (*De vanitate saeculi*), in 1475–76 by Conrad Fyner in Esslingen (*De vanitate saeculi*), in 1490 by

nor Jerome believed in the possibility of remission of sins after death.[770] Further, if the Church Fathers do err, as Fisher asserted, how can one discern, Frith asked, which of their doctrines should be accepted and which not?[771] According to the young theologian, this discernment cannot be the Pope's task, because he is only a human being and can err just like the Church Fathers did. Consequently, only the Word of God, the touchstone of every doctrine, can be used to discern whether a certain teaching of the Church Fathers is true or not.[772] But even when Scripture is applied to prove a point, Fisher misinterpreted those texts. It is impossible, for instance, to deduce anything about post-mortem existence, Frith contended, from Christ's parable about the rich man and the poor Lazarus (Lk. 16:19–31).[773] If there are some souls that are already in Heaven or Hell prior to the end of the world, as Fisher argued, then according to Frith, the resurrection of the flesh is in vain, and Christ's and Paul's arguments are worthless (Mt. 22:23–32 *et par.*; 1 Cor. 15).[774] Frith believed that the unfaithful are damned, but those who believe pass from death to life, and so when they die they rest in peace (Jn. 3:15.18; 5:24; Wis. 3:3). The souls of the righteous are therefore in the hand of God and are not tormented by

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Bernardino Rizzo in Venice (*De vanitate huius seculi*), and in 1489 and 1491 by Martin Flach in Strasbourg (*De vanitate saeculi*).

770 Frith, *A disputacio[n] of purgatorye*, sigs. K4^{v}–K5^{v}. For Ambrose, see *supra* on p. 94. For Jerome, see *supra* on p. 93.

771 "Now sith the doctours somtyme erre & in certayne places are not to be admytted (as he graunteth him self) how shulde we knowe whe*n* to approue the*m*/ & when to denye them?" (Frith, *A disputacio[n] of purgatorye*, sig. K6^{v}). For Fisher's statement, see *supra* on p. 255.

772 "Therfore we must haue a iudge to discerne betwene trueth and falsehed. And who shuld that be: the pope? Nay verely for he being a man (as well the doctoures were) maye erre as they dyd/ and so shall we euer be vncertaine. Our iudge therfore must not be perciall flexible nor ignoraunte (& so are all naturall men excluded) but he must be inalterable/ eue*n* serching the botome & grounde of all thynge. who muste that be? verelye the scrypture and worde of god: which was gyuen by his sonne/ co*n*fyrmed and sealed by the holy ghost/ & testifyed by myracles & bloude of all martyrs. This worde is the iudge that muste examyne the matter/ the perfeyte touchstone that tryeth all thynge and daye that dyscloseth all iuggeling mistes. If the doctoures saye anye thynge not dissonaunte fro*m* this worde then is it to be admytted & holden for truth: But yf any of theyr doctrine dyscorde fro*m* it it is to be abhorred and holden a curste" (Frith, *A disputacio[n] of purgatorye*, sigs. K6^{v}–K7^{r}).

773 Frith, *A disputacio[n] of purgatorye*, sigs. K7^{v}–K8^{r}. For Fisher's argument, see *supra* on p. 256.

774 "Notwithstondinge let me graunte it hym/ that some are all ready in hell & some in heauen (which thnige [*sic*] he shal neuer be able to proue by the scripture/ yee & which playnlye destroyeth the resurrexion & taketh awaye the argumentes wherwyth Chryste and Paule do proue that we shall ryse) yet I saye let me graunte it him to se howe he wyll conclude" (Frith, *A disputacio[n] of purgatorye*, sig. K8^{r}).

the pains of Purgatory (Wis. 3:1), but God wanted us to be ignorant of the exact place where they are.[775] And the expression "Abraham*m*s bosome" denotes "nothinge els than Abraham*m*s fayth."[776] Those who depart in this faith rest in peace and await the resurrection of the flesh.[777] It should be noted that Frith here does not explicitly affirm the doctrine of soul sleep, yet his agnosticism about the fate of the departed souls of the faithful and his explicit denial that they would already be in Heaven do seem to suggest such a tenet.

Frith claimed that some of the arguments Fisher, More, and Rastell put forward contradict each other—that they are illogical and the scriptural passages they used are actually arguing to the contrary. In fact, Frith asserted, he could not find any scriptural basis for the Catholic teaching at all. The human person is only purged by two things: the Word of God received through faith, and the spiritual cross of Christ borne through tribulations and adversities. "But oure perfeyte purgacion is the pure bloude of Chryst whiche wassheth away the syn*n*e of the worlde."[778] Anybody seeking any other satisfaction for sins than Christ's blood despises His death.[779]

While in England in 1532, Frith composed a short commentary on the testament of William Tracy. This was only published posthumously

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[775] "All that lyue are faythful or onfaythfull. If he be vnfaytfull the*n* is he da*m*pned. Joa*n*. 3. If he beleue then is he not co*n*dempned/ but is gone from deeth to lyfe. Joa*n*. 3.5. The ryghtwyse man whe*n* he dyeth shall rest in peace. Sapi. 3. And euery faythful ma*n* is ryghtwyse before god (as the hole pystle/ to the Romans proueth: Ergo then euery faythfull man shall rest in peace & not be tormented in the paynes of purgatorye. And as touchynge this poynte where they rest/ I dare be bolde to saye that they are in the hande of god & that god wolde that we shulde be ignorau*n*te where they be/ & not to take vppon us to determine the matter" (Frith, *A disputacio[n] of purgatorye*, sig. K8$^{r–v}$).

[776] Frith, *A disputacio[n] of purgatorye*, sig. K8^{v}.

[777] "He that departeth in this fayth resteth in peace and wayteth for the last daye when god shal geue vnto his faythful/ that is/ to his electe (for only are the electe faythfull and the faythfull electe) the crowne of his glorye which he hath prepared for them that loue him. This croune doth paule say that he shall receaue it in that daye. 2. Tim. 4.[v. 8] that is in the daye of iudgement. And in the meane ceason god hath so prouyded for vs/ that they shall wayte vntyll the nu*m*bre of theyr brothren which dailie suffre & shall suffre for chryst/ be hoely fulfylled/ & so shall they not be made perfeyte wyth out vs. Hebre. xi. [v. 40]" (Frith, *A disputacio[n] of purgatorye*, sigs. K8^{v}–L1^{r}).

[778] Frith, *A disputacio[n] of purgatorye*, sig. L1^{v}.

[779] "The scrypture knoweth no nother satisfactio*n* to be made for synne towardes god/ but onlye the bloude of his sonne Jesu Chryst/ for yf there were an other satisfaction then dyed chryst in vayne: yee and he that seketh anye other satysfactyon for his synne (towardes god) then chrystes bloude (which must be receiued with a repe*n*ting heart thorow faith) doth despyse chrystes bloude & treade it vnder his fete" (Frith, *A disputacio[n] of purgatorye*, sig. I5^{v}).

around 1536, together with Tyndale's comments on the same testament, found among Tyndale's papers after his execution.[780] In a somewhat cryptic way, Frith hinted at the problems around Tracy's peculiar expression "resurrection of bodye and soule."[781] Tracy trusted that through the resurrection of Christ, he would have the resurrection of body and soul, Frith explained, and this is no reason to blame him, because Tracy followed Paul's reasoning in 1 Cor. 15: "yf Christ be rysen/ then shall we also ryse."[782] But Christ is risen, Frith continued the explanation, "for his sowle was not lefte in hell/ therfore shall we also ryse (whom Christe shall bringe with him) and be immortalle/ both bodye and sowle i.Cor.xi."[783] Tracy's trust is therefore both justified and devout.[784] Nonetheless, Frith's commentary suggested, there were some people who blamed Tracy for advocating the mortality of the soul, but Frith thought that this charge cannot be based on Tracy's words.[785] Tracy's accusers claimed that the idea of the mortality of souls is unprecedented among Christians or pagans, but these are only unjust accusations, Frith argued, because no sensible person would even dream of holding such views; Tracy's accusers must therefore be deliberately misunderstanding him.[786] In fact, Tracy's choice of words is perfectly acceptable because the soul does rise from the filth of sins at the resurrection, when together with the body it enters a new stage of life, in

[780] Antwerp: Merten de Keyser, 1536.

[781] See *supra* on p. 252.

[782] Tracy, *The Testament of master Wylliam Tracie*, sig. C1r.

[783] Tracy, *The Testament of master Wylliam Tracie*, sig. C1r.

[784] "And therfore he [i.e. Tracy] doth both rightwislye and godlye deduce his resurrection by christes/ by whom the Father hath geuen vs all thinges/ or els we shulde not be" (Tracy, *The Testament of master Wylliam Tracie*, sig. C1r).

[785] "But there are some/ that gather of his wordes/ that he shulde recounte the sawle to be mortall which thinge after my iudgement is more suttellye gathered then eyther truely or charitablye" (Tracy, *The Testament of master Wylliam Tracie*, sig. C1r–v). Clebsch misunderstood Frith's words. According to Clebsch, Frith, without naming names but hinting at Tyndale, stated that some people believed that the soul dies together with the body and heavenly bliss is only endowed upon the soul when the whole person is resurrected, both body and soul, at the end of the world. Clebsch also believed that these unnamed persons (Tyndale) based their opinion on their own interpretation of 1 Cor. 15. Further, Clebsch noted that "apparently Tracy's testament aroused arguments of the Protestant renunciation of purgatory–if souls of the dead were not in that nowhere, where they might be?" (Clebsch, *England's Earliest Protestants*, p. 108).

[786] "For seynge ther was neuer Christen man that euer so thoughte/ no not the verye pagaynes/ what godlye zele/ or brotherlye loue was there whiche caused them so to surmyse/ for a good man wolde not once dreame suche a thinge" (Tracy, *The Testament of master Wylliam Tracie*, sig. C1v).

which no sinning is possible.[787] The verb 'to rise' is also used in Is. 2:19.21 (קום) to describe God's manifestation of power and presence, so the same verb can also be applied to the soul, which lies in secret between death and resurrection, and manifests its power and presence only at Judgement Day, when it is reunited with the body.[788] The language of Tracy's testament is therefore only objectionable for nitpicking and malicious people, concluded Frith.[789] Whom Frith was targeting in this passage is not entirely clear, but I believe that he could have been hinting at either More or Joye, and probably at both of them.[790]

The Anabaptists

While the uniformity of their teachings spread over extended geographical regions and the exact origins of Anabaptism have been called into question, Tyndale, Joye, and their contemporaries used the term (in variation with Catabaptists) to describe certain groups of Reformers with radical teachings.[791] In the eyes of Luther, Melanchthon, Zwingli, Bucer,

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[787] "But I praye yow why shulde we not saye that the sowle doth vererlye ryse which thorowe Christe risinge from *ye* fylthe of synne/ doth enter with the bodye into a newe conuersacion of lyfe/ whiche they shall leade to gether with oute possibilite of synninge" (Tracy, *The Testament of master Wylliam Tracie*, sig. C1^{v}).

[788] "We saye also of god (by a certayne phrase of scripture) that he arisethe/ whe*n* he openythe vnto vs his power/ and presence: And why maye we not saye the same thinge of the sowle which in the meane ceasone semeth to lye secret/ and then shal expresse vnto vs (thorowe Christe) her powe and persence/ in takynge agayne her naturall bodye" (Tracy, *The Testament of master Wylliam Tracie*, sig. C1^{v}).

[789] "Why shulde ye then condempne these thinges/ Ther is no man that can receyue venome by those wordes/ excepte he haue suche a spiderowse nature that he can turne an honye combe into perelous poyson" (Tracy, *The Testament of master Wylliam Tracie*, sig. C1^{v}).

[790] Surprisingly, Clebsch, who goes into great detail to explain that Joye defended the conscious state of the souls against psychosomnolence, wrote that Germen Gardynare published an attack on Frith in 1534 in which he "chided Frith for sharing Joye's views on the somnolence of the souls of the dead until judgement day" (Clebsch, *England's Earliest Protestants*, p. 129). Of course, Gardynare shared Joye's views of the conscious state of the souls and chided Frith for advocating psychosomnolence (Germen Gardynare, *A letter of a yonge gentylman named mayster Germen Gardynare, wryten to a frend of his, wherin men may se the demeanour & heresy of Ioh[n]n Fryth late burned/ & also the dyspycyons & reasonynge vpon the same, had betwene the same mayster Germen and hym*¸ London: William Rastell, 1534). For More's accusations of Lutherans advocating soul sleep, see *supra* on pp. 261–263. For Joye's position, see *infra* on pp. 306ff and 366ff.

[791] On the Anabaptists, discussions on monogenesis versus polygenesis, their theological tenets, etc., see: Robert Friedmann, *Recent Interpretations of Anabaptism*, in *Church History* 24 (1955), pp. 132–51; Harold Bender, *The Historiography of the Anabaptists*, in *The Mennonite Quarterly Review* 31 (1957), pp. 88–104; George Huntston Williams, *Studies in the*

and Bullinger, they were "disciples of and fellow-travellers with Müntzer, the Zwickau prophets, and the revolting peasants," and as such were a danger to society and the Church of Christ.[792] Their Catholic contemporaries held similar views. They were expelled and persecuted throughout Europe, even prior to the Münsterite adventure.[793]

A radical group of Zwingli's adversaries in Zürich was led by Konrad Grebel (*c.*1498–1526) and Felix Manz (*c.*1498–1527), who in October 1523 openly questioned Zwingli's teachings and authority in Zürich.[794] On the basis of a lack of scriptural foundation as well as a lack of willingness and ability to understand the gravity of the commitment, these radical Reformers denied the validity of infant baptism and had themselves as adults rebaptized, and therefore they became known as the Anabaptists. Their teaching spread very rapidly. One of their most renowned followers was the Bavarian Balthasar Hübmaier (1480–1528). During his visit to Zürich in 1523 he met Zwingli and they became friends. Although in a conversation on 1 May 1523 Zwingli apparently admitted to Hübmaier that the baptism of infants had no biblical foundation,[795] he later turned vehemently against him and the Anabaptists. In 1525 Anabaptists were banned from the city. Nonetheless, when fleeing from his home in Austria in December 1525, Hübmaier sought refuge in Zürich. Contrary to Hübmaier's expectations, Zwingli let him be seized, racked, and tortured. The torments made Hübmaier recant some of his beliefs, and as a result he

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Radical Reformation (1517–1618). A Bibliographical Survey of Research since 1939, in *Church History* 27 (1958), pp. 46–69; James Stayer, Werner Packull & Klaus Deppermann, *From Monogenesis to Polygenesis. The Historical Discussion of Anabaptist Origins*, in *The Mennonite Quarterly Review* 49 (1975), pp. 83–121; William R. Estep, Jr., *Anabaptist Beginnings (1523–1533). A Source Book*, (Bibliotheca Humanistica & Reformatorica 16), Nieukoop: De Graaf, 1976; Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium*; Michael G. Baylor (ed.), *The Radical Reformation*, (Cambridge Texts in the History of Political Thought), Cambridge: UP, 1991; 00 Williams, *The Radical Reformation* ([1]1962) [3]1992; William R. Estep, *The Anabaptist Story. An Introduction to Sixteenth-Century Anabaptism*, Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1996; Werner Packull & Geoffrey Packull, *Radical Reformation studies*, FS James M. Stayer, Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999; C. Arnold Snyder, *Anabaptist History and Theology. An Introduction*, Kitchener: Pandora, 2002; Hermann von Kerssenbroick, *Narrative of the Anabaptist Madness. The Overthrow of Münster, The Famous Metropolis of Westphalia*, trans. Christopher S. Mackay, (Studies in the History of Christianity in the Non-Western World 132), Leiden: Brill, 2007.

792 Williams, *Studies in the Radical Reformation*, p. 48.

793 On Bucer's role in taking measures against the Anabaptists in Strasbourg see *infra* in n. 437 on p. 208. See also *supra* on p. 278.

794 On Grebel and Manz, see: John L. Ruth, *Conrad Grebel. Son of Zurich*, Scottdale & Kitchener: Herald Press, 1975; Estep, *The Anabaptist Story*, ([1]1975), [3]1996.

795 B.J. Kidd (ed.), *Documents Illustrative of the Continental Reformation*, Oxford: Clarendon, 1967, p. 451.

was allowed to leave Switzerland. On 7 March 1526 the Zürich Council decreed that Anabaptists should be drowned. On 5 January 1527, Felix Manz became the first victim of the edict, and he was the first Swiss Anabaptist to be executed at the hands of the Protestants.[796]

A year after the open confrontation between Zwingli and the radical Reformers, in the autumn of 1524, Karlstadt sent his brother-in-law, Gerhard Westerburg, as an envoy to Zürich. Westerburg spent some six days in the town. By the time of his arrival the Zürich Anabaptists had already read his book about Purgatory, as is clear from Konrad Grebel's letter to his renowned brother-in-law Vadian (Joachim von Watt, 1484–1551), reformer and mayor of St Gallen: "Nuncii nomen est Gerardus Westerburg, so forte legisti eius de sopore Animarum lebellum."[797] It is also clear from Grebel's remark that he understood Westerburg's position as advocating the idea of soul sleep. While it is not entirely clear from Grebel's letter whether he shared Westerburg's opinions, it is not at all improbable. We do know, as has been seen, that according to Zwingli's *Elenchus* (1527), one of the teachings of the Anabaptists was that the soul at the moment of death either sinks into a 'sleep' (an unconscious state) or dies with the body.[798] Zwingli also intimated that they held that the soul only regains its active capacities and consciousness at the Day of Judgement, when it will be reunited with the body in the resurrection of the flesh.

This idea of soul sleep was, in fact, geographically widespread among Anabaptists. The tenet was clearly professed by Michael Sattler (*c.*1495–1527), who fled from Strasbourg to Schleitheim (Switzerland), where he presided over the Anabaptist synod that formulated the famous Schleitheim Confession.[799] He was, however, captured together with his wife and some other members of his circle. When Archduke Ferdinand suggested a 'third baptism' (drowning) for them, they were taken into Austrian territory (Hither) and brought to court. During his trial Sattler opposed the veneration of the saints on account that they, like the rest of the souls of

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[796] Grebel was also imprisoned, but with some help he was able to escape and flee to his sister, where shortly afterwards he died of the plague in 1526.

[797] Letter to Vadian on 14 October 1526 published in Joachim Vadianus, *Die Vadianische Briefsammlung der Stadtbibliothek St. Gallen*, B. III. (Mitteilungen zur vaterländischen Geschichte 27. Mitteilungen zur väterlandischen Geschichte III, 7/1), St Gallen: Fehr, 1897, p. 88.

[798] See *supra* on p. 193.

[799] Williams, *The Radical Reformation*, 1962, pp. 174, 185–86. On Sattler, see: C. Arnold Snyder, *Revolution and the Swiss Brethren. The Case of Michael Sattler*, in *Church History* 50 (1981), pp. 276–87

the faithful, were sleeping and waiting for the judgement at the end of the world.[800] Psychosomnolence was also held by Augustine Bader, who held that the judgement of the world would arrive on Easter 1530, until which date all souls were sleeping.[801] The Anabaptists of Esselingen also confessed to being adherents of soul sleep (November 1531).[802] Closer to Antwerp, the spiritualist Anthony Pocquet (°*c.*1500) from Enghien taught that the departed souls are sleeping until the end of the world.[803] A barber-surgeon charged with believing in soul sleep was drowned in the Moselle at Metz.[804]

Coming from Switzerland, Strasbourg, and other main Anabaptist centres, Anabaptists also appeared almost simultaneously in France. Calvin found it necessary to react in 1534 when he wrote his celebrated book on the subject of soul sleep. The book was only published in 1542 under the title *Vivere apud Christum, non dormire animis sanctos, qui in fide Christi decedunt*.[805] Three years later it was republished with a changed title that became definitive: *Psychopannychia, qua refellitur quorundam imperitorum error, qui animas post mortem usque ad ultimum iudicium dormire putant*. Calvin again criticized the Anabaptists' teaching about soul sleep in his *Briefve instruction pour armer tous bons fideles contre les erreurs de la secte commune des Anabaptistes* (Paris: Iehan Girard, 1544).[806]

As Anabaptism spread like wildfire, it soon found many followers in Antwerp, too.[807] In 1531 Mary of Hungary (1508–58), the regent of the Netherlands, issued an ordinance in which she commanded the city councils and governors of the provinces to search out Anabaptists everywhere and to take all necessary measures required by the situation.[808] Despite

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[800] Williams, *The Radical Reformation*, 1962, p. 186.

[801] Williams, *The Radical Reformation*, 1962, pp. 188–89.

[802] The genuineness of their confession can be questioned, as it was given as a result of torture. See: Williams, *The Radical Reformation*, 1962, p. 191.

[803] Williams, *The Radical Reformation*, 1962, pp. 354–55. For Calvin's reaction, see: *Contre la secte phantastique et furieuse des Libertins que se nomment Spirituelz*, in *Calvini Opera* VII, cols. 149–248. See also: Carlos M.N. Eire, *Calvin and Nicodemism. A Reappraisal*, in *SCJ* 10 (1979), pp. 44–69, esp. p. 52; Carol Thysell, *Gendered Virtue, Vernacular Theology, and the Nature of Authority in the Heptaméron*, in *SCJ* 29 (1998), pp. 39–53, esp. p. 46.

[804] Williams, *The Radical Reformation*, 1962, p. 400.

[805] Published in CR XXXIII, pp. 170–231.

[806] Published in CR XXXV, cols. 49–142. Calvin treats the subject of the immortality of the soul in cols. 127–42.

[807] I. Schöffer, H. van der Wee & J.A. Bornewasser, (eds.), *De Lage landen van 1500 tot 1780*, Amsterdam: Agon, [4]1988, p. 63; Henry Pirenne, *Histoire de Belgique*, vol. III, Brussels: Henri Lamertin, 1912, pp. 331–70, *passim*.

[808] *Inventaire des Archives départementales du Nord*, tome V, Lille, 1885, pp. 44–45.

every effort by the religious and civil authorities, Anabaptism continued to spread. By 1534 Anabaptists abounded in practically every city and town in the Low Countries.[809] In the city records of Antwerp we find several individuals being banned in the beginning of the very year of 1534 on the charge of Anabaptism.[810] The sect was at last banned from Antwerp for good on 25 February 1534, under the threat of burning for men or drowning in the Schelde for women.[811] Later ordinances tell us that the Anabaptists' presence in Antwerp did not cease instantaneously.[812] A proclamation of 12 February 1535 explicitly names several adherents to the sect, and five days later Ieronymus Pael, "droogscheerder, van Keulen" and "herdoper," was executed.[813] On 7 March 1535 Dietrich Bitter complained in a letter from Cologne to Heinrich Bullinger that the Anabaptist heretics had spread all over the Low Countries: "Wyder synt angestochen an dusser verdoempter ketzeryen Denventer, Amsterdam, Hantwerp und vill kleyner vleckes Nidderlandts."[814]

In 1534, the Dutchmen Jan Matthys of Harlem and Jan Beukels of Leiden established their Anabaptist reign of terror in Münster. Their ideas about the earthly and immediate realization of the 'New Jerusalem' in a

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809 Carl Alfred Cornelius, *Die Niederländischen Wiedertäufer während der Belagerung Münsters 1534 bis 1535*, (Abhandlungen der hist. Classe der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften XI/2), Munich: Akademie, 1869, pp. 51–111; Jos Habets, *De wederdoopers te Maastricht tijdens de regeering van keizer Karel V, gevolgd door aanteekeningen over de opkomst der hervorming te Susteren en omstreken*, Roermond: Romen, 1877; E.M. Ten Cate, *Onderhandelingen, vanwege het Hof te Brussel met de Munstersche Wederdoopers aangeknoopt*, s. l. n. n., s.d., pp. 1–19; Theodoor Sevens (ed.), *Handvesten rakende de wederdoopers en de calvinisten der XVIe eeuw in de voormalige kastelnij van Kortrijk*, Kortrijk: Koninklijke geschied- en oudheidkundige kring van Kortrijk, 1924; Albert F. Mellink, *De wederdopers in de noordelijke Nederlanden 1531–1544*, Groningen: Wolters, 1953 (reprint: (Nederlandse herdrukken 1), Leeuwarden: Dykstra, 1981); Albert F. Mellink, *Amsterdam en de wederdopers in de zestiende eeuw*, (Sunschrift 120), Nijmegen: Socialistische, 1978; Simon Groenveld, J.P. Jacobszoon & Simon L. Verheus (eds.), *Wederdopers, menisten, doopsgezinden in Nederland: 1530–1980*, Zutphen: Walburg, 1981; T. Mateboer, *De ondergang van de wederdopers te Munster*, Utrecht: De banier, 1981; Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium*; Williams, *The Radical Reformation*, ^{3}1992; Estep, *The Anabaptist Story*, (^{1}1975), ^{3}1996.

810 P. Gérard (ed.), *Antwerpsch Archievenblad*, vol. 2, Antwerp: Guil. van Merlen, 1865, pp. 327–28, nos. 21–23.

811 Gérard, *Antwerpsch Archievenblad*, vol. 2, p. 329, no. 24.

812 We find later ordinances that prescribe e.g. the punishment of those who offer accommodation in secret to Anabaptists (Gérard, *Antwerpsch Archievenblad*, vol. 2, p. 332, no. 26).

813 See *supra* on p. 5.

814 Bullinger, *Heinrich Bullinger Briefwechsel*, B. 5. (Briefe Jahres 1535), ed. Hans Ulrich Bächtold *et al.*, Zürich: Theologischer, 1992, n. 547, p. 144.

sort of fanatical eschatological communism became "la crise suprême de l'anabaptisme."[815] The affair started on the eve of Epiphany 1534, when two disciples of Jan Matthys arrived in the city. They converted and rebaptized Bernard Rothmann (*c.*1495–*c.*1535), who had been the leading Lutheran preacher in the town.[816] Rothmann had been outlawed by Charles V, but the guildsmen of Münster protected him and the acts of the city council in August 1532 approved his teaching, against the will of prince-bishop Franz von Waldeck.[817] When Matthys' disciples arrived 1400 citizens were rebaptized on Rothmann's authority within eight days, and more Anabaptists arrived, including Matthys himself and Jan Beukels.[818] On 25 February Matthys announced his programme of cleansing the town of the 'godless' (all those who refused to accept adult baptism). Catholics and Lutherans had until 2 March to flee, after which date they could be killed if found within Münster. Matthys himself executed Hubert Ruescher, who had dared to call him a deceiver.[819] When the city was besieged by the prince-bishop's army, Matthys called on the "Covenanter" of the Netherlands to liberate the "holy city of Münster" and thus avoid the approaching Judgement of God.[820] Monasteries were plundered and all privately owned money collected. Food and property were declared common possessions, although households could keep using whatever had belonged to them. Doors had to be kept open at all times. In a fanatic sortie on Easter Sunday (4 April 1534), Matthys, who believed that with God's help he could beat the besiegers single-handedly, was killed together with thirty of his men. The control of the city fell into the hands of Jan Beukels, who appointed twelve Elders to govern the city and introduced a strict military regime of terror in the city. Crimes such as "blasphemy, seditious language, scolding one's parents, disobeying one's master in a household, adultery, lewd conduct, backbiting, spreading scandal, and complaining" were to be punished by death.[821] On the testimony of the OT, polygamy was introduced in the "New Israel" that the Lord had restored in Münster, and unmarried women initially had no right to refuse the men who claimed them for

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[815] Pirenne, *Histoire de Belgique*, vol. III, p. 358.

[816] Rothmann had been criticizing infant baptism for some time, but his teaching, except on the Eucharist, was mainly Lutheran.

[817] Williams, *The Radical Reformation*, 1962, p. 365.

[818] Williams, *The Radical Reformation*, 1962, p. 369.

[819] Williams, *The Radical Reformation*, 1962, p. 369.

[820] Williams, *The Radical Reformation*, 1962, p. 370.

[821] Williams, *The Radical Reformation*, 1962, p. 371.

their wives. Having successfully resisted the attack of the episcopal troops in early September 1534, Jan Beukels had himself anointed and crowned by Jan Dusentschuer as "a king of righteousness over all."[822] This anarchic crisis, threatening Catholics and Protestants alike, ended only on 25 June 1535, after the long siege of Münster and the military actions of the Count of Hoogstraeten. The whole story of the bloody terror of Jan Beukels in the role of King of Zion ruling over the starving population of Münster was published during the same summer in Dutch and in English by the same Merten de Keyser who published Tyndale's works.[823] But when Joye's quarrel with Tyndale took place, the outcome of the story was not yet clear.[824] In England Anabaptist beliefs were probably introduced by Dutch and Flemish adherents of the movement who fled from the persecutions on the Continent, but there is no significant presence of Anabaptist ideas in the British Isles prior to the late 1530s.[825]

Conclusion to Chapter Three

Having reached the end of this chapter, the reader probably feels lost among such a wealth of literature. If this is the case, then I have achieved my goal. The number of works on beliefs concerning post-mortem existence in the early Reformation period is indeed overwhelming. Keeping in mind that my overview presents only a limited account of less then two decades of those authors and works that can be directly linked with the Tyndale–Joye debate, the reader's own feeling of being overwhelmed by this account disproves the frequently repeated argument of what I called

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[822] Williams, *The Radical Reformation*, 1962, p. 373.

[823] *A treuue neuu tydynges of the wo[n]derfull worckes of the Rebaptisers of Mu[n]ster in Westuaell/ how the cete haethe bene wo[n]ne and in what mannar the kinge is taeken/ and all their deaades and intencyons haethe taeken an ende &c.*, [Antwerp: Merten de Keyser, 1535]; **Een warachtige nieuwe Tijdinghe vanden wonderlijken wercken der wederdoopers te Munster in Westvalen*, [Antwerp: Merten de Keyser, 1535]. Both books are probably translations of a lost German work: **Warhafftiger bericht der wunderbarlichenn handlung der Deuffer zu Münsterrin Westualen*. For a short description of the English version, see M.E. Kronenberg, *Een engelsch boekje over de wederdoopers, te Antwerpen gedrukt (1535)*, in *Het Boek* 22 (1933–34), pp. 257–65.

[824] Even the fall of Münster did not put a definitive end to the bloody history of Anabaptism. Various groups and offshoots continued to strive for a mystical revolution in a semi-religious, semi-anarchist way for the rest of the century. These incidents are nonetheless sporadic, and are of much less importance than the that of the Münsterites.

[825] On early Anabaptism in England, see: Williams, *The Radical Reformation*, 1962, pp. 401–03; Irvin Buckwalter Horst, *The Radical Brethren. Anabaptism and the English Reformation to 1558*, (Bibliotheca humanistica et reformatorica 2), Nieuwkoop: De Graaf, 1972.

the conservative consensus on Joye—namely, that Joye's "obsession" with post-mortem existence was an unprecedented, singularly strange interest in "obscure, irrelevant dogmatic problems" which jeopardized the reputation and unity of the Reformers.[826] In fact, as is evident from what has been said, beliefs concerning post-mortem existence were not at all unified, and they constituted one of the pillars of Protestant Reformation. Leaving them out of consideration is therefore a misrepresentation of the subject.

This long and admittedly technical chapter had, of course, purposes other than simply disproving the aforesaid statement of the conservative consensus. As will be clear, and as Joye himself acknowledged, Joye was indebted to many of the above-mentioned authors and ideas. It is therefore useful to recapitulate the most important points discussed in this chapter before we turn to the actual debate.

The Protestant Reformation started with Luther's stand against the practice of 'selling' indulgences to liberate souls from Purgatory. While Luther initially did not deny the existence of Purgatory, he and his followers were convinced that the Roman Catholic Church was wrong about Purgatory. There was, however, no consensus reached among the Reformers about its existence, its location, or its role in salvation.[827] In the beginning Luther, influenced by Wessel Gansfort, believed in a spiritual purgation. His ideas were developed further by Karlstadt and Westerburg, who held that it was impossible to influence the fate of the souls in purgation. Later, Luther abandoned Purgatory altogether, and on the basis of Paul's choice of words in 1 Thes. 4 and the language of the OT, the German Reformer began to advocate the idea of soul sleep, i.e. that (at least some) souls enter an unconscious state after death (*psychosomnolence*) and regain consciousness only at the end of the world, on Judgement Day, when people are resurrected both body and soul. Both Karlstadt and Westerburg were understood by their contemporaries as holding similar views, and the idea was held by various individuals and some radical groups of Reformers whom their contemporaries called Anabaptists. These groups were treated with much hostility not only by Catholic authorities but also by Protestants, because they were seen as representing a threat to public order, social peace, moral conduct, and religious stability. By the time of

[826] See *supra* on pp. 44, 54, and 57.
[827] Koslofsky, *Separating the Living from the Dead*, p. 143.

the Münsterite adventure in 1534–35, they had been expelled from various places under the threat of the death.

Other Protestant writers, such as Melanchthon, Zwingli, Bucer, and Bullinger, turned vehemently against Anabaptists. In the eyes of these Reformers, the Anabaptists' advocacy of *psychosomnolence* is nothing less than the advocacy of *thnetopsychism*, i.e. the idea that the souls die after death. These South German/Swiss Reformers were convinced that such a belief induced immorality because it removed the fear of and hope for a post-mortem retribution or reward. They argued that the Anabaptists were ignorant of the manner of speaking of the Bible, according to which 'sleep' is used as a euphemism for the death of the body, but the soul cannot cease to be, and so it is judged immediately after leaving the body at the moment of death. To support their position, the Anabaptists' opponents referred to the Hebrew verb קוּם (translated by forms and cognates of the Latin *(re)surgo* in the Vulgate), which term (together with the Greek counterparts derived from the verbs ἀνίστημι and ἐγείρω in the LXX and in the NT) can refer, according to them, not only to the resurrection of the flesh/body, but also to the immortality of the soul, or, more precisely, the intermediate state, the life of the separated soul between the time of death and the final resurrection at the end of the world. They were certain that this was the case in Jesus' debate with the Sadducees (Mk. 12:18–27 *et par*). Also, Jesus' parable about the poor Lazarus and the rich man was commonplace as a proof of the immortality of the soul. Westheimer's and Brunfels's practical publications, which were more accessible for a less educated readership than the theologically complex writings, filled with quotations in Greek and Hebrew, of the above-mentioned writers, popularized these arguments on a large scale among Protestants.

The Reformation was not exclusively shaped by theologians of importance; the early Reformation period also witnessed many popular upheavals and local movements that formulated criticism on various aspects of the Catholic Church. Many, if not all, of these related to dogmatic issues (such as the veneration of the Virgin Mary, veneration of the saints, and the existence of Purgatory), which also had a practical aspect in popular piety in relation to the beliefs of some kind of post-mortem existence.[828]

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[828] E.g. Pierre Bar, a convert to Judaism who was burnt at Rouen in 1528 for calling the Virgin Mary a whore; Pierre Rivière, an apothecary from Port-Ste-Marie in the Agenais who denied the existence of Hell and that Judas was damned; the adolescent son of a shoemaker who said that miraculous images were no different from the stone gods of the heathens and should be removed from Christian churches; and a sixty-year-old Parisian

In my chapter I have presented three English authors—William Roye, Simon Fish, and William Tracy—whose writings became a common heritage and source of inspiration of the early English Protestants.

The last three authors that were treated in this chapter were the Catholic apologists and martyrs Thomas More and John Fisher, and John Frith, the last of whom was an early companion of Tyndale and Joye during their exile in Antwerp and was also killed for his convictions. More and Fisher regarded Luther and 'his sect' in much the same way as Zwingli, Melanchthon, Bucer, and Bullinger looked upon the Anabaptists: a danger to social order and moral behaviour. Their fear was that by denying the existence of Purgatory; breaking the spiritual solidarity between the Churches Militant, Suffering, and Triumphant; and advancing predestination, Protestants undermine the fear and hope for a post-mortal retribution or reward, and thus provoke immoral behaviour just like those who believe that the souls die or sleep after death. Frith's reaction was the denial of the mortality of the soul, but his agnostic approach to the fate of the departed souls seemed to a lot of his contemporaries to be an affirmation of such a belief.

In his study of popular dissent in the Low Countries in the 1520s, A.C. Duke discerned a development of points of attack, starting with indulgences and then moving on to Purgatory, then the veneration of the Blessed Virgin and intercession of the saints, and then finally the mass.[829] David J. Nicholls has argued that this schema may be applied in a broad sense to France as well.[830] It is worth noting that the issues mentioned by Duke and Nicholls all relate to the belief in a post-mortem existence. Even if it is impossible to prove or disprove the applicability or relevance of such a scheme to the early Reformation period in general on the basis of my cursory presentation of the beliefs concerning the issues of post-mortem existence in this chapter, the studies of Nicholls and Duke confirm my point that such beliefs were not only a 'hot topic' among the

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who sustained several propositions on the invocation of saints against the monks and said that all Christians are priests (Nicholls, *The Nature of Popular Heresy in France*, pp. 273–74). Cardinal Giovanni Morone (1509–80), bishop of Modena, would write with horror that the people in Modena "nelle boteche si parla contra il purgatorio, contra la messa, contra la potestà ecclesiastica, contra l'invocatione de sancti et altri articuli non altrimente che si faccia in Germania" (Ludwig Cardauns (ed.), *Nuntiaturberichte aus Deutschland 1533–1559 nebst ergänzenden Aktenstücken*, VI, Berlin: A. Bath, 1909, no. 270, p. 91).

829 A.C. Duke, *The Face of Popular Religious Dissent in the Low Countries, 1520–1530*, in *JEH* 26 (1975), pp. 51–55.

830 Nicholls, *The Nature of Popular Heresy in France*, pp. 273–74.

Reformers, but they constituted one of their main concerns.[831] This concern was a quest to grasp and reformulate the original Christian message, based on Christ's salvific death and bodily resurrection, for the faithful of their own era. Rather than be based on philosophical concepts, Patristic writings, or Scholastic theology, the formulation of this Christian message had to be based exclusively on biblical grounds, in the language and mindset of the Bible.

[831] Cf. Trueman, *Luther's Legacy. Salvation and English Reformers, 1525–1556*, p. 130.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE TYNDALE–JOYE DEBATE IN ANTWERP

With Thomas More and John Frith in the previous chapter, we have already landed in the middle of the Tyndale–Joye debate. Therefore, we have to go back in time to the beginning of the course of events that led to the clash between these two characters of the early Reformation period. The story has to begin with the publication of Tyndale's first NT edition in Worms, its early reprints in Antwerp by Christoffel van Ruremund, and the Protestant standpoint, shared by Tyndale and Joye, of rejecting the Catholic teaching on the invocation of the saints. Their diverging opinions on the state of the deceased are witnessed in Tyndale's *Answere to Sir Thomas More* and in his *Exposition of the fyrste epistle of seynt Ihon* on the one hand, and in Joye's *Letter to Hugh Latimer* on the other. Tyndale's and Joye's views clashed openly when the widow of Christoffel van Ruremund published Tyndale's NT with Joye's revisions in August 1534, in response to which Tyndale wrote his acerbic second foreword in November 1534. After a reprint of the NT with Joye's editorial interventions, the climax of their debate was reached with Joye's *Apologye*, published on 27 February 1535.

Tyndale's Worms New Testament and Its Antwerp Reprints (1526–33)

After an abortive attempt at Cologne, Tyndale printed his first full NT translation at Worms in 1526.[1] Tyndale's translation is important in the history of the English Bible because it is the very first English NT in print. Furthermore, by choosing one of Erasmus' NT editions as *Vorlage* for his work, Tyndale produced the first English NT ever based directly on a Greek text.[2] Notwithstanding Tyndale's unquestionable but sometimes over-emphasized merit in going back to the original language, his choice was somewhat unfortunate because Erasmus' text, based on late manuscripts,

[1] On the abortive attempt at Cologne, see *supra* on pp. 14 and 247ff., esp. n. 644 on p. 249.

[2] Tyndale probably used Erasmus' 1522 Greek-Latin NT edition, usually referred to by the letter γ. See Juhász, *The Bible and the Early Reformation Period*, in *TT*, p. 29.

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comprises many secondary readings, and in some cases is less reliable than the Vulgate.[3] Furthermore, at times there are incongruities between the Greek text, Erasmus' Latin translation, and Erasmus' Latin commentary.[4] The latter often seems to have been based on a Greek text that is different from the one included in his edition, and there are quite a few discrepancies between the commentary and Erasmus' Latin translation. In addition, Erasmus' Greek text includes some of his own translations from the Latin Vulgate into Greek.[5] Therefore, a much more fortunate option for Tyndale could have been to base his translation on Cardinal Ximénez' *Complutensis*, which encompassed a significantly better Greek text.[6] Moreover, Tyndale followed Luther's version in wording and theology. For contemporaries, it was unmistakably clear that Tyndale's Testament was partial to Luther-

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[3] "Ironically, Erasmus also at times relied on late Byzantine manuscripts for his translation, and consequently, because of their late date, ended up accepting texts that were inferior to those which had faithfully been preserved in the Vulgate" (Joi Christians, *Erasmus and the New Testament. Humanist Scholarship of Theological Convictions?*, in *Trinity Journal* 19 (1998), pp. 51–80, here p. 56). See also *supra* in n. 54 on p. 135.

[4] Henk Jan De Jonge, *The Character of Erasmus' Translation of the New Testament as Reflected in His Translation of Hebrews 9*, in *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 14 (1984), *passim* esp. p. 86. See also Henk Jan De Jonge, *Novum Testamentum a nobis versum: The Essence of Erasmus' Edition of the New Testament*, in *Journal of Theological Studies* NS 35 (1984), pp. 394–413.

[5] The best known example is the case of the last few verses of the Apocalypse. Erasmus had difficulties in acquiring a Greek manuscript of the Revelation of Saint John for the printing of his 1516 bilingual edition. At last, the Hebraist Johannes Reuchlin lent him a copy, which Reuchlin had borrowed from a Dominican cloister. In this manuscript, however, the last six verses of the book were wanting. Because Erasmus was keen to be the first on the market with his edition, and because he knew that his competitor, Cardinal Ximénez, had already printed his *Complutensis* and was waiting only for the Pope's approval to publish, Erasmus decided to translate the missing verses from the Vulgate back into Greek. In his *Annotationes* to the NT, he admitted his procedure, and eleven years later, in the fourth edition, he supplied the originally missing verses on the basis of the text in the *Complutensis*. There are, however, many other places where Erasmus preferred the Vulgate's rendering to the Greek text. On Erasmus' 'back-translations' and his use of the Vulgate, see: De Jonge, *The Character of Erasmus' Translation of the New Testament*, pp. 82–83; Henk Jan De Jonge, *Erasmus' New Testament Translation Method*, in *The Bible Translator* 37 (1986), pp. 135–38; Irena Backus, *The Church Fathers and the Canonicity of the Apocalypse in the Sixteenth Century: Erasmus, Frans Titelmans, and Theodore Beza*, in *SCJ* 29 (1998), pp. 651–66; Henk Jan De Jonge, *Ex ipsis venis, ex ipsis fontibus. On the Importance and Necessity of the Critical Edition of Erasmus' New Testament Works. De l'importance et de la nécessité d'une édition critique des oeuvres d'Erasme sur le Nouveau Testament*, Voorthuizen: Florivallis, 2002. On Cardinal Ximénez and his *Biblia Polyglotta Complutensis*, see: Juhász, Cat. 29 in *TT*, pp. 84–85. See also: A. Neubauer, *Alfonso de Zamora*, in *JQR* 7 (1895), pp. 398–417; Bentley, *Humanists and Holy Writ*.

[6] Admittedly, the large volumes of the *Complutensis* would have been much more cumbersome for someone on the move, although Tyndale did own at least one Hebrew Bible, which must have been of a comparable size.

anism and was prepared on a Lutheran basis.[7] This is most evidently manifested in Tyndale's choice of words. An example of this was seen in Tyndale's preference to render the Greek πρεσβύτερος with the English 'senior' instead of the usual 'priest.'[8] Although etymologically correct, the choice was seen as dogmatically motivated. Furthermore, despite its generally good readability, Tyndale's text is not without fault; some of his renderings are less fortunate, and he left out words, clauses, and even entire sentences from his translation.[9]

Tyndale himself was aware of the shortcomings of his version and in an epilogue he asked the "Christenly learned" reader not to take offence at the "rudnes off the worke" but to take into consideration that Tyndale was pioneering in the area of Bible translation and there was no antecedent that could have helped Tyndale's work. Therefore, the reader should "count it as a thynge not havyng his full shape, but as it were borne afore hys tyme, even as a thing begunne rather then fynesshed."[10] Tyndale promised in the epilogue to revise it "in tyme to come." This revision, Tyndale specified, will include the reduction of redundancies and the supply of omitted phrases.[11] In his revision, Tyndale also intended to give a clearer and better rendering of certain places: "to geve lyght where it is requyred and to seke in certayne places more proper englysshe."[12] He also called upon the educated reader to "bestowe unto the edyfyinge of Christis body (which is the congregacion of them that beleve) those gyftes whych they have receaved of god for the same purpose."[13]

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[7] Cf. More's criticism *supra* on pp. 262ff, See also Cochlaeus' words: Cochlaeus, *Commentaria*, pp. 132–35.

[8] In his later works Tyndale would render it with 'elder.' Similarly, Tyndale used 'oversears' instead of the traditional 'bishop' for the Greek ἐπίσκοπος in Acts 20:28. But he kept 'bishop' and 'deacon' (for διάκονος) in other places (e.g. Phil. 1:1; 1 Tim. 3:1f and 3:12; Titus 1:7). Tyndale held that priests had no sacramental (in the Catholic sense of the word) function, but only a teaching function: "Another worde is there in greke called presbiter/ in laten/ senior/ in english an elder and is nothinge but an officer to teach and not to be a mediator betwene God and vs. [...] By a prest then in the new testamente vnderstonde nothinge but an elder to teach the younger and to bringe them vnto to the full knowlege and vnderstondinge of Christe and to minister the sacramentes which Christe ordeyned/ which is also nothynge but to preach Christes promises" (Tyndale, *The obedie[n]ce of a Christen man*, fos. 91^{v}–92^{r}).

[9] For some of the omitted texts that were supplied by Joye, see *infra* n. 168 on p. 325.

[10] T_{1526}, 344^{v}.

[11] "We will geve it his full shape: and putt out yf ought be added superfluusly: and add to yff ought be oversene thorowe negligence" (T_{1526}, 344^{v}).

[12] T_{1526}, 344^{v}.

[13] T_{1526}, 344^{v}.

With the exception of the short epilogue, Tyndale's Worms NT, unlike other scriptural publications of the time, lacked any aid that would assist its reader. The book contained no calendar, no maps, no list of Sunday readings, no concordances to parallel passages, no indices of passages or matters contained (save for a table of contents), no marginal notes, and no introductions at all. This was probably due to the hastiness of the edition.[14]

Despite its deficiencies, the first printed English NT was immediately a bestseller. Tyndale clearly found an opening on the early English book market with his NT. For prior to the appearance of T_{1526} (or rather the Cologne fragment), more than seventy years after the invention of the printing press with movable type and fifty years after the first printed English book,[15] only a few dozen biblical verses had become available in print

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[14] Modern scholarship tends to account for the lack of marginal notes (and introduction) in Tyndale's first complete NT edition by pointing to the Protestant principle of *sola scriptura* or by claiming that Tyndale consciously avoids polemics that take the reader's attention away from the text. I believe this is mistaken. Tyndale argued against *false* glosses but not glosses as such (cf. "Nowe yf thou geue the lawe a false glose . . ."; William Tyndale, *An exposycyon vpon the.v.vi.vii.chapter of Mathewe*, fo. 3[r]). The Cologne fragment as well as every other biblical translation (and, in fact, every other work) by Tyndale did contain introductions and marginal notes. The fact that he thought it necessary to write commentaries on Jonah, the First Letter of Saint John, and the Sermon on the Mount shows that he thought that the biblical text needs explanation. Tyndale believed that just as nobody can read unless the alphabet is taught to him or her, nobody can understand the Scripture unless he or she has the evangelical faith and commitment in his or her heart. ("AS a man can by no meanes reade/ excepte he be first taught the lettres of the crosserowe/ euen so it is vnpossible for a man of what so euer degre or name he be of/ to vnderstonde ought in the scripture vn to the honoure of god/ and healthe of his soule/ excepte he be first taught the professione of his baptym and haue it also written in his herte"; William Tyndale, *The exposition of the fyrste Epistle of seynt Ihon with a Prologge before it: by W. T.*, A2[r]). Accordingly, as the title page of his commentary on the Sermon on the Mount shows, Tyndale thought that his own "exposycyon [was] the restorynge agayne of Chrystes lawe corrupte by the Papystes," and that his "prologe [was] very necesary" because it contained "the whole sum of the couenaunt betwene God and vs, vpon which we be baptysed to kepe it." Joye explicitly mentioned that on that point he differed from Tyndale: while Tyndale and his disciples argued for the use of notes and glosses, Joye preferred the plain text without notes. See *infra* on pp. 417f.

[15] The invention of the printing press with movable hand-set types cast in moulds is traditionally connected with Johann Gutenberg's (*c.*1400–1468) name. Around 1450 he set up a press in Mainz, where he issued a large Latin Bible and some smaller books and leaflets. The printing of his Latin Bible (known variously as the Gutenberg Bible, Mazarin Bible, or 42-Line Bible) was finished before the end of 1456. The first book printed in English was issued about 1473 at Bruges (Brugge). The *HEre begynneth the volume intituled and named the recuyell of the historyes of Troye, composed and drawen out of dyuerce bookes of latyn in to frensshe by the ryght venerable persone and worshipfull man. Raoul le ffeure. preest and chapelayn vnto the ryght noble gloryous and myghty prynce in his tyme Phelip duc of Bourgoyne of Braband &c in the yere of the incarnacion of our lord god a thousand foure*

in English; among the most important of these was Bishop John Fisher's translation of the penitential psalms and the scattered scriptural quotations Fisher used in his commentary and the English version of the Our Father.[16] The lack of availability of biblical texts in the vernacular was due to a century of strict ecclesiastical control over the translation of the Scripture.[17] This exacting ecclesiastical control can also partly account for Tyndale's success: general curiosity was undoubtedly awakened by the excessive reaction of the English hierarchy. In addition to the (sometimes overemphasized) genuine interest to read the Bible in the vernacular, the air of prohibition, recalcitrance, and secrecy made Tyndale's NT very appealing to the public.[18]

It comes as no surprise, then, that Tyndale's NT was reprinted by an adventurous but commercially astute printer in Antwerp within a year.[19] The original octavo edition at Worms had a run of at least 3000

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honderd sixty and foure, and translated and drawen out of frenshe in to englisshe by Willyam Caxton mercer of ye cyte of London, at the comaundement of the right hye myghty and vertuouse pryncesse hys redoubtyd lady. Margarete by the grace of god. Duchesse of Bourgoyne of Lotryk of Braband &c., whiche sayd translacion and werke was . . . fynysshid in the holy cyte of Colen the. xix. day of septembre the yere of our sayd lord god a thousand foure honderd sixty and enleuen [sic] &c. . . was originally composed by Raoul Lefèvre, chaplain to Philip, duke of Burgundy, in 1464, and was translated from the French in 1471 by William Caxton (*c.*1425–1491), encouraged by Margaret, duchess of Burgundy. In 1476 Caxton returned to England and set up the first English printing press at Westminster.

16 Psalms 6, 32, 38, 51, 102, 130, 143. John Fisher, *This treatyse concernynge the fruytfull saynges of Dauyd the kynge & prophete in the seuen penytencyall psalmes. deuyded in seuen sermons was made and compyled by the ryght reuerente fader in god Iohan fyssher doctour of dyuynyte and bysshop of Rochester at the exortacion and sterynge of the moost excellente pryncesse Margarete countesse of Rychemount & Derby, & moder to our souerayne lorde kynge Henry the. vii*, London: Wynkyn de Worde, 1508. The English version of the Our Father was published in a primer in 1523 by Christopher van Ruremund, whose wife later published Joye's *Apologye*: see *supra* in n. 71 on p. 20.

17 See *supra* n. 39 on p. 13.

18 The interest in Bible reading was already awakened by Lollardism, which was present in all levels of the society. This interest is clearly attested to by the pamphlet of Richard Ullerston (d. 1423), *A compendious olde treatyse, shewynge howe that we oughte to haue ye scripture in Englysshe*. It has been suggested that the pamphlet was edited by Jerome Barlowe, William Roye, or William Tyndale, for publication by Merten de Keyser with his usual false address "at Marlborow in the land of Hessen: Be my Hans Luft" in 1531. On the influence of the Lollard Bible, see: Margaret Deanesly, *The Significance of the Lollard Bible*, (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought), Cambridge: UP, 1966; Anne Hudson, *The Premature Reformation. Wycliffite Texts and Lollard History*, Oxford: Clarendon, 1988; Smeeton, *Lollard Themes in the Reformation Theology of William Tyndale*.

19 Andrew Hope has argued in a lecture at a meeting of the Tyndale Society that the Antwerp publications were not secondary to the Worms edition (private communication by Guido Latré). Joye, however, clearly speaks about the Antwerp publications as based on an acquired printed copy and not as publications commissioned by a publisher. ("Tindal aboute.viij. or. ix. yere a goo translated and printed the new testament in a mean great

(possibly 6000) copies. The first Antwerp reprint, a handy little sextodecimo, is estimated to have had a print run of between 2000 and 3000 copies.[20] Although the text was not changed, the addition of a calendar and the usual marginal references to parallel passages made the edition more appealing for the reader compared with Tyndale's original work. Due to its reduced size, the book was easier to hide than the "mean great volume" of T_{1526}.[21] Nonetheless, the edition was produced without an English-speaking corrector, with the predictable consequences regarding the spelling.[22]

The unremitting supply of English Lutheran NTs troubled the English authorities. Although printers of clandestine publications resorted to pseudonymity to mislead the censors (some claimed to have been printed in *Utopia*, others in St Peter's at Rome [*cum privilegio apostolico*], and still others in Basle by Adam Anonymous), the evidence trail led to Antwerp. Both Archbishop Warham and Cardinal Wolsey sent their envoys to Antwerp to detect and eliminate its source. In May and June 1526 Warham's representative bought up all of the available copies of Tyndale's Testament in order to destroy them. This, of course, had just the opposite effect: instead of cutting the supply of English Lutheran NTs, it improved the financial situation of the printer, and indirectly that of the English Protestant community in Antwerp. A few months later, by the middle of November 1526, Wolsey's agents identified the printer in the person of Christoffel van Ruremund, also known by his place of origin as Christoffel van Endhoven (active 1522–31). He was by no means new to printing Protestant books: in 1525 he had put out a Dutch translation of Luther's German NT. This Dutch version was not only based on Luther's text but also contained a Lutheran prologue, and the text was furnished with numerous Protestant glosses, so the book was soon suppressed.[23] Due to diplomatic pressure from Henry VIII and from Cardinal Wolsey exercised through John Hackett, the newly appointed English ambassador to the

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volume [...] And a non aftir the dwche men gote a copye & printed it agen in a small volume."; Joye, *Apologye*, sig. $C4^r$).

[20] Joye, *Apologye*, sig. $C5^r$

[21] Joye, *Apologye*, sig. $C4^r$.

[22] "But yet/ for that they had no englisshe man to correcke the setting/ thei themselue hauyng not the knowlege of our tongue/ were compelled to make many mo fautes then were in the copye/ & so corrupted the boke that the simple reder might ofte tymes be taryed & steek" (Joye, *Apologye*, sig. $C4^r$).

[23] A year later he republished his NT in a slightly revised adaptation (based on the Vulgate or Erasmus' Latin translation) and left out the annotations and the prologue. See Arblaster, Cat. 60 in *TT*, p. 119.

Court of Margaret of Austria, governess of the Low Countries, Christoffel van Ruremund was arrested. Yet both the Antwerp authorities and Margaret of Austria were reluctant to act against their own citizens merely upon a foreign demand, so they demanded that the books be translated into Dutch so that they could be assessed. Since the translation of Tyndale's English NT into Dutch made little sense, Bishop Cuthbert Tunstall provided a certificate in December 1526 that the translation was indeed heretical. But the Antwerp authorities, who were obviously concerned with the predictable negative mercantile effects of a possible condemnation of the printer, found Tunstall's certificate insufficient for a conviction. Ultimately, a compromise solution was found: on 16 January 1527 a proclamation was published that ordered the confiscation and burning of all discoverable copies at Antwerp and Bergen-op-Zoom. Christoffel van Ruremund was released without trial.[24]

Encouraged by the fortunate outcome of his indictment, Christoffel van Ruremund republished Tyndale's NT around 1530–31 in order to meet the unceasing demand for the new English translation of the NT. Similarly to the original Worms edition, this publication, again with a run between 2000 and 3000 copies, took the form of an octavo. This time, the book also contained illustrations for the book of Revelation.[25] In order to encourage the sale of his newly printed English NT, van Ruremund himself travelled to England. The English authorities, however, were much less tolerant towards religious dissent, and as a result the Flemish printer was soon arrested for selling the Lutheran NTs of Tyndale and was imprisoned in Westminster, where he died in 1531. His business was taken over by his wife, Catherine, who ran the press until the middle of the 1540s.

When the 1530–31 reprints were sold out, the widow decided to publish a reprint of Tyndale's translation. The previous two reprints had been set and published without any English-speaking corrector, a fact which resulted in a corrupted text that was difficult to read.[26] This, of course, could be disadvantageous from a commercial point of view, so for the new edition the widow van Ruremund turned to Tyndale (who in the meantime had moved to Antwerp) to ask him to revise and correct his original text, as he had promised in his epilogue of T_{1526}. Tyndale did not

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[24] See Hope, Cat. 94 in *TT*, pp. 151–52.

[25] "After this thei printed it agein also without a correctour in a greater letter & volume with the figures in the apocalipse" (Joye, *Apologye*, sig. C4^{r}).

[26] "After this thei printed it agein also without a correctour [...] whiche were therfore miche falser then their firste" (Joye, *Apologye*, sig. C4^{r}).

comply with the widow's request. Perhaps he was discontented with the fairly moderate remuneration the widow offered him,[27] or he had already reached an agreement with Merten de Keyser for the publication of his revised version.[28] At any rate, Tyndale's own revision was not yet finished, so the widow had to look for an English-speaking corrector for her edition, as she was determined to put out the book again. And thus George Joye, another Protestant English exile in Antwerp, was asked to do the job.

Catherine van Ruremund's choice of Joye as corrector was, so to speak, self-evident. George Joye already had several years of experience as a Bible translator. His translations provided the texts for the first English printed versions of a series of OT books. As has been pointed out, the first of these was the first printed English Psalter in 1530, which was based on Bucer's pseudonymous psalm commentary.[29] Prior to that (probably in 1529), Joye had published a *Primer*, the first Protestant prayer book in English, which already contained the English translation of some thirty psalms.[30] The *Primer* was reissued under the title *Ortulus anime* in the same year that the first Psalter appeared.[31] He also published the first printed English versions of the Book of Isaiah (1531), Proverbs (1533), and Qohelet (1533).[32] At the time, Joye was working on his other OT translations for a rival press—namely, those of Jeremiah and a fresh translation of the Psalms, both of which were to appear over the course of the year 1534 from the press of Merten de Keyser.[33]

The widow's request to Joye concerning the correction of the corrupted text, however, was turned down. Joye, like Tyndale, refused the widow's offer. He tried to dissuade her from publishing the reprint, arguing that while he would be doing the correction, Tyndale might publish his own,

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[27] Joye tells us that he received the total sum of 14 Flemish shillings for his corrections. This is about one tenth of the money Tyndale worked for (£10). (Joye, *Apologye*, sig. C5^{v}). See *infra* pp. 354–55, exp. n. 316 and pp. 358–61.

[28] Tyndale's rejection is usually explained as his desire to write his other works, and that he wanted to translate the whole of the OT first. Nonetheless, he did find time to revise his translation of Genesis, of which the first version was only produced in 1530.

[29] See *supra* on pp. 21 and 208.

[30] This *Primer* is no longer extant.

[31] See *supra* on p. 21.

[32] Joye, *The Prophete Isaye*. Proverbs (1533) and Qohelet (1533) have only survived in their London reprint dating from a year later: [George Joye (trans.),] *The prouerbes of Solomon/ newly translated into Englyshe*, London: Thomas Godfray, 1534; [George Joye (trans.),] *Here foloweth the boke of Solomon called Ecclesiastes/* (*which is to say in Englishe a precher*), London: Thomas Godfray, 1534. (The two are bound in one volume.) See *infra* n. 608 on p. 415.

[33] Joye, *Ieremy the Prophete*; Joye, *Davids Psalter*.

corrected translation, in which case the widow could not publish the old version (and thus Joye's corrections would be done in vain) or her books would not sell. Nonetheless, Catherine van Ruremund went on with the publication, and the third van Ruremund edition of Tyndale's NT came from the press around the end of 1533 or early 1534. This reprint, in the form of a sextodecimo, had a print run of around 2**000** copies.[34] In spite of the fact that the readability was even worse than that of the previous two editions, the stock was soon sold out.[35]

A Common Protestant Basis

Before advancing the story that will lead to the open clash between Tyndale and Joye, their common theological ground should be pointed out. For although, as will be apparent, Tyndale and Joye had developed differing theological views by this time (1533/1534) on the fate of the deceased, their opinions were founded on common ground: the rejection of the Catholic teaching on salvation. Dissatisfied with the contemporary English Church, both Tyndale and Joye embraced the cause of a Reformation and sought a renewal to return to what they believed was the original message of Christ. Both English divines believed that justification can be achieved only by faith (*sola fide*) and that salvation is a free gift of God (*sola gratia*) through Christ's meritorious death, which is the token of the new covenant between God and humankind sealed with Christ's blood. They consented that God's Word, as preserved in the Bible, is the sole authority in matters of faith (*sola scriptura*) and that everything that cannot be founded on Scripture is human tradition that accreted to and covered the true sense of God's Word. They both had reservations vis-à-vis the Vulgate and advocated the priority of the original texts. On the basis of these principles they both came to the conclusion that the Catholic teaching on post-mortem issues was wrong. Since Tyndale's theology has been studied frequently and comprehensively, his position will be presented only concisely, and most of this section will be dedicated to presenting Joye's position.

The picture of the Church that emerges from Tyndale's works is one of greedy and hypocritical prelates, of selfish bishops and deceitful priests

[34] Joye, *Apologye*, sig. C5^{r}.

[35] "The dewch me*n* prynted it agen the thyrde tyme in a small volume lyke their firste prynt/ but miche more false the*n* euer it was before" (Joye, *Apologye*, sig. C4^{r}).

and monks headed by the Pope, whose only authority is to preach God's word; but the Pope neglects this duty and usurps God's place. They are all "shameless iugglers," the Antichrist's agents who have one common goal: to deceive the common people, to conceal Christ's Gospel, to hide the key of knowledge, to "stoppe vpp the kingdom of heuen," and to indulge in their own pleasure, in "fylthy lucre and abbhorringe couvetousnes."[36] Tyndale believed that part of this deceit was the various Catholic doctrines relating to the post-mortem existence. The Gospel does not require satisfaction or good works for sins (for "vnto Godwarde Christ is a perpetuall and an euerlastinge satisfaction for euer moare") but repentance from sin, which is followed by faith in Christ and in His salvific death and should be a lifelong attitude of a Christian.[37] This faith achieves justification. Accordingly, Tyndale saw Purgatory as unscriptural, an invention of the Pope to extract money from the people.[38] The idea is superstitious, adopted from pagan religions, and thus sinful.[39] So is the teaching on indulgences, which applies Christ's and the saints' merits to redeem souls from Purgatory, and the teaching on the sacrament of penance, which uses superstitious ceremonies and concords with the teachings of the Pharisees, who put their hope "in the dedes of the ceremonyes whych god ordeyned not to iustifie but to be signes of promises by which they that beleued were iustified."[40] No mass can save the deceased from his sins, and sometimes people keep praying for those benefactors who bequeathed their fortune to pray for their souls, even after they have been declared saints and their prayers are sought by the living. Furthermore, praying to the saints is meaning-

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[36] Tyndale, *The obedie[n]ce of a Christen man*, fos. 40^{v}–41^{v} and 75^{r}; Tyndale, *An answere vnto Sir Thomas Mores Dialoge*, sig. D3^{v} (O'Donnell, p. 45). Cf. Tyndale, *The obedie[n]ce of a Christen man*, fos. 38^{v}–39^{r}, 45^{v}, 54^{v}–57^{r}, and 75^{r}–76^{r}.

[37] Tyndale, *The obedie[n]ce of a Christen man*, fo. 99^{v}. See also: "Penaunce is a worde of their awne forginge to disceave vs with all/ as many other are. In the scripture we fynde penitentia repentaunce. Agite penitentiam/ do repente/ Peniteat vos/ let it repente you. Metanoyte in greke/ forthinke ye/ or let it forthinke you. Of repentaunce they/ have made penaunce/ to blynde the people a*n*d to make the*m* thinke that they muste take payne a*n*d doo some holy deades to make satisffactio*n* for their synnes/ namely soch as they enioyne them. [. . .] Repe*n*taunce goeth before faythe a*n*d prepareth the waye to Christ and to the promises. For christ cometh not/ but vnto them that se their synnes in the law and repent. Repentaunce that is to saye/ this mornynge and sorowe of the herte lasteth all our lyves longe" (Tyndale, *The obedie[n]ce of a Christen man*, fos. 94^{v}–95^{r}). Cf. (Tyndale, *The exposition of the fyrste Epistle of seynt Ihon*, sigs. A2^{v}–A3^{r}).

[38] Tyndale, *An answere vnto Sir Thomas Mores Dialoge*, B7^{r} (O'Donnell, p. 26), D3$^{r–v}$ (O'Donnell, p. 45). Tyndale, *The obedie[n]ce of a Christen man*, fos. 76$^{r–v}$, 82^{r}, and 101^{v}.

[39] Tyndale, *An answere vnto Sir Thomas Mores Dialoge*, B7^{r} (O'Donnell, pp. 26–27).

[40] Tyndale, *An answere vnto Sir Thomas Mores Dialoge*, D3^{v} (O'Donnell, p. 45).

less, as they are not better than anybody else who believes in Christ: once the Christian man has come to the full knowledge of Christ, he or she is "as safe as Paul" and is "felow with Paul."[41] The saints were not saved on account of their own merits, but "by Christes merites onlye," so their merits cannot save anyone else.[42] According to God's promise, Christ's merits are enough to save everyone, so no saints' merits are needed.[43] The only reason "to hyre freres/ monkes/ nunnes/ chanons/ and prestes" and "to hyre the sayntes that are deed to praye for vs" is to enrich them, but these prayers are not only ineffective but "kepe vs from Christ."[44] In fact, the saints, even though they are dead, rob people faster than they ever did in life.

Joye's position was similar. His first publication in Antwerp was his *Primer*, which is now lost but was described by the *Publick Instrument* as well as by More.[45] Primers, as has been noted, were popular prayer books for the laity.[46] As primers were not official ecclesiastical publications, there had been little or no strict regulation of their exact contents. They were from the beginning a compilation centred around the Book of Hours. They generally contained an almanac or table to find the date of Easter, a calendar of feasts of the saints, the Paternoster, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments. They could include short expositions on religious themes or edifying treatises, as well as approved special prayers and graces and some formula for the confession of sins. The heart of a primer always consisted of the shortened form of the canonical hours, the litany, the *Dirge*, the seven penitential psalms, and other observances of the Church for the use of laymen.[47]

Both More and the *Publick Instrument* mention that Joye tendentiously omitted some of the standard elements from his compilation and that his prayerbook advocated heretical tenets.[48] These omissions and unorthodox opinions deserve our attention here, as they are relevant to our topic. According to the *Publick Instrument*, it is declared in "the kalender of the

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[41] Tyndale, *The obedie[n]ce of a Christen man*, fo. 117^{r}.
[42] Tyndale, *The obedie[n]ce of a Christen man*, fos. 103^{v} and 118$^{r–v}$.
[43] Tyndale, *The obedie[n]ce of a Christen man*, fo. 103^{v}.
[44] Tyndale, *The obedie[n]ce of a Christen man*, fo. 117^{v}.
[45] See *supra* on n. 72, p. 21.
[46] Edwyn Birchenough calls them "the best-seller of medieval devotional books" (Edwyn Birchenough, *The Prymer in English*, in *The Library*, s4–18, 2, (1937), p. 177). See *supra* on p. 20.
[47] Butterworth, *The English Primers*, p. 3. See *supra* p. 21.
[48] See *supra* p. 21.

prymar" that "God toke Enoche away (that is to say) he departed owt of this worlde like other men." This is, according to the royal commission, a mistranslation of the biblical text, which says that God transferred (and not took away) Enoch.[49] Moreover, the author of the *Primer* wrote also in "the kalender" that the meritorious intentions of David and Nathan were worthless when they built the Temple in Jerusalem. Another objection against the compiler was that "He puttith in the boke of the vii. Psalmes, but he leveth owt the whole latanye/ by which apperith his erronyous opynyon agenst praying to saintes."[50] This criticism is repeated by More, who, based on hearsay information, correctly credited Joye with the authorship: Joye's *Primer*, More intimated, contained the seven penitential psalms, but not the litany "leste folke shold pray to sayntes."[51] Also, the hymns and anthems to Our Lady were left out, as was the "Dirige," "lest a man might happe to pray theron for hys fathers soule."[52] In his second *Primer*, the *Ortulus anime*, Joye omitted the prayers addressed to the Blessed Virgin and the collects of saints from the canonical Hours and replaced the traditional antiphon of the invitatory Psalm, "*Ave Maria gratia plena, dominus tecum*," with "Come vnto me all ye that labour a*n*d are laden: and I shall refreshe yowe" (Mt. 11:28), although the illustrating woodcut still illustrates the Annunciation.[53] At the end of Compline, Joye included the *Salve Rex*, a paraphrase of the *Salve Regina* addressing Christ instead of the Blessed Virgin, which became immensely popular among the Reformers.[54]

Evidently Joye shared Tyndale's views on the ineffectiveness and blasphemous character of the prayers to the saints. He believed that "all men ar synners: y*at* as many as shalbe saved shulde by saved by goddis mercy

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[49] "Primo male vertit, nam scriptura dicit, transtulit, non abstulit" (quoted by Wilkins, *Concilia Magnae Britanniae et Hiberniae*, vol. 3, p. 727).

[50] Wilkins, *Concilia Magnae Britanniae et Hiberniae*, vol. 3, p. 727.

[51] More, *The confutacyon of Tyndales answere*, sig. Bb2.

[52] More, *The confutacyon of Tyndales answere*, sig. Bb2.

[53] Joye, *Ortulus anime*, sig. L1^{r}. After the Sign of the Cross, the Creed, and the Paternoster, however, Joye also included the simplified version of the Hail Mary (containing only the first, scriptural part of the prayer) in the section entitled *A fruteful & a very Christene Instruccion fore childrene* (sigs. H1^{r}–H5^{v}): "HAyle Mary/ gretly in goddis favoure/ the Lorde is withe the/ blessid arte thou above wemen for the blessed frutes sake of thy wombe. Amen" (sig. H2^{r}).

[54] "Hayle (Iesu christe) kinge of mercye ower lyfe/ ower swetnes/ and ow*er* hope/ We salute the: vnto the we krye which are y*e* banneshed chyldren of Eue: vnto the we syghe/ sobbinge and wepinge in this vale of wretchednes: haste y*e* th*er*for ow*er* mediator: turne vnto vs those thy mercyfull eyes" (Joye, *Ortulus anime*, sig. Q3$^{r–v}$).

onlye."[55] Faith alone justifies the human person, without any works.[56] The Christian hope is therefore based on the faith in Christ and His promises, "for if we gete vs faithe of owre owne fasshoninge wherby we beleve and truste in eny woth*er* thi*n*ge then god, then make we vs an idole: for it is the faithe and truste only in owre hartes that maketh oth*er* god or ydole."[57] This, however, did not keep Joye from creating a new saint by 'canonising' Thomas Hitton, one of the English Protestants who was executed on 20 February 1530 for his beliefs; Joye inserted the feast of "Sai*n*te Thomas mar." into the calendar of his *Ortulus anime* at the date 23 February.[58] Yet Joye believed that Hitton's martyrdom did not justify him; it only testified to his faith, to God's grace, and to the fact that he was one of God's elect according to God's predestination.[59] As they are for Tyndale, the saints are but examples for Joye.[60] Therefore, Joye gave a new interpretation for the expression "the relics of the saints" in order to offset the veneration of saints' relics. This expression does not signify the earthly remains and bones of the saints, but the few elected people who remained faithful to God, as Joye explained in connection with the feast Relic Sunday, the Sunday after the feast of St Thomas of Canterbury in July.[61]

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[55] Joye, *Ortulus anime*, sig. I5^{v}.

[56] Joye, *The letters which Johan Ashwel […] sente secretely*, sigs. B2^{r}–B6^{v}.

[57] Joye, *Ortulus anime*, sig. I2^{v}. Cf. Joye's comments on the 'worship' of images and going on pilgrimages: Joye, *The letters which Johan Ashwel […] sente secretely*, sigs. C6^{r}–C7^{r}.

[58] Cf. "And More amonge his other blasphemies in his Dialoge sayth that none of vs dare abyde by our fayth vnto deeth: but shortlye therafter/ god to proue More/ that he hath euer bene/ euen a false lyare/ gaue stre*n*gth vnto his servaunte syr Thomas Hitton/ to confesse and that vnto the deeth the fayth of his holie sonne Iesus/ whiche Tomas the bishopes of Caunterburye & Rochester/ after they had dieted and tormented him secretlye murthered at Maydstone most cruellye" (Tyndale, *The practyse of Prelates*, sig. R6^{r}). Later More criticized Joye's *Ortulus*: "In theyr calendar before theyr deuout prayers, they haue sette vs a new saynt/ syr Thomas Hitton the heretyke that was burned in Kent, […] they haue as I sayde sette his name in the cale*n*dar byfore a boke of theyr englyshe prayours, yn the name of saynt Thomas the martyr, in the vigyle of the blessed apostle saynte Mathye, the xxiii. daye of February" (More, *The confutacyon of Tyndales answere*, sigs. Bb2^{r} and Bb3^{r}).

[59] "Who*m* God knows before his electe and chosen (saith Paule. Rho.8.) them hath he determined to make like y*e* ymage of hys sonne/ for it is he y*at* was y*e* firste begoten emonge many that are his brotherne" (Joye, *Ortulus anime*, sigs. A6^{v}–A7^{r}).

[60] Cf. Tyndale, *The obedie[n]ce of a Christen man*, fos. 117^{v}–118^{r}.

[61] "The sondaye after the feste of Saynte Thomas is ever Relique Sondaye. If y*e* childrene of Israel were as many in nowmbre as the sandes of the see: yet shall the*re* be saued but thei*re* reliquyes that is to saye but very fewe esaye in the tenthe chapter and alledged of Paule in y*e* nyenthe to the Rhomans" (Joye, *Ortulus anime*, sig. A7^{v}). See also: Butterworth, *The English Primers*, p. 29.

Christ died for humankind, and by his death and resurrection He obtained justification for the believer.[62] The circumcision in the OT, Joye argued, was the prefiguration of baptism, which in turn is the prefiguration of the cross. Through baptism the believer participates in Christ's death and resurrection; so by Christ's death on the cross and through the Holy Ghost, the believer is revived in baptism "in fassheninge daylye to be like Christ to suffre/ to dye and to ryse with hi*m* in a gloriouse i*m*mortale state."[63] It is this daily suffering, the daily mortification of the flesh, that is the true purgation of the human person, "of this fyer of purgatory spoke Johan baptist. Mat.3. and Luc. 3."[64] But no other Purgatory exists, Joye maintained, for Christ's meritorious death purged all sins.

Tyndale and Joye were thus seemingly in agreement on issues with regard to matters concerning post-mortem existence. They both rejected Purgatory and the intercession of the saints. They both believed that God punishes wicked and faithless people with damnation and that God saves the elect who believe in Him and gives them eternal life.[65] But as subsequent events will make clear, there was one important question on which they disagreed: when will this reward or punishment take place?

Diverging Opinions: Tyndale's Position on Soul Sleep[66]

Shortly after publishing his NT at Worms, Tyndale himself moved to Antwerp, where he started to translate the OT. His translation of Genesis appeared in 1530, followed by the other books of the Torah. Besides his Bible translations he also produced two apologetical works and two short

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[62] "Christ is dede for ower sinnes and is rysen for ower rightwisnes Ro.4. Ower sauiow*r* christe toke vppon hym to dye for ower sakes: he toke ower synnes vppon hi*m*/ and lete dethe a*n*d even y*e* very paines of hell assayle him/ and to take their plesure over him: yet coulde they not overcome hym for he was stronger/ then they & rose vp fro*m* them all: and trode the*m* vnder his fete/ and all this dyd he to make vs free fro*m* theis dedly and lothely monsters y*at* myght be lordes over them. This if we beleve: lo/ nowe are they vnder ower fete also/ which victorye to obteine/ it is impossible for ower owne powers/ for it was he y*at* thorowe this victorious bataile was made of his father ower rightwisnes/ ower holynes/ ower rede*mp*cion/1.cor.2. & this was y*e* very cause wherfore he toke ower mortall nature vppo*n* hym/ and sufred his passion/ a*n*d rose ageine the third daye" (Joye, *Ortulus anime*, sigs. A5^{r}–A6^{r}).

[63] Joye, *Ortulus anime*, sig. A6^{v}.

[64] Joye, *Ortulus anime*, sig. A7^{r}.

[65] Cf. Tracy, *The Testament of master Wylliam Tracie*, sig. A5^{r}; Joye, *Ortulus anime*, sig. A6^{v}.

[66] Some parts of this chapter have been published in *TT*: Juhász, Cat. 97, on pp. 153–54.

commentaries in Antwerp.[67] Our interest here lies in one of his apologetical works and in one of his commentaries, viz. his *An answere vnto Sir Thomas Mores dialoge*, and *The exposition of the fyrste Epistle of seynt Ihon*, both published in 1531.[68]

While in his *Obedience* (1528) Tyndale was still careful not to give away that he followed Luther and believed the souls of the dead to be inactive, three years later in his *Answere* he was more outspoken on the issue.[69] As the reader will remember, More, while arguing for the existence of Purgatory, had alleged that Christ's answer to the Sadducees proved that the saints are alive and are already in Heaven (Mt. 22:32).[70] Tyndale, as has also been observed, believed that the veneration of the saints was something utterly unbiblical, and therefore heretical and idolatrous. Hence, he took great pains to disprove More's argument. He claimed that More's reading of Jesus' answer to the Sadducees is not correct and that More "steleth awaye Christes argument where with he proueth the resurreccion."[71] In fact, Tyndale stated, More made "Christes argument

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[67] See *supra* on p. 15.

[68] Tyndale, *An answere vnto Sir Thomas Mores dialoge made by Uvillyam Tindale*, Antwerp: Symon Cock, July 1531; Tyndale, *The exposition of the fyrste Epistle of seynt Ihon*. In his *Apologye*, Joye wrote that "Frith wrote tindals answers to More for tindale/ and corrected them in the prynte/ and printed them to at Amelsterdam" (Joye, *Apologye*, sig. E1^{v}). This has been sometimes interpreted as if Joye suggested that Frith was the author of the book. Nonetheless, the other references to the *Answere* in the *Apologye* do not mention anything about Frith, but constantly call it Tyndale's work. And even in this particular passage Joye clearly identifies Tyndale as the author of the work: "and whether he [i.e. Frith] winked at T. opinion as one hauyng experience of Tindals complexion, or was of the same opinion I cannot tel" (Joye, *Apologye*, sig. E1^{r-v}). Clebsch is therefore probably correct in his interpretation of Joye's words. He pointed out the difference in style between the discussion on what the church is, the explanation of Tyndale's choice of words in the NT, the discussion on worship, the discussion of the possibility that the Church might err, etc. on the one hand, and the section entitled *The solutions and answeres vnto M.Mores* [*books*] on the other—the section that refutes the Lord Chancellor's work point for point. Clebsch also observed that in this section the use of biblical passages is foreign to Tyndale's practice: the quotations diverge from Tyndale's own translation (often choosing an inferior word), and the author frequently uses the Latin text as the basis from which to argue. According to Clebsch, Joye's words have to be taken in the literal sense, meaning that Frith not only supervised the printing and did the proofreading of the book but actually "wrote [the] answers" (in the plural!) to More's criticism, which were then used by Tyndale in his work. "Joye's accusation taken literally is fully credible, and Frith may be assigned the rôles, with respect to the Answer to More, of research assistant and supervisor of printing" (Clebsch, *England's Earliest Protestants*, pp. 94–98, here 97).

[69] In *Obedience*, Tyndale described how intercession might work with the conditional: "If Paul were here and loved me [...]" (Tyndale, *The obedie[n]ce of a Christen man*, fo. 117^{r}).

[70] See *supra* on p. 261.

[71] Tyndale, *An answere vnto Sir Thomas Mores dialoge*, sig. I8^{v} (O'Donnell, p. 117).

of none effecte" because Christ's point in that passage is to prove that there is a resurrection, and "so [Christ] proueth that Abraham must rise agayne."[72] According to Tyndale, More's interpretation of the passage necessarily denies the resurrection by asserting that the souls of the blessed are already in Heaven.[73] But if this is the case, Tyndale argued, then Paul's proof of the resurrection is worthless in 1 Cor. 15, where the Apostle wrote: "if there be no resurrecion, we be of all wretches the most miserablest."[74] Here on earth, there is "no pleasure/ but sorow/ care/ and oppression," as Tyndale interpreted Paul, and "therefore if we rise not agayne/ all our soferinge is in vayne."[75] But if More is right, Tyndale maintained, then Paul's argument was pointless, because in that case we would not be the most miserable, even if there were no resurrection of the flesh, because our soul would enjoy heavenly bliss upon death.[76] Yet it is strange, Tyndale argued, that Paul did not comfort the Thessalonians with this doctrine when he wrote to them about the fate of the dead.[77] Apparently, in the eyes of Tyndale, the immortality of the soul, or rather the participation of the soul in heavenly bliss immediately after death, rendered the resurrection of the flesh superfluous.[78] Evidently he regarded these two possibilities (the bodily resurrection and the soul's participation in heavenly bliss immediately after death) as mutually exclusive.

In the last part of his work (*An answere vnto Master Mores fourth boke*) Tyndale returned to the theme of soul sleep. More had criticized him for claiming that "all soules lye and slepe tyll domes daye."[79] Tyndale did not deny More's charge. Instead he claimed that More, by "puttynge them

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[72] Tyndale, *An answere vnto Sir Thomas Mores dialoge*, sig. I8^{v} (O'Donnell, p. 117).

[73] Cf. Tyndale's sarcastic remark: "I deny christes argument and saye with More/ that Abraham is yet aliue/ not because of the resurreccion/ but because his soule is in heuen" (Tyndale, *An answere vnto Sir Thomas Mores dialoge*, sig. I8^{v} (O'Donnell, p. 117)).

[74] Tyndale, *An answere vnto Sir Thomas Mores dialoge*, sig. I8^{v} (O'Donnell, p. 117).

[75] Tyndale, *An answere vnto Sir Thomas Mores dialoge*, sigs. I8^{v}–K1^{r} (O'Donnell, p. 117).

[76] "Nay Paul/ thou art vnlerned: goo to master More and lerne a newe waye. We be not most miserable/ though we rise not agayne/ for oure soules goo to heuen assone as we be deed/ and are there in as greate ioye as christ that is rysen agayne" (Tyndale, *An answere vnto Sir Thomas Mores dialoge*, sig. K1^{r} (O'Donnell, pp. 117–18)).

[77] "And I maruell that Paul had not comforted the Thessalonians with that doctrine/ if had wist it/ that the soules of their deed had bee in ioye/ as he did with the resurrreccion/ that their deed shuld rise agayne" (Tyndale, *An answere vnto Sir Thomas Mores dialoge*, sig. K1^{r} (O'Donnell, p. 118)).

[78] "If the soules be in heuen in as greate glorie as the angels aftir youre doctrine/ shewe me what cause shulde be of the resurreccion" (Tyndale, *An answere vnto Sir Thomas Mores dialoge*, sig. K1^{r} (O'Donnell, p. 118)).

[79] As quoted by Tyndale, *An answere vnto Sir Thomas Mores dialoge*, sig. O8^{v} (O'Donnell, p. 181). For More's charges, see *supra* on pp. 26off.

[i.e. the souls of deceased] in heuen hell and purgatory/ destroye[s] the argumentes wherewith Christ and paule proue the resurreccion."[80] Tyndale believed that what happens to the souls of the dead is God's secret.[81] At any rate, Tyndale asserted, the immortality of the soul is only maintained by the heathen philosophers who denied the resurrection of the body. This pagan belief was mixed up with Christ's teaching by "the pope" (*sic!*).[82] But "the true fayth putteth the resurreccion which we be warned to loke fore euery houre."[83] Again, it is clear here that in Tyndale's view the resurrection and the immortality of the soul are mutually exclusive ideas because the survival of the soul (and the individual judgement after death) makes the bodily resurrection unnecessary. For if the elect and the saints were already in Heaven, Tyndale argued, then they would be participating in the beatific vision of God together with the angels. What extra joy could the resurrection of the body possibly add?[84]

In his commentary on the First Letter of John, Tyndale repeated his agnostic stance about the fate of the soul after death. Commenting on 1 Jn. 2:28, he wrote that according to the Bible, all people will receive their rewards at the same time in the resurrection at the second coming, regardless of when they lived.[85] But Scripture does not say anything about the question of what happens to the souls in the meantime except that

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[80] Tyndale, *An answere vnto Sir Thomas Mores dialoge*, sig. O8^{v} (O'Donnell, p. 181).

[81] "Moses sayth in Deute./ the secret thynges perteyne vn to the lorde/ and the thynges that be opened pertayne vn to vs/ that we doo all that is written in the boke. Wherfore Sir if we loued the lawes of god and wold occupye our selues to fulfill them/ and wolde on the other syde be meke and lett god alone with his secretes and sofre him to be wiser then we/ we shuld make none article of the faith of this or that" (Tyndale, *An answere vnto Sir Thomas Mores dialoge*, sigs. O8^{v}–P1^{r} (O'Donnell, p. 182)).

[82] "The hethen philosophoures denyenge that [i.e. the resurrection of the body]/ did put that the soules did euer liue. And the pope ioyneth the spirituall doctrine of christe and the fleshly doctrine of philosophers to gether/ thynges so contrary that they can not agre/ no moare then the spirite and the flesh do in a Christen man. And because the fleshly mynded pope consenteth vn to hethen doctrine/ ther fore he corrupteth the scripture to stablish it" (Tyndale, *An answere vnto Sir Thomas Mores dialoge*, sig. O8^{v} (O'Donnell, p. 182)).

[83] Tyndale, *An answere vnto Sir Thomas Mores dialoge*, sig. O8^{v} (O'Donnell, p. 182).

[84] "And agayne/ if the soules be in heuen/ tell me whi they be not in as good case as the angelles be? And then what cause is there of the resurreccion?" (Tyndale, *An answere vnto Sir Thomas Mores dialoge*, sig. P1^{r} (O'Donnell, p. 182)).

[85] "A nother thinge is this/ al the scripture makyth mention of the resurrection and commyng agene of Christ: and that al men/ both they that go before/ and they that come after shal then receaue their rewardes to gether/ and we are commaundyd to loke euerye houre for that daye" (Tyndale, *The exposition of the fyrste Epistle of seynt Ihon*, sig. E3^{r}).

"they rest in the lorde and in their faith."[86] "What God doeth with them is a secret laide vp in the treasury of God," Tyndale asserted, and therefore the faithful "ought to be patient/ beinge certified of the scripture that they which die in the faith are at rest/ & ought no moare to serche that secret/ then to serche the houre of the resurrection whiche God hath putt only in his awne power."[87] Accordingly, anyone who "determyneth ought of the state of them that be departed/ doeth but teach the presumptuouse imaginations of his awne brayne: Nether can his doctrine be any article of our faith."[88]

Tyndale's agnostic attitude was rooted in his mistrust of human logic and philosophy. Seeking the knowledge of good and evil was the original sin infecting all humankind with its poison, Tyndale argued, because Eve wanted to gain knowledge in matters of which God wanted the human being to be ignorant.[89] Following human reason in subjects on which Scripture remains silent is of the devil.[90] In the Prologue to his commentary he warned the reader that Scripture should be read in the light of "feeling faith" founded in one's baptism and not with human logic, because if one does not have faith, "thoughe Peter/ Paule or Cryst hym selfe dyde expounde it vnto the," Scripture remained "lockyd and shut op from the/ and so darke that thou couldest not vnderstonde it."[91] Anybody who relies on his or her own wisdom and knowledge builds "strange Doctrine" upon Scripture and becomes "a maker of deuision and sektes and a defendre of wylde and vayne opinions."[92]

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[86] "And what is done with the soules frome theyr departinge their bodies vnto that daye/ doethe the scripture make no mention/ saue only that they rest in the lorde and in their faith" (Tyndale, *The exposition of the fyrste Epistle of seynt Ihon*, sig. E3^{r}).

[87] Tyndale, *The exposition of the fyrste Epistle of seynt Ihon*, sig. E3^{r}.

[88] Tyndale, *The exposition of the fyrste Epistle of seynt Ihon*, sig. E3^{r}.

[89] "But this remembre/ that the hole nature of man is poysonned and infecte with synne. And the hole life of synne must be mortified. And the roote of al sinne and first vice we were infecte with/ is that we wold be wise where God hath not taught vs/ as ye se how Eue wold haue bene as god in knowlege of good and bad. And therfore hath god hid many thinges in his power and commaundyd that we shal serch none of his secretes further/ then he hath openned them in his scripture/ to mortifie this poysen of al poysens/ the desire to appere wise and that we be asshamed to be ignorant in eny thinge at al" (Tyndale, *The exposition of the fyrste Epistle of seynt Ihon*, sig. E3^{r}).

[90] "Wherfore they that violently make articles of the faith without Gods worde ar yet aliue in the roote of al sinne and vice/ & growe out of the deuell and not out of Christ. And their articles are of the blindnes of the deuell/ & not of the light of Christ/ for Christes light hath testimoni of the scriptur euery where" (Tyndale, *The exposition of the fyrste Epistle of seynt Ihon*, sig. E3$^{r–v}$).

[91] Tyndale, *The exposition of the fyrste Epistle of seynt Ihon*, sig. A4^{r}.

[92] Tyndale, *The exposition of the fyrste Epistle of seynt Ihon*, sig. A4^{v}.

Although Tyndale warned against "deuision and sektes" and "wylde and vayne opinions," it should be recognized that in fact it was Tyndale himself who diverged from mainstream Christianity in his belief, as has been seen in the previous chapter. Admittedly Tyndale never professed explicitly that the souls would sleep (*psychosomnolence*). His position both in his *Answere* and in the *Exposition* is that the Bible does not reveal anything about it overtly, and therefore it is impossible to pronounce anything on the matter. Nonetheless, his explicit denial of the biblical origin of the doctrine of the survival and active life of the souls, his irritation with More's arguments to prove the contrary, his advice to Frith to argue from the negative and to evade a straightforward answer to questions in connection with post-mortem issues, the fact that the passage about Jesus' answer to the Sadducees in his *Answere* is indexed as "soul sleep," and his harmony with Luther's position on most theological subjects all suggest that Tyndale did in fact believe that the souls sleep "out of" Heaven.[93] Anyhow, this was certainly the perception of his contemporaries, for whom Tyndale's position amounted to the assertion of the mortality of the soul (*thnetopsychism*).

Although Tyndale's warning against "a maker of deuision and sektes and a defendre of wylde and vayne opinions" in his *Exposition of the fyrste Epistle of seynt Ihon* remained implicit and did not name names, his criticism about a person teaching "the presumptuouse imaginations of his awne brayne" on the fate of the departed souls was aimed (at least partly) at George Joye.[94] Joye certainly understood Tyndale's words as an anonymous attack on him, but Joye decided not to react openly in order to preserve the air of peace and unity of the 'brethren.'[95] What the exact

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[93] "Syr as concernyng Purgatory, and many other things, if your be demaunded, you may say, if you erre, the spiritualtie hath so led you, & that they haue taught you to beleue as you do. For they preached you all such thynges out of Gods word, and alledged a thousand textes, by reason of which textes you beleued as they taught you. But now you finde them lyers, and that the textes meane no such thynges, and therfore you can beleue no longer, but are as you were before they taught you, and beleue no such thing. Howbeit you are ready to beleue, if they haue any other way to proue it. For without profe you van not beleue them, when you haue founde them with so many lyes.&c." (Tyndale to Frith, printed in Foxe, *Whole workes*, p. 456). It has been suggested that the index of Tyndale's *Answere* was compiled by his amanuensis, who, according to Joye, was Frith at that time. (Joye, *Apologye*, sig. E1$^{r–v}$).

[94] See *supra* on p. 304.

[95] "In hys exposicion vpon Iohn he stretched forth his penne agenst me as farre as he dirst/ but yet spared my name/ at the whiche chaleng I winked/ yet taking yt not as ment of me because I loued quyetnes not wylling that any man shuld know what hatred he did euer beare me sence I came ouer" (Joye, *Apologye*, sig. D8$^{r–v}$).

occasion was for Joye and Tyndale to discuss their beliefs on the subject is not entirely certain. It might have been Frith's *A Disputacion of Purgatorye* or Tyndale's *Answere* to Thomas More (both printed in July 1531 by the Antwerp printer Symon Cock).[96] At any rate, Joye reported that they often had discussions that usually ended with Tyndale calling Joye names and humiliating him.[97] Joye also stated that Tyndale had been unfriendly to Joye from the time Joye arrived in Antwerp.[98] But there was still no open hostility between them.

Joye's Letter to Latimer and the Letter to Brother William (29 April 1533)

On 29 April 1533, a year and half after the publication of Tyndale's *Exposition* and some months before he was asked by Catherine van Ruremund to correct the edition that was soon to appear, George Joye wrote a letter to Hugh Latimer.[99] This is the sole known surviving letter by Joye bearing Joye's name. From the letter it is clear that Joye had been asked by someone to explain why there was a difference between his translation of Isaiah's prayer (Is. 64:1–4) in his *Ortulus anime* and his translation of the same text in his version of *The Prophete Isaye*.[100] The identity of the person who had raised the question is unknown: Joye ostensibly thought it unsafe (or unwise) to name that person.[101] He only refers to him in his letter as "one," and later in his *Apologye* as a "yonge man" who is "seduced by his [Tyndale's] false doctryne" and who "so wholly dependeth [...] vpon Tindals mouth addicte vnto hys wordis, that the soulis sleap oute

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[96] See *supra* on pp. 16, 266, and 301. The copies of the two books presereved in Cambridge University Library are actually bound together into one volume with an old leather binding (shelfmark: Syn.8.53.43).

[97] "Thorow his impacie*n*ce our disputacio*n* euer ended with chyding a*n*d brawling [...] For whe*n* he coude not avoyd the manyfest scriptures nor soyle the reasons brought agenst him/ then the man began to fume and chaafe calling me fole/ vnlerned/ with other obprobriouse names: then I knew not the scriptures nor what I sayd &c." (Joye, *Apologye*, sig. D8^{r-v}).

[98] See *supra* in n. 95.

[99] Joye's letter to Latimer is preserved on a sizeable sheet of paper (almost exactly the size of an A4) among the *State Papers* in the Public Record Office. For a correct transcription preserving the original line breaks, see: *infra* on pp. 433–34 in the Appendix. See also n. 1 on p. 433.

[100] Joye, *Ortulus anime*, sig. K1^{v}; Joye, *The Prophete Isaye*, sig. P3^{v}. Joye to Latimer, ll. 3–6.

[101] "I cannot tell his name that askyd me the questione and vnto whome I sent the lett*er*" (Joye to Latimer, ll. 11–12).

of heue*n* tyll domes daye."[102] Joye, however, did name both the carrier of his former letter ("one Will*ia*m hill M*r* Cosens s*er*vau*n*t") and the bearer of his letter to Latimer (a certain Henry Smith).[103] Joye's answer to the young man, now no longer extant, was shown to the imprisoned John Frith, who got offended by the fact that Joye's answer contained the belief "that the sowles dep*ar*tyd slepe not nor lye ydle tyll domes daye."[104] Therefore, Frith wrote from the Tower to Tyndale, who, as mentioned before, shared Frith's view on the matter, to ask Tyndale to stop Joye from spreading such beliefs because they would cause dissent among the brethren.[105] Joye, to

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[102] Joye to Latimer, l. 4; Joye, *Apologye*, sigs. D8^{v}–E1^{r}.

[103] Joye to Latimer ll. 12–13.17. I could find no further information on Henry Smith. Concerning William Hill, there is another mention of a certain "Willem Hils, corier vuyt Engelant" in the *Antwerpse Certificatieboeken* from 1565 (CB 24, fo. 11^{v}). The relatively large time span between the two dates makes it less likely that the two references are about the same person, although the possibility cannot be excluded. Another unlikely candidate for the identification of the carrier of Joye's letter is William Hyll, a merchant from Minehead, who was accused of shipping unlicensed beans to Spain (G.R. Elton, *Informing for Profit. A Sidelight on Tudor Methods of Law-Enforcement*, in *Cambridge Historical Journal* 11 (1954), pp. 157–58). The name, of course, might just be a pseudonym. On the other hand, it it is interesting to note that sometimes acting in partnership with Thomas Raynalde, the printer "William Hyll dwelling/ in Paules Churche yearde", "at the signe of the Hyll, at the west dore of Paules" published several works of the Antwerp English Protesant exiles, including Simon Fish's translation of Henricus Bomelius's *The summe of the holy Scripture* (1549), William Tyndale's *The obedyence of a Christian man* (1548), an edition of the 'Matthew Bible' (1549) and an anonymous compillation from Tyndale's and Coverdale's work with the title: *The Christen rule or state of all the worlde from the hyghest to the lowest* (*c.*1548). It is not at all impossible that this is the person who acted as carrier for Joye. We also know of a certain Richard Hylles (°1514), who was an apprentice to a merchant called Nicholas Cossyn at the sign of the Anchor on London Bridge. This Richard Hylles showed also a definite interest in religious issues and was in the Low Countries around that time: before the end of 1532, "on one Sunday afternoon when [he] was idle," Hylles wrote a treatise "on the part of St. James' Epistle how Abraham was justified by works" and sent it to Cromwell (*L&P* VI, no. 99). Six days before Christmas in 1532, Cossyn was just about to send Hylles to Flanders in order to be made free when Cossyn heard that Hylles' book attracted the attention of John Stokesley (*c.*1475–1539), bishop of London (1530–39). Out of fear of the bishop, Cossyn and another merchant examined Hylles. Hylles remained 'opynatyffe,' was laid off, left for the Continent, and wrote to Cromwell from Rouen (*L&P* VI, no. 99). He returned to England only in 1535, around the same time when Joye moved back to England. It is not unlikely that the printer William was his brother, and that Richard might have been the one who asked Joye to explain the differences between his translations. Being approximately eighteen years old at the time, he perfectly fits Joye's description as 'a yonge man.' Joye then might have thought that the association with an 'opynatyffe' runaway would not advance his cause with Latimer, and that is why he did mention his name in the letter.

[104] Joye to Latimer, ll. 7–8.

[105] "And [Joye's letter to young man] were sent vnto Frithe in the tower/ wherof Frith wrote thys warnyng to Tin. whyche he [. . .] mencyoneth" (Joye, *Apologye*, sig. E1^{r}). See also Joye to Latimer, ll. 3–6.

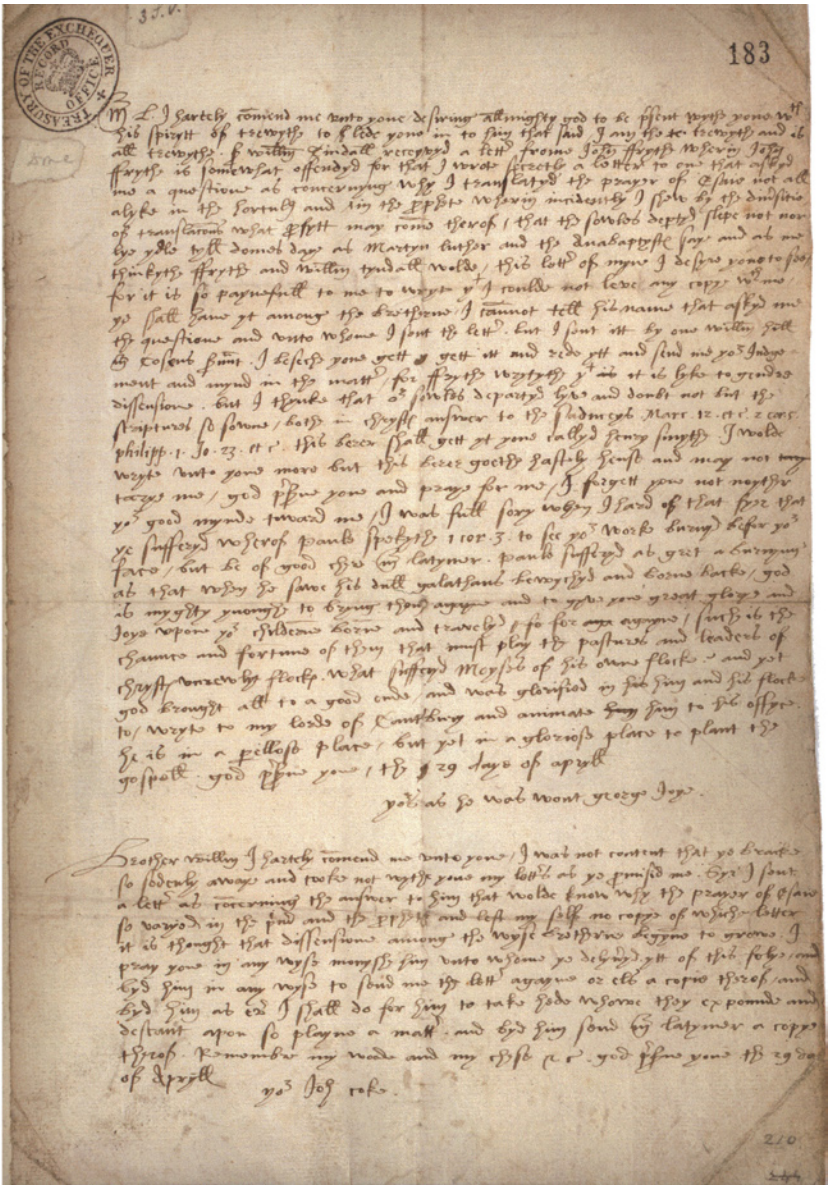


Figure 2. Letters by "George Joye to Hugh Latimer" and "John Coke to Brother William" [*vere* George Joye to William Hill] [Antwerp], 29 April 1533. Public Record Office (London), State Papers SP 1/75, fo. 210, no. 183.

vindicate himself, wrote to Hugh Latimer to ask him for his opinion and, if possible, for his support for Joye's theological views on the state of the deceased, or at least to receive an unbiased judgement on the question.[106]

Surprisingly, there is another letter on the same page, underneath Joye's letter. This one was apparently written by one John Coke, was addressed to a certain "Brother William," and was dated on the exact same day. This letter also mentions a previous letter on the difference between Joye's two translations of Isaiah's prayer and asks Brother William to send a copy of a previous letter—of which it was also thought that said letter caused dissension among the Reformers—to Latimer. Furthermore, there is another, smaller piece of paper in volume 1/75 of the *State Papers* that was previously attached to the larger sheet containing the two letters.[107] This piece of paper contains the words "George Joye to m*r* Latym*er* affirminge that soules lye not ydle/ vntill domes daye." in a completely different, spidery hand (here enlarged):

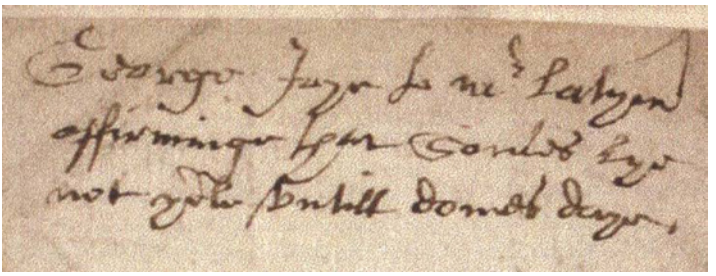


Figure 3. Cataloguing note once attached to the document described in Figure 2. Public Record Office (London), State Papers 1/75, fo. 211, no. 184.

The obvious incongruities, or at least peculiarities, of these two letters and the attached piece of paper have resulted in various conjectures. James Gairdner has suggested that the second letter was addressed to William Tyndale and was originally composed by John Coke, the Secretary to the Merchants Adventurer at the English House in Antwerp, but Joye copied it into his letter to Latimer.[108] Mozley follows Gairdner's conjecture in

[106] Joye to Latimer, ll. 13–14.
[107] See *infra* on p. 436.
[108] *L&P* VI, no. 402 on pp. 183–84.

his Tyndale biography.[109] Oskar De Smedt follows Mozley (and implicitly Gairdner) in saying that the second letter was originally written by John Coke, the Secretary to the Merchants Adventurer who showed an active interest in the theological debates of his time and stood on Tyndale's side in this matter.[110] De Smedt also shares the presupposition that Joye copied Coke's letter underneath his own letter to Latimer. De Smedt, however, suggests that the addressee of Coke's letter is more likely William Johnson, whom Vaughan mentions as "my brother Will. Johnson" in a letter to Cromwell dated from Bergen-op-Zoom on 16 December 1531.[111] This William Johnson, according to De Smedt, might have been a chaplain in the English House. De Smedt also mentions that there was a merchant adventurer called William Johnson mentioned in 1535.[112]

A more plausible solution is put forth by Butterworth and Chester.[113] They suggest that both letters were originally written by Joye but were intercepted and copied by Cromwell's ubiquitous spies. The original letters were sent forth on their way, and the copies were forwarded to Cromwell, whose note for classification might be the attached smaller piece of paper. Butterworth and Chester also argue that the addressee of the second letter is the same William Hill whom Joye mentions in his letter to Latimer as the carrier of Joye's original letter to the unknown young man. The intention of the second letter, then, is obvious: Joye asks Hill to procure the original letter or a copy of it from the person to whom he delivered it and to convey it to Latimer. According to Butterworth and Chester, the appearance of John Coke's name at the bottom of the second letter might be explained by a misreading by the copyist or by the fact

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[109] "In the discussions in Antwerp, John Coke, secretary of the merchant adventurers, took a part against Joye, and a letter of his is still extant, addressed to a certain 'Brother William.' This can hardly be any other than Tyndale" (Mozley, *William Tyndale*, p. 272).

[110] "Een ander overtuigd Lutheraan was de Courtsecretaris John Coke, waarschijnlijk benoemd in 1533. Een brief van hem onthult, dat hij levendig belang stelde in de theologische strijdvragen van de dag. Hij koos partij voor Tyndale in diens controverse met Joye over de opstanding en het leven hiernamaals" (De Smedt, *De Engelse Natie te Antwerpen*, vol. II, pp. 626–27).

[111] *L&P* V, no. 585.

[112] De Smedt, *De Engelse Natie te Antwerpen*, vol. II, p. 627, n. 44. De Smedt, in fact, misrepresents Mozley's position as if Mozley had suggested that the addressee of Coke's letter should be Tyndale because Coke complains about the carrier suddenly departing without taking the letters with him as promised: "Hij [Mozley] meent dat die [Brother William] bezwaarlijk iemand anders dan Tyndale kan zijn, want Coke klaagt er over, dat zijn correspondent zo plots opgebroken is zonder zijn brieven mede te nemen, zoals hij beloofd had" (De Smedt, *De Engelse Natie te Antwerpen*, vol. II, p. 627, n. 44). Mozley, however, does not give any reason for speculating Tyndale to be the addressee of Coke's letter. Cf. *supra* n. 109.

[113] BC, *George Joye*, pp. 97–99.

that Coke might have played "some role in making the letters available for copying, and thus had his name brought into the record."[114]

Their cogently reasoned proposition rests upon the following arguments: (1) Joye, who is complaining both about the lack of time to write ("I woulde wryte vnto youe more but this berer goethe hastely hense and may not tarye me") and about the pain letter writing causes him ("it is so paynefull to me to wryte y*t* I coulde not leve any copye w*ith* me/"), is very unlikely to have copied a letter that adds no new information to what he already had written. (2) The erasures of the words "is" and "his" in the first letter (ll. 14 and 26, respectively) "are such as would be natural to a copyist."[115] (3) Joye, being a trained theologian and Bible translator, could not possibly refer to the non-existing twenty-third chapter of the Gospel of John (l. 16). Instead, he is most likely to have made a reference to "John 5 and Acts 23," since both passages belong to those in which the translation of *resurrectio* will be altered in Joye's edition of the NT and both are used later by Joye in the *Apologye*.[116] "A copyist, however, might easily have produced "John 23" through omission of part of Joye's citation."[117] (4) In both letters the writer claims that he left no copy of a previous, confidential letter. (5) Characteristically of Joye, the author of the second letter seeks to warn the addressee "of the folly of spreading dissension."[118] (6) Butterworth and Chester also argue that the use of "the same curious turn of speech, 'as concerning' " points to Joye's authorship for both letters.[119] This argument—a claim which they consider "a stronger argument"—is less convincing, since the expression is not peculiar to Joye and is copiously testified to in the epoch.[120]

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[114] BC, *George Joye*, p. 97.

[115] BC, *George Joye*, p. 97. Their transcript does not contain many other corrections in the letters.

[116] See *infra* on pp. 383 and 375.

[117] BC, *George Joye*, p. 98.

[118] BC, *George Joye*, p. 99.

[119] BC, *George Joye*, p. 98.

[120] The expression is used several times by Tyndale, too: "As Concernynge the thynges wherof ye wrote vnto me" (1 Cor. 7:1; Tyn1526, fo. 223^{r}); "as concernynge the lawe, a pharisaye, and as concernynge fervetnes I perseuted the congregacion" (Phil. 3:5f; Tyn1526 262^{r}); "Hymeneos and Philetos which as concernynge the trueth have erred sayinge that the resurreccion is past all redy and do destroye the fayth of divers persones" (2 Tim. 2:18; Tyn1526 fo. 280^{v}); "as concernynge oure worke and sorowe of oure handes which we haue aboute the erthe that the LORde hath cursed" (Gen. 5:29; Tyn1530). "Syr as concernyng Purgatory, and many other things," (Tyndale to Frith in Foxe, *Whole workes*, p. 456); "As concerninge all I have translated or other wise written" (Tyndale's Second Foreword in T_{1534}, sig. **7^{r}.) Another noteworthy attestation dates from 1527, found in one of the first references to Tyndale's Cologne fragment by Robert Ridley, chaplain to Bishop Cuthbert Tunstall (1474–1559), then bishop of London (1522–30, later that of Durham: 1530–52,

The proposal of Butterworth and Chester, which I accept, can be corroborated by the following arguments:

1. With regard to the identity of the addressee of the second letter, there is no apparent reason why Coke, being in the same town as Tyndale, would write a letter to Tyndale on such a sensitive question. The likeliness that Tyndale acted as postman for Coke is even slighter. On the other hand, William Hill, mentioned by Joye in the first letter as the bearer of his original letter (the one Frith saw in the Tower), constitutes a very plausible candidate as the person to whom the second letter was addressed.
2. With regard to the authenticity of the letters, it is clearly identifiable—on the basis of the numerous examples available from John Coke's genuine correspondence—that the manuscript was not written by John Coke himself. The manuscript containing both Joye's and Coke's names does not bear any resemblance to John Coke's own nice, neat handwriting; therefore, it is certainly not a letter written or copied by him personally (Figure 4 shows Coke's authentic signature, Figure 5 the signature under the letter to Brother William):



Figure 4. Signature of John Coke from his letter to Cromwell, Antwerp, 4 February 1532. Public Record Office (London), *State Papers* SP 1/75, fo. 123, no. 128.

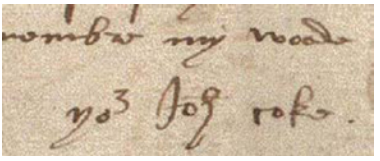


Figure 5. Signature from the second letter described in Figure 2.

1553–59), in a letter to Henry Golde, nephew and chaplain to Bishop William Warham (1450–1532), archbishop of Canterbury (1503–32): "As concernyng this common and vulgare translation of the New Testament in to english doon by Mr. William Hichyns, otherwais called Mr. W. Tyndale, and frear William Roy [. . .]" Further instances from the period: "as concernyng the orderyng of the beggars [. . .]" (*York Civic Records*, Book XVIII, fo. 37b published in *York Civic Records*, IV, ed. Angelo Raine, (Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series CVIII), 1945, p. 145); "To every Moneth, as concernyng this purpose, shall be appointed just xxx dayes. [. . .] But nowe as concernyng those persones, whiche peradventure will bee offended for that some of the olde Ceremonies are retayned still [. . .]" (*Book of Common Prayer*, Worcester: Ihon Oswen, 1549, sigs. A4^{v} and Ii.2^{v} (=fo. 34^{v})); "As concernyng any words then spoken of the kyng" (*Informations against Bachelor Newman, parish priest of St Peter Mancroft* in *Norwich Mayor's Court Book* (unpublished manuscript), August 1540, Norwich City Records, NRO, NCR 16A/5, p. 21); "as concernynge bokes of

3. There is no incontrovertibly genuine handwriting available from Joye to which the manuscript could be compared. The only possibly available basis of comparison could be the few scattered words in the margin in one of the 1545 copies of *The exposicion of Daniel the Prophete* in the British Library.[121] These are seemingly from a different hand (Figure 6 shows a marginal note supposedly in Joye's handwriting, Figure 7 is a detail from the letter to Hugh Latimer):

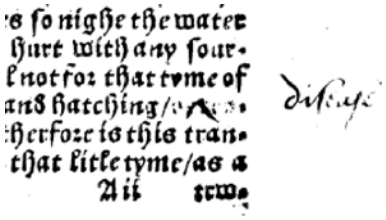


Figure 6. Marginal annotation in contemporary hand (by George Joye?) in George Joye, *The exposicion of Daniel the Prophete*, Geneue: G.J. [*vere* Antwerp: Catherine van Ruremund], 1545. In Auguste. British Library, C.23.a.1.

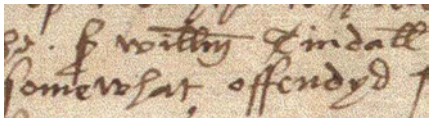


Figure 7. Detail from the document described in Figure 2.

4. It is very difficult to understand why two letters addressed to two different persons and signed by two different persons would appear on the same page in the same hand, unless we presume that these are copies and not originals. For it is very unlikely that Joye, as Gairdner, Mozley, and De Smedt suggested, would have copied Coke's letter underneath his own letter to Latimer without mentioning it in any way in his letter. Furthermore, as Butterworth and Chester rightly pointed out, there is absolutely no new information contained in the second letter.
5. It is also very difficult to see how Joye would have been able to gain access to a letter written by John Coke on the same matter on the exact same day, especially if Coke was opposed to Joye's position on the question.

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antiquite not printed" (John Bale in a letter from 1560 to Archbishop Parker, published in *Cambridge Antiquarian Communications* 3 (1864–76), p. 157).

[121] Joye, *The exposicion of Daniel the Prophete*. Butterworth and Chester suggest that the British Library copy (with shelfmark C.23.a.1.) was perhaps owned by Joye himself, who made the corrections in the translation (BC, *George Joye*, p. 240).

6. Besides the two erasures mentioned by Butterworth and Chester, there are numerous other scribbles, deletions, and corrections in the actual manuscript that are not recorded in their transcription.[122] These, just like the duplication of "gett" in line 13 of the first letter, are mistakes that would be very likely to be produced by a copyist and are far less expected to occur in an original letter, even if the writer was working exceedingly carelessly.[123]
7. With regard to the identity of the author of the second letter, the somewhat irritated and slightly patronizing style of this letter does not correspond to Coke's always well-mannered letters.[124] It squares, however, very well with Joye's manner of writing, and both letters show many typical characteristics of Joye's writings: in both letters, he complains about the hastiness of the carrier of his letters and about the pain writing causes him, and how he therefore was not able to make copies of his previous letter. Furthermore, he expresses his concerns about the blame of causing dissension among the Protestants' ranks.[125]
8. Also, the subject of the second letter makes Coke's authorship highly questionable. There is no apparent reason why Coke would have sent someone a letter (whom he later did not dare to name) and then ask someone else (either Tyndale or William Hill) to discuss religious ideas with the primary addressee and to urge him to send his original letter or a copy of it to Latimer, whom Coke probably only knew by reputation.
9. Coke dated all of his letters by stating not only the date but also the location of writing.[126] As the secretary to the Merchants Adventurers,

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[122] See my revision of their transcription in the Appendix on p. 433.

[123] In l. 2, the manuscript reads: "his spirytt of trewythe to <h̶> lede youe in to him that said/ I am the <t̶e̶>trewythe and is." If we suppose that the sheet is a copy, it is not difficult to explain the mistake: after having copied the words "trewythe to," the copyist's eye jumped from the first occurrence of 'to' in the line to the second (a form of *homoioteleuton*). It is, however, problematic to see how an original letter, even if written by a sloppy and inattentive writer, could produce such an error. Note also the mistake in dating the letter: "the <9̶> 29 daye of apryll" (l. 31), a very unlikely mistake for an original document. Most of the other blunders originate from accidentally dropping a letter.

[124] Coke's undisputedly genuine letters are all directed to Thomas Cromwell, who was a member of the privy council (from 1531), Chancellor of the Exchequer (from 1533), Henry's secretary (from 1534), and to whom Coke owed some favours (see e.g. his letter dated on 4 February 1533, PRO, SP 1/74, fo. 145, a synopsis of which was published in *L&P* VI, n. 188). Understandably, these letters were written in a particularly courteous manner. Nonetheless, Coke's style is clearly distinct and his interest seems to be aroused only by instances of disgrace to national pride, England, or the royal family.

[125] Cf. BC, *George Joye*, p. 99.

[126] E.g.: "from barowe vpon the zome the iiijth day of ffebruary. Anno xv^{c} xxxij^{ti}" (SP 1/74, fo. 145); "from Andwarp the Last day of June" (SP 1/77, fo. 107); "from Andwarp the xxvjth day of July" (SP 1/78, fo. 39).

his whereabouts were known to everyone. Joye, on the other hand, had good reason to hide his exact place of residence, as he does in many a false colophon address in his printed publications. Therefore, the fact that both letters contain only the date but no place is given, also points to the authorship of Joye for both letters.

10. Furthermore, Coke never signed his letters with only his name, but always added some formula of courtesy.[127] The letter underneath Joye's letter has only the laconic marking "yo*ur* John Coke."
11. John Coke, as the Secretary of the English House, kept in frequent contact with Cromwell, and in his correspondence there is evidence that he intercepted and copied letters for Cromwell. He reported "in moost humble maner" to his "right honorable [. . .] especiall and synguler good master" on a regular basis about religious and political matters.[128] In his letters he "aduertises" Cromwell about the religious and political ideas of various English subjects (and others) staying in and around "this towne of Andwarpe" and equips Henry's chief minister with, for example, the text of a song mocking Henry VIII, a *Pronostication* [*sic*] put out "by a folisshe medceyn,"[129] and other proofs of opinion. In a letter dated from Antwerp on 30 June 1533, Coke wrote

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[127] Coke customarily mentioned his function: "John Coke Secretary to the Marchant*es* Adventurers" (PRO, SP 1/74, fo. 145) or "By yo*ur* humble seruant John Coke, clarck to the Merchant*es* Aduenture*rs*" (SP 1/77, fo. 107) or "yo*ur* humble seruant John Coke, Secretary vnwoorthy to the merchants Adventurers" (SP 1/78, fo. 39). Instead of mentioning his title, Coke sometimes signed his letters only expressing his loyalty to Cromwell: "by the hande of yo*ur* humble seruant John Coke" (SP 1/78, fo. 186); or "yo*ur* seruant duryng his naturall liff John Coke" (SP 1/79, fo. 6).

[128] E.g. PRO: SP 1/74, fo. 145; SP 1/77, fo. 107; SP 1/78, fos. 39 and 186; SP 1/79, fos. 6 and 41; and SP 1/80, fo. 185; BL: *Acta inter Angliam et Belgium*, Galba B.x., fos. 43 and 79. Excerpts and abstracts of these are published in *L&P* VI, nos. 118, 518, 726, 900, 1029, 1066, 1100, and 1493.

[129] *L&P* VI, no. 1493. The *Pronostication* Coke mentions is probably one of the publications of "Gaspar Laet The yonger docter yn physic" (as opposed to Gaspar Laet de Borchloen) from the presses of Christoffel van Ruremund and Michiel Hillen van Hoochstraten. Later, in 1553, John Coke, by that time the "clarcke of the Recognysances, or vulgerly called clark of the Statutes" translated *A Pronostication for diuers yeares, ryght vtyle and profytable to al sortes of people [. . .] gathered together by Master Arnold Bogarde doctour in medecyne, resident in Bruxels*. This translation, together with the short booklet entitled *The Debate Betwene the Heraldes of Englande and Fraunce, compyled by Joh[n]n Coke, clarke of the kynges recognysaunce, or vulgerly called clarke of the Statutes of the staple of Westmynster*, which he published in 1550 in London, are the only surviving published writings of Coke. Coke's words in the colophon of this latter volume exemplify nicely the influence of the polyglot Antwerp of his times: "Fynished by me Joh*n*n Coke Le dernier Jour Doctobre, Den yaer ons here duisent vijf. hunderd negen en*de* viertich. Finis laudat opus."

to have made "moost secreteo*us* inquire"[130] about books by one friar "Petowe"[131] against the King's marriage with Queen Anne (Boleyn) and to have intercepted three letters, which he sent enclosed.[132] He also assured Cromwell's "right honorable mastership" that the secretary of the Antwerp Merchants Adventurers would continue to spy for the "Counceliour to the king": "And as I here more/ I shall with all diligence adu*er*tise you therof."[133]

12. The suspicion that the *Engelse Natie* in Antwerp housed secret agents is well attested.[134] Joye himself accused William Castelyn, the Governor of the Merchants Adventurer in 1543, of spying on the Protestant

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[130] PRO, SP 1/77, fo. 107 (abstract available in *L&P* VI, n. 726).

[131] Friar William Peto of Greenwich (d. *c.*1588), provincial of the Observant Franciscans ('Grey Friars'), confessor to Queen Catherine of Aragon and to Princess Mary. According to Stow and Howes, Peto was "a simple man, yet very devout" (John Stow & Edmond Howes, *The annales, or generall chronicle of England*, London: Thomas Adams, 1615, p. 543). On Easter Day (1 March) 1532, friar Peto was the first to warn King Henry publicly in a sermon against his false and selfish counsellors ('lying Prophets') and declared Henry's divorce unlawful. The *Annales* reports how Peto prophesied that "euen where the dogges licked the bloud of Naboth, euen there shall the dogges licke thy bloud also O King [...] take heed least you being seduced, you find Achabs punishment, which was to haue his bloud licked by of the dogs" (cf. 1 Kgs. 21:19; 22:38). Later, when the King summoned him, the friar repeated his concerns about the King's marital doings in a private audience ordered by the King. Henry had him suspended from his office and ordered him to leave England but later intended to imprison him. After their release, Peto and a confrere of his, Elston of Canterbury, fled to the Continent. After a short stay in France, they both went to Antwerp, where they published a Latin treatise upholding Queen Catherine's rights according to canon law. One of Cromwell's Antwerp agents, Stephen Vaughan, made inquires about Peto's book. Vaughan received his information about the endeavours of the friars from George Joye. In return, Vaughan praises Joye ("George Gee") in his letter to Cromwell as "undoubtedly [...] a right and true subiect to the Kyng [...] whome yowe [i.e. Cromwell] maye ryght well trust and take for an honest and feythfull subiect of the Kyng" (*State Papers*, vol. VII, p. 489.) However, Joye's name (except for the first occurrence), together with every favourable allusion to his name, was as a policy struck out from Vaughan's letter to Cromwell. This might have happened with the intention of preparing the report to be read out to Henry, who was most certainly unsympathetic towards Joye. (See BC, *George Joye*, p. 103.) In 1557 Peto was created a cardinal and was appointed Papal Legate in place of Cardinal Pole, who was charged with heresy and called to Rome. Reportedly, the night when Henry's body—on its way to Windsor for burial—rested in the chapel of Syon House (a Bridgettine Abbey in Brentford), the lead coffin, weakened by the motion of the carriage, burst open, and some liquid from the body seeped onto the church pavement. The next morning there was a dog with the plumbers who came to repair the coffin, and it was seen to lick up the blood from the floor (Stow & Howes, *The annales*, p. 543).

[132] "Sir, by policy I am comyn to three L*ett*res, delyvered by certeyn of the same friers to a// symple and Innocent person of Cantorbury to be delyvered in Englond/ Which L*ett*res// herin enclosed I sende to yo*ur* mastership" (PRO, SP 1/77, fo. 107).

[133] PRO, SP 1/77, fo. 107.

[134] Cf. Ryrie, *The Gospel and Henry VIII*, p. 95.

English refugee authors in Antwerp.[135] The suspicion of letters being intercepted in the course of their passage through the English House during the office of John Coke is also documented by the mercer William Loke, another acquaintance and informant for Cromwell. In a letter dated from Antwerp on 26 July 1533, he wrote that he was told to bring his letters to the English House in order to have them surely conveyed to Henry VIII. Nonetheless, Loke suspected that this was only a device to acquire information by intercepting letters, which the "lords" of the English House called "aforethynkkyng."[136]

13. As indicated above, Oskar De Smedt suggested that Coke showed much interest in religious affairs. His only support for such a claim is the supposed letter of Coke's underneath Joye's own letter. On the other hand, Coke's genuine letters betray no interest in religious matters as such. In fact, the only interest Coke shows in questions of religion is limited to the extent of their political concerns and to the intention of reporting them to Cromwell. He had no religious training and it is very unlikely that he discussed, let alone urged others to discuss, religious matters of the sort.

Once we accept the presupposition that both of the letters dating from 29 April 1533 were originally written by Joye and were then copied by someone for Cromwell, everything falls into place. Joye wrote to Hugh Latimer for an impartial—or, if possible, friendly—opinion in support of his thesis on the survival and active blessed life of the souls in the intermediate state. The choice to write to Latimer was no mere accident, for Joye had known Latimer for a very long time: manors in Renhold, Joye's birthplace, had been in the possession of the Latimers since 1351, and the family also owned quite a significant part of Bedfordshire.[137] During his stay in Cambridge, Joye was undoubtedly in personal contact with Hugh Latimer. In 1510 Latimer, while still an undergraduate, had already been elected a fel-

[135] "Gardiner [...] casting of his blodhowndes into euery cytie and towne to hunte oute the christ*en* simple sely flocke of chryst/ as he of late made William Castelyn Gouerner of the merchaunt aduenterers at Amwerpe/ [*sic*] cheifly to hunte oute siche as purely and frelye wryte and set forth bokes vnto the glory of god edifyng of christes chirche and to warn men of Win. false doctrine. For this Gouerner of other men/ whiche coulde neuer well gouerne himselfe/ is more meate to rowe in a galey or to holde the plough th*en* to gouern so worshiple and honeste a companye" (George Joye, *George Ioye confuteth Winchesters false Articles*, Printed at Wesill in Cliefe lande [*vere* Antwerp], June 1543, fol. 22^{r-v}).

[136] PRO, SP 1/78, fo. 38. An abstract was included in *L&P* VI, no. 899.

[137] Page, *The Victoria History of the County of Bedford*, vol. III, pp. 215–16 and *passim*.; BC, *George Joye*, p. 17.

low of Clare College, the second oldest of Cambridge's colleges (founded in 1326). He took his B.D. there in 1524, only a year before Joye took his own B.D. in the same college. Later, as Butterworth and Chester suggest, it might have been Hugh Latimer who warned Joye about the position of the royal commission with regard to the fault found by the commission in the calendar of Joye's edition of the *Primer*.[138]

In his letter to Latimer, Joye informed his old friend about the original question concerning the difference in the translations of Isaiah's prayer, and about Joye's answer. In his answer to this question, Joye expressed his conviction about the advantages of variation or plurality in translations. Joye gave the example of the translation of the word *resurrectio* as an illustration for such an advantage. This, however, touched upon his theological position on the question of the souls of the departed. Hoping that Latimer would be able to procure a copy of his original letter, Joye only gave a very short summary of his argumentation in his letter to Latimer, but his reasoning—in the light of the later discussion—is very clear. Joye, as opposed to Tyndale, believed that the Bible, and Jesus in particular, taught the survival and active life of the souls between the death of the body and the bodily resurrection. To this effect, Joye referred to five scriptural NT passages: ".Marc. 12. et c. 2 cor. 5. philipp. 1. Jo. [5. Act.] 23."[139] The first reference is "chryst*es* answer to the saduceys" about the husband-wife relationship of the seven brothers and their common wife ἐν τῇ ἀναστάσει (Vg: *in resurrectione*) (Mk. 12:23). Acts 23, too, refers to the (dis)belief of the Sadducees about the ἀνάστασις in the passage where Paul sets the Pharisees in the council against the Sadducees by claiming that he is being charged περὶ ἐλπίδος καὶ ἀναστάσεως νεκρῶν (Vg: *de spe et resurrectione mortuorum*) (23:6). Joye probably explained in his original letter to the "yonge man," as he later did in his *Apologye* in detail, that the Latin *resurrectio* (and its Greek counterparts) in these places does not denote the bodily resurrection but the survival of the soul in the intermediate state, even if the noun *resurrectio* can (and does) refer to the bodily resurrection in many other places. That such an intermediate state existed was proven by the other two references (Phil. 1:18b–25 and 2 Cor. 5:1–11), which did not contain any form of ἀνίστημι or ἐγείρω in the Greek or *resurrectio* in the Latin, but which in Joye's opinion did

[138] See *supra* on p. 298. See also Allan G. Chester, *Hugh Latimer, Apostle to the English*, Pennsylvania: UP, 1954, pp. 57–60; BC, *George Joye*, p. 62.

[139] Joye to Latimer, ll. 16–17.

shed light on the life of the souls of the departed. In Philippians, Paul expresses his wish to depart and be with Christ. The alternative to that would be to remain in the body for the benefit and joy of the Philippians. However, these two choices represent real alternatives to each other only if Paul's being with Christ follows immediately upon his death, and not after an inactive sleep.[140] And in 2 Corinthians, Paul describes what happens to the individual after his or her death. Joye obviously reached (or at least verified) his belief in the active life of the souls of the departed over the course of his search for the meaning of the Scripture. His belief is the result of his exegesis of several scriptural places, all pointing in the same direction. Of course, his exegetical insights, as he will openly acknowledge in his *Apologye*, were influenced by the works of Westheimer, Melanchthon, Bucer, Bullinger, and Zwingli.

Joye's position on the survival and active state of souls prompted the objection and aversion of Frith, who, as we have seen, followed Luther and agreed with Tyndale in believing that the souls of the departed sleep between death and resurrection. Thus, Frith wrote from the Tower to Tyndale in Antwerp with the request to stop Joye from spreading such ideas. In his letter to Latimer Joye expressed his regret about not being able to provide a copy of his original letter, but he told Latimer how he could acquire it, or at least a copy of it. Accordingly, Joye wrote a second letter to William Hill, the carrier of Joye's original letter, to ask him to get the original letter or a copy of it from the person (the "yonge man") to whom Hill had delivered it, and to pass it on to Hugh Latimer.

John Coke, Cromwell's local agent in Antwerp, who as the Secretary of the English House was responsible for the post of the English community in Antwerp, intercepted Joye's letters and either had them copied for Cromwell or made them available to one of Cromwell's agents, who copied the two letters on the same page and inadvertently introduced some errors.[141] By some accident he also wrote Coke's name instead of

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[140] Calvin in his commentary on the Pauline epistles clearly follows this line of reasoning: "Mortem profani homines abolitionem hominis vocant, quasi totus intereat. Paulus hic nos commonefacit, mortem esse solutionem animae a corpore. Et hoc melius continuo post exprimit, dicens quae post mortem fideles conditio maneat, ut sc. cum Christo habitent" (Jean Calvin, *In omnes Pauli apostoli Epistolas [. . .] Joh. Calvini Commentarii, ad loc*, [Geneva]: Robert Estienne, 1556).

[141] "Op de Secretaris rustte ten slotte de zorg voor het organiseren van het postverkeer met het binnenland en met Londen, dit laatste niet alleen voor het Bestuur, maar voor al de leden van de Natie gezamenlijk. Ieder van hen had blijkbaar vergunning, zijn correspondentie te laten adresseren aan het Engels Huis en daar brieven voor Engeland af te

Joye's underneath the second letter. The formerly attached smaller piece of paper is indeed, as Butterworth and Chester suggest, very likely to be the classification or summary of the letters for some sort of cataloguing, as many other papers (including many genuine Coke letters) among the *State Papers* are summarized on their verso (address) side in a similarly spidery hand.[142]

By the time of the writing of the *Apologye* (February 1535), Joye had received back a copy of his original letter, which had precipitated the whole discussion: "And yet haue I here the copye of my letters sent vnto this ma*n*."[143] These letters and their copies, not at all contrary to the intention of their author, "went thorow many handis as I vnderstode aftir."[144] This remark from Joye, as Butterworth and Chester suggest, makes it very plausible that Latimer was also able to procure the letter and was one of those through whose hands either the original letter or a copy of it went. Regrettably, there are no available data on how (if at all) Latimer reacted to Joye's position. Joye also disclosed in his *Apologye* that he had written on the matter directly to Frith to explain his position, to which, Joye complained, he never received any reply, despite the fact that Frith would have had enough time to react. Joye interpreted this as a sign of Frith's uncertainty about his own position.[145] It is, however, more likely that Tyndale was right when he wrote that it was he who prevented Frith from answering Joye.[146]

Joye's letter to Latimer is important because this is the very first available direct evidence in which Joye gives a short but tangible account not only with regard to his belief about the life of the souls of the departed, but also about his motivations for embracing such a belief. His scriptural arguments will be recapitulated later in his *Apologye*.

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geven. Eénmaal per week vertrok uit het Huis 'the ordinary post of the English merchants' " (De Smedt, *De Engelse Natie te Antwerpen*, vol. II, p. 107). Cf. *L&P* IV/2, no. 4024.

142 See e.g. SP 1/77, fo. 107; SP 1/79, fo. 41.

143 Joye, *Apologye*, sig. E1^{r}. See also Joye, *Apologye*, sig. D7^{r}.

144 Joye, *Apologye*, sig. E1^{r}.

145 "I answered him [Frith] agene by my letters/ but aftir I answered him/ I neuer herde more from Frith of this mater/ and yet had he a longe tyme aftir in the tower to haue wryte*n*/ if he had sene his parte good" (Joye, *Apologye*, sig. E1^{r}).

146 George Joye, Tyndale wrote, "hath also (though he hath been reasoned with ther of & desyred to cease) yet sowen his doctryne by secret lettres on that syde the see/ & caused great division amo*n*ge y*e* bretheren. In so moche that John Fryth beynge in preson in the toure of Londo*n*/ a lytle before his death/ wrote y*at* we shuld warne him & desyer him to cease/ & wolde have then wrytten agaynst him/ had I not withstonde him" (T_{1534}, sig. **.v^{r}).

Joye's First New Testament (August 1534)[147]

As was indicated earlier, due to the great demand, Tyndale's NT was reprinted three times in seven years, with a total number of around 7000 copies. The reader will also remember that with the multiplication of the editions, the number of errors in them (due to the lack of a native speaker corrector) grew accordingly. In spite of the fact that it cost her husband his life, when the third Antwerp edition of Tyndale's NT was sold out, Catherine van Ruremund decided to reprint the book, one of her bestselling publications, once again.

The fourth edition of Tyndale's NT translation from the van Ruremund enterprise was started in 1534. The first page was corrected by an Englishman whose identity is unknown. But he must have either abandoned the work and left, or displeased the widow, because after the first page had been printed and corrected she once again called upon Joye to do the proofs.[148] Joye tried to dissuade the widow again by saying that her publication would not sell if Tyndale's promised corrected edition came onto the market. But she was determined to publish it "for if he [Tyndale] printe. ii.m. & we as many/ what is so litle a nou*m*ber for all englo*n*d?"[149] Furthermore, the widow intended to sell her edition "beter cheape" than Tyndale's publisher would.[150] Joye saw that whether he "had correcked theyr copye or not/ thei had gone forth with their worke" anyway and had brought out ".ii.m. mo bok*es* falselyer pri*n*ted the*n* euer [. . .] before."[151] Tyndale's original NT was first printed almost a decade earlier, and Joye had not received any sign from Tyndale that he would ever publish his promised corrections, in spite of the fact that he had two assistants to help him.[152] Therefore, after some financial negotiations, Joye decided to

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147 A short summary of this section has been published in Juhász, Cat. 102 in *TT*, pp. 159–60.

148 "Then the dewche bega*n* to printe the*m* the fowrth tyme because thei sawe noma*n* els goyng aboute them/ & aftir thei had printed the first leif which copye a nother englissh ma*n* had correcked to them/ thei came to me & desiered me to correcke the*m* their copie" (Joye, *Apologye*, sig. C5^{r}).

149 Joye, *Apologye*, sig. C5^{r}.

150 Joye, *Apologye*, sig. C5^{r}.

151 Joye, *Apologye*, sig. C5^{r}.

152 "The*n* I th*us* co*n*sidred with myself: englo*n*d hath ynowe & to many false testame*n*ts & is now likely to haue many mo: ye & that whether T. correck h*is* or no, yet shal these now in ha*n*d goforth vncorrecked to/ except some body correck them: And what T. dothe I wote not/ he maketh me nothyng of his cou*n*sel/ I se nothyng come fro*m* him all this longe whyle. wherin with the helpe that he hathe/ that is to saye one bothe to wryte yt a*n*d to correcke it in the presse/ he myght haue done it thryse sence he was first moued

undertake the job.[153] His job was to prepare and correct the original copy "wherby a*n*d aftir whyche the printer dyd sette his boke," and also to do the proofs: "a*n*d correcked the same himselfe in the presse."[154]

The fourth van Ruremund English NT again took the form of the handy, small sextodecimo publications. The book contains 446 carefully printed folios and is illustrated with woodcuts at various places.[155] As we know from the recently discovered unique copy of the Worms NT, which has to the present day preserved the sole extant title page, the fourth van Ruremund edition of Tyndale's Testament (almost certainly like the three earlier editions) copied exactly Tyndale's original title: *The new Testament as it was written/ and caused to be written/ by them which herde yt : Whom also oure Saueoure Christ Iesus commaunded that they shulde preach it vnto al creatures.* The colophon reads as follows: "*Antwerpe: By me wydowe of Christoffel of Endhouen, In the yere of oure Lorde. M.CCCCC. and. xxxiiij.* in August." The only known copy is to be found in the British Library.[156]

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to do it" (Joye, *Apologye*, sig. C5^{r}). For Erasmus, although he had better financial support and with no substantial threat of being charged with heresy to flee from, it took only three years to publish a thoroughly reworked edition of the Greek-Latin annotated NT. In little over a decade, Erasmus had published no fewer than four revisions of the NT (1516, 1519, 1522, and 1527). The fifth and last revised edition took the longest time to follow upon the previous one; it appeared in 1535.

153 See also *infra* on p. 354.

154 Joye, *Apologye*, sig. C3^{v}.

155 Although David Daniell belittles the qualities of the edition ("they were inhibitingly chunky, even clumsy sextodecimos [...] minute print in awkward, fat and tiny sextodecimos" (Daniell, *William Tyndale*, p. 323), Demaus remarks that "the work is got up with remarkable neatness." This, however—according to Demaus—is due to the work of the printers and not the achievement of Joye, whose "diligence seems to have been in proportion to the smallness of his remuneration" (Demaus, William *Tyndale*, p. 359). Mozley praises the edition as "a beautiful little book of sextodecimo size" (Mozley, *William Tyndale*, p. 270). Merle d'Aubigné's judgement about the fourth edition is also positive, even if his chronology and the bibliographical evidence are not entirely correct: "Un libraire d'Anvers, nommé Jean Raimond ou Ruremonde, du lieu de son origine, avait imprimé une quatrième édition, plus belle que les précédents, dont chaque page était encadrée en rouge, et qui était enrichie de référence et de gravures sur bois. Raimond lui-même s'était embarqué sur l'un de ces navires avec cinq cents exemplaires de son Nouveau Testament" (J.H. Merle d'Aubigné, *La réformation du seizième siècle*, Paris: Calmann Lévy, 1877, pp. 419–20). Eadie thinks that "the printing is fair, but the spelling is bad" (Eadie, *The English Bible*, vol. I, p. 217, n. 3). I could find only occasional spelling mistakes. According to Pollard, "this edition was a very neatly printed sexto-decimo" (Pollard, *Records of the English Bible*, p. 8).

156 Shelfmark: G.12180. A similar title had already been adopted in 1525 by the van Ruremunds: *Dat heylich Evangelium, dat levende woort Godes uutgesproken door onsen salichmaker Jesum Christum, bescreven door ingheven des Heyligen Gheest vanden heyligen apostelen ende evangelisten. Ende die epistelen sinte Pauwels ende Peters, ende voort die ander epistelen geschiedenissen, ende openbaringen des gheheelen Nyeuwen Testaments*, Antwerp: Christoffel van Ruremund, 1525.

It is emblematic of the prejudice against Joye among the Tyndale scholars that before the time of the discovery of the Stuttgart copy, the title page of the fourth van Ruremund edition was often criticized. Mozley called Joye's title (and thus, unknowingly, Tyndale's wording) a "somewhat pompous title."[157] Demaus referred to it as "a pompous and affected title."[158] Westcott thought that it was "singularly affected."[159] Even Butterworth, one of the biographers of Joye, described it as "curious."[160] Had Mozley, Demaus, or Butterworth known that Joye (or rather the widow van Ruremund) was merely following Tyndale, there can be no doubt that they would have passed a different judgement concerning the title,[161] perhaps something along the lines of that formulated by Eberhard Zwink, who, considering the fact that Joye took over Tyndale's title literally, shows much understanding towards Tyndale's fury (which will be discussed later).[162] In any event, the ultimate responsibility for copying the original title in all probability lay with the van Ruremund family. As they had no English-speaking corrector for the first three editions (1526, 1530, and 1533/34), they were very unlikely to have changed the title for those editions. And since Tyndale had not reacted to any of those editions, the widow could justifiably presuppose that he was concerned about neither the editions nor their unchanged title. As to the effect of oddity, affectation, or pompousness of the wording, Eberhard Zwink rightly calls attention to its conspicuous parallel with the title of a 1524 Dutch NT edition from the Delft printer Cornelis Heynrinck: *DAt nieuwe Testament. welc is dat leuende woert Goods/ wtghesproken doer onsen salichmaker IESUS Christus/ dye welcke was God ende mensch/ beschreuen doer ingeuen des heyligen geests/ vanden heyligen Apostelen ende Euangelisten/ ende is dye wet der gracien/ der liefden/ ende des barmherticheyts/ met groter naersticheyt*

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157 Mozley, *William Tyndale*, p. 270.

158 Demaus, *William Tyndale*, p. 359.

159 Westcott, *A General View of the History of the English Bible*, p. 45.

160 Charles C. Butterworth, *The Literary Lineage of the King James Bible 1340–1611*, ([1]Philadelphia: UP of Pennsylvania, 1941) New York: Octagon Books, 1971, p. 80.

161 Cf. "Und es hat sich dann durchgesetzt, diese Formulierung, die man ja seither notgedrungen George Joye zugeschrieben hat, mindestens als *curious* zu verwerfen. Nur mit unserer Entdeckung [d.i. die Entdeckung des Stuttgartern Exemplars von T_{1526}] ist klar, dass sie, wenn sie eventuell nicht auf Tyndale selbst zurückgeht, mindestens von Tyndale so akzeptiert wurde. Und damit ist sie natürlich nicht mehr *curious*, wie zu vermuten ist" (IS Zwink, *Verwirrspiel um eine Bibel*).

162 "Furthermore, we are also able to understand more clearly the sharpness of his [i.e. Tyndale's] rebuke to fellow-reformer and translator George Joye, for publishing an edition containing important changes to which the reviser failed to own. Not only that, for as we now see, the original titlepage wording is imitated by Joye as if deliberately to pass of [*sic*] his revision as a reprint of Tyndale's work" (IS Zwink, *Good News from Stuttgart*).

ouergeset ende gheprent in goede plattenduytsche.[163] There can be very little doubt that Tyndale allowed himself to be inspired by this "curious" and "pompous" title, whether being acquainted with it directly through the Delft edition or through the Dutch NT from Antwerp, which Christoffel van Ruremund himself put out with a similar title (presumably inspired by the Delft example) in 1526.[164] So it was just a matter of self-evidence that the fourth van Ruremund edition, too, bore the same title as the previous three.

Just like in Tyndale's own edition, the name of the translator is left unmentioned.[165] The book also follows T_{1526} in that that there are no marginal notes, summaries, or prologues, only scriptural cross-references.[166] Joye, or more likely the van Ruremunds, left out (very logically) Tyndale's epilogue, the only place where the translator in the original Worms edition would have been indicated. Furthermore, J_{1534}, like its forerunners from the van Ruremund press, contains "An almanacke for .xviii yeres" (with the dates of the movable feasts) and a liturgical calendar at the beginning of the volume, and a table of the readings of the Gospels and the epistles for Sundays and the feasts of the saints according to the Sarum (Salisbury) use at the end.

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[163] IS Zwink, *Verwirrspiel um eine Bibel*.

[164] *Dat heylich Evangelium dat levende woort Godts wtghesproken door onsen salichmaker Jesum Christum, beschreven doort ingeven des heylighen gheest vanden heylighen Apostolen ende Evangelisten. Ende die Epsitelen Sinte Pauwels ende Peters, ende voort dye andere Epistelen, Geschiedenissen ende die Openbaringhe met Figueren ghedruct sonder glosen, ende prologhen. Dat gheheel nyeuwe Testament*, Antwerp: Christoffel van Ruremund, [1526].

[165] David Daniell is incorrect when he writes that the title page contained Tyndale's name: "all this was done silently, appearing under Tyndale's name on the title-page" (Daniell, *William Tyndale*, p. 325).

[166] There is one marginal note at 1 Cor. 15:33: "Mena*n*der." Francis Fry mistakenly writes that the note reads "Menander against evil communications" (Fry, *A Bibliographical Description*, p. 38). The note possibly goes back to Erasmus' NT edition, in which Erasmus comments in the *Annotationes* that Paul is quoting here from the Greek poet Menander (342–291 BC): "Corrumpunt mores.) φθείρουσιν ἤθη χρηϛὰ ὁμιλίαι κακὰι. [*sic*] Senarius est Menandri, quemadmodum indicat diuus Hieronymous, & constat suis pedibus si seruetur apostrophus φθείρουσιν ἤθη χρήσθ' ὁμιλίαι κακαί. Nos carme*n* carmini reddidimus. Mores bonos colloquia corrumpunt mala" (Erasmus, *Novum Instrumentum*, 1516, p. 480. Cf. Menander, *Thais*, fragment 218, printed among the *Sententiae e codicibus Byzantinis*, in *Menandri sententiae*, ed. Siegfried Jäkel, Leipzig: Teubner, 1964, p. 42, li. 808). It is, however, possible that Joye's source was Jerome, another Church Father, or a later, secondary source (cf. Jerome, *Commentaria in Epistolam ad Titum*, *ad* I,12 and *Commentaria in Epistolam ad Galatas*, *ad* II,24; Maurus Magnentius Rabanus, *Ennarationum in Epistolas Beati Pauli*, *ad Gal.* IV,12). The quote from Menander's *Thais* had become a popular saying by the time First Corinthians was written (Gordon D. Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, (The New International Commentary on the New Testament), Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987, p. 773).

The biblical text of J_{1534} follows Tyndale's earlier rendering closely. Joye did an outstanding job of correcting the text, because there are virtually no typographical errors left in the edition, an astounding achievement in his time.[167] Joye, however, went beyond the mere amendment of misprints. Meticulous scholar that he was, he took the biblical text and put it side by side with Tyndale's translation. Since his knowledge of Greek was not sufficient to rely on a Greek text, and the widow was urging him to hurry, Joye turned to Latin sources. As a basis of comparison he chose the Vulgate, and in all probability the same 1522 bilingual edition of Erasmus' NT that Tyndale had used in preparing T_{1526}. Following the Latin texts of his sources, he introduced stylistic changes wherever he deemed it necessary for a better understanding of the biblical texts and supplied the omissions Tyndale had made in his work.[168] Joye's corrections are usually belittled by scholars without them giving any evidence to support their negative evaluation. If any reason is given, it is usually related to Joye's alleged lack of knowledge of Greek and that he foolishly followed the Vulgate.[169] A fairly detailed survey of the changes presented by Butterworth and Chester, and the very appreciative study by Vivienne Westbrook render a very different picture of Joye's editorial work.[170] A few of Joye's corrections were obsolete or not as well chosen, but a good many

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[167] "Most writers on the subject have asserted that Joye's textual corrections (aside from his revisions) were trifling in number. But this is not fair to Joye. It is based on a comparison of [J_{1534}] with [T_{1526}]. But [T_{1526}] is not the text which Joye was correcting. He was correcting the corrupt Endhoven text, no copy of which survives for comparison. Under the circumstances, it is a fair assumption that the fewer the points of divergence between [T_{1526}] and [J_{1534}], the more efficiently did Joye perform his assigned task. [...] On the whole, considering the state of the printing trade at the time and the fact that both texts had been set up by non-English compositors, [J_{1534}] and [T_{1526}] are remarkably close" (BC, *George Joye*, pp. 154–55).

[168] "Where I fou*n*de a worde falsely printed, I me*n*ded it: & whe*n* I came to some derke sente*n*cis that no reaso*n* coude be gathered of the*m* whether it was by the ignora*n*ce of the first tra*n*slatour or of the prynter, I had the latyne text by me & made yt playn: & where any sente*n*ce was vnpe*r*fite or clene left oute I restored it agene: & gaue many wordis their pure & natiue significacio*n* in their places which thei had not before" (Joye, *Apologye*, sig. C_7^r). Joye supplied Tyndale's omitted clauses in e.g. Jn. 6:15 and Rom. 12:13. For further examples of Joye's editorial work, see: BC, *George Joye*, pp. 154–63; 269–72; and Vivienne Westbrook, *George Joye's New Testament* in Vivienne Westbrook, *Long Travail and Great Paynes. A Politics of Reformation Revision*, (Studies in Early Modern Religious Reforms 1), Dordrecht: Kluwer, 2001, pp. 1–13.

[169] E.g. Daniell, *William Tyndale*, pp. 322–26. Joye's first biographer and friend, John Bale, wrote that Joye was "utraque lingua Latina & Graeca peritus" (Bale, *Illustrium majoris Briatanniae scriptorum summarium*, fo. 239^v), but there is no evidence for this claim in Joye's works or in any other source.

[170] See *supra* in n. 168.

did bring improvement to the text, and some twenty of them made their way into later versions, including Coverdale, Matthew's, Geneva, and the King James Version.[171] In some instances, Joye's changes were rejected by the subsequent versions, but modern scholarly Bible translations vindicate Joye's work. For example, in Lk. 7:49, Jesus' table company at the house of Simon the Pharisee ask themselves, "Who is this which forgeveth synnes also?" In Joye's NT the same passage is rendered with, "Who is this whych forgeueth euen sinnes?" Although Coverdale, the Geneva Bible, and the King James Version all followed Tyndale's wording, modern translations (ASV, RSV, NRSV, NIV, NIB, NAS, NAU, etc.) support Joye's change.[172] At any rate, the result of Joye's editorial endeavours was a smoothly readable, carefully printed text.

There is, however, one noteworthy feature in the fourth van Ruremund edition of Tyndale's NT that still needs to be mentioned here. Joye translated the Latin word *resurrectio* (or another form or cognate of the (*re*)*surgo* verb) in twenty-two places as "the lyfe after this" or a similar expression.[173] Of these twenty-two places, eighteen have to do with the belief denied by the Sadducees (Mk. 12:18–27 *et par.*; Acts 23–24). The other four instances are scattered occasional instances in three different verses (Lk. 14:14; Jn. 5:29 (twice); and Heb. 11:35), where the biblical author speaks about a *resurrectio* immediately after death or evidently before the end times. In all of these places Tyndale's original translation reads *resurreccion* (or a form of the verb 'to rise'). In the other seventy-three instances, where the Latin texts read *resurrectio* or another form of the *resurgo* stem, Joye retained Tyndale's original 'resurreccion,' to 'ryse agayne,' 'rysing from deeth,' and so on.[174] This choice of words, of course, in light of his letter to Latimer is not entirely surprising. Yet it resulted in what is now usually called the 'Tyndale–Joye Debate' and is dealt with in what forms the core of this book.

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[171] BC, *George Joye*, pp. 147–63, *passim*, esp. 159. Cf. also James Frederic MOZLEY, *Coverdale and His Bibles*, London: Lutterworth, 1953, pp. 43–59.

[172] For further examples see BC, *George Joye*, *passim*, esp. 133–34, 141–42, 155–62, and 269–72. For other possible improvements to Tyndale's biblical translations suggested by Joye and vindicated by later versions, see *infra* on p. 398.

[173] Mt. 22:23.28.30.31; Mk. 12:18.23(twice).25.26; Lk. 14:14; 20:27.33.35.36.37; Jn. 5:29(twice); Acts 23:6.8 and 24:15.21; and Heb. 11:35. See in *infra* in the *Appendix* on pp. 440ff.

[174] Mt. 11:5, 16:21, 17:9.23 [Vg. 17:22], 20:19, 26:32, and 27:53.63; Mk. 6:14.16, 8:31, 9:9.10 [Vg. 9:8.9], 9:30, 14:28, and 16:14; Lk. 2:34, 7:22, 16:31, 18:33, and 24:7.46; Jn. 2:22, 11:23.24(twice).25, and 20:9; Acts 1:22, 2:31, 4:2.33, 10:41, 17:3.18.32, and 26:23; Rom. 1:4, 4:25, 6:5, 7:4, and 8:34; 1 Cor. 15:4.12(twice).13(twice).14.15.16(twice).17.20.21.29.32.35.42.51.52; 2 Cor. 5:15; Phil. 3:10.11; Col. 2:12; 1 Thes. 4:14.16; 2 Tim. 2:8.18; Heb. 6:2; 1 Pt. 1:3; 3:21; and Rev. 20:5.6.

Tyndale's Second Foreword in His First Revised New Testament (November 1534)[175]

In November 1534, only three months after Joye's edition, Tyndale's own revised edition (promised almost a decade earlier) finally appeared from the press of Merten de Keyser. In fact it is quite plausible that George Joye's edition might have given Tyndale the final impetus to finish up his own revision as quickly as possible.[176] In this revised edition, for the first time in any of his biblical translations, Tyndale put his full name on the title page, which reads: *¶The newe Testament/ dylygently corrected and compared with the Greke by Willyam Tindale*. The volume, an octavo of 424 folios, is printed in black-letter type and is nicely illustrated with woodcuts, some of which also appear in other Antwerp publications.[177] The text bears witness to Tyndale's diligent correction, which was a very serious revision of the 1526 Worms edition. He introduced changes in the text in many places and improved the translation a great deal.[178] On a few occasions he accepted Joye's corrections.[179]

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[175] A summary of this section has been published as: Juhász, Cat. 103 in *TT*, pp. 160–61.

[176] Cf. O'Sullivan, *The Bible Translations of George Joye*, pp. 33–34.

[177] See Bart Alexander Rosier, *De Nederlandse bijbelillustratie in de zestiende eeuw. De illustraties in de bijbels gedrukt in de Nederlanden en in de Nederlandstalige bijbels gedrukt in het buitenland van 1522 tot 1599*, 2 vols., Amsterdam: Vrije Universiteit, 1992. In English translation: Bart Alexander Rosier, *The Bible in Print. Netherlandish Bible Illustrations in the Sixteenth Century*, 2 vols., trans. Chris F. Weterings, Leiden: Foleor, 1997.

[178] "Here thou hast (moost deare reader) the new Testament or covenaunt made wyth vs of God in Christes bloude. Which I have looked over agayne (now at the last) with all dylygence/ and compared it vnto the Greke/ and have weded oute of it many fautes/ which lacke of helpe at the begynninge and oversyght/ dyd sowe therin" (T_{1534} ¶ W.T. vnto the Reader., sig. *1^{v} (verso of the title page)). On the differences between the 1526 and 1534 editions, see: Daniell, *William Tyndale*, pp. 316–32; Tibor Fabiny, *'This day is health come unto this house.' When 'Health' Disappears in Favour of 'Salvation' in William Tyndale's Two Translations of the New Testament (1526 and 1534)*, in Kathleen E. Dubs (ed.), *What Does It Mean?*, (Pázmány Papers in English and American Studies 3), Piliscsaba: Pázmány Péter Catholic University, 2004, pp. 116–38.

[179] E.g. Mt. 1:18; Lk. 16:22–23; Jn. 5:45; and Heb. 13:21. Butterworth and Chester believe that Tyndale and Joye worked independently from each other and arrived at the same results by accident (BC, *George Joye*, p. 158). Note, however, that Tyndale explicitly claimed to have seen Joye's edition, and that he exhibited a thorough familiarity with Joye's translation (cf. *infra* on p. 335). O'Sullivan also gives Rom. 12:13 as an example (O'Sullivan, *The Bible Translations of George Joye*, p. 34). This, however, was not corrected in the November 1534 edition of Tyndale, but only in his next revision, published in 1535 (William Tyndale, (trans.), *The newe Testament yet once agayne corrected by Willyam Tindale*, Antwerp, [Merten de Keyser] for G[odfried] v[an] der Haghen, 1534/1535 [1535]); however, it certainly serves as an example of where Tyndale followed Joye in a later edition. She also makes mention of the correction of the confusing marginal notes at 1 Jn. 3, pointed out by Joye in his *Apologye* (sig. G1^{v}). This, too, is a reference to Tyndale's 1535 edition, because

There is no evidence that would show—and we have no reason to believe—that Tyndale had reacted to any of the previous three van Ruremund editions of his NT translation.[180] But his reaction to Joye's redaction of the fourth van Ruremund English NT was one of fury. In this November 1534 edition, Tyndale inserted a fuming second prologue, entitled: "Willyam Tindale/ yet once more to the christen reader." This second prologue is a direct attack on George Joye and his edition. Tyndale's words were inspired by his *furor theologicus*. Namely, Tyndale was infuriated both by Joye's role in the fourth van Ruremund edition and by his theological presuppositions. The fact that the edition was published anonymously exasperated Tyndale even more, because he was concerned that the edition would be mistakenly associated with his name: his revised edition had been expected to appear, and the translation of the NT was inextricably bound to his name. He did not want people to connect such an 'unorthodox' revision with his name. His reputation, or rather his 'honour,' a key notion for his contemporaries, was endangered.[181] Probably the fact that the van Ruremund Testaments now constituted competition that undersold his own edition, and thus endangered Tyndale's financial interest, played a certain role in his discontent.[182]

In the works on Tyndale, there are three further factors that are customarily listed as contributing to Tyndale's fury: (1) that the edition was "pirated," (2) that it was prepared secretly without Tyndale's knowledge, and (3) that it was prepared by "a supposed friend, one of his own party."[183] However, as will be apparent from the following discussion, none of these arguments can be rightfully sustained.

1. The idea of copyright was undeveloped in the early 16th century.[184] The idea that came the closest to it was the various privileges granted

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there were no marginal notes in the Worms edition. She does mention "two editions of his [i.e., Tyndale's] New Testament a matter of months before his arrest" (ibid.), yet it is not altogether clear what change appeared in which of Tyndale's revisions.

[180] Cf. Daniell, *William Tyndale*, p. 323; BC, *George Joye*, p. 165.

[181] Cf. Bugenhagen's concern at the publication of his Psalter in Bucer's translation and the eagerness of the Dutch translators to clear Bugenhagen's name from the imputation of heresy, *supra* on pp. 212ff.

[182] Cf.: "But his [i.e. Tyndale's] indignation was aroused in the first instance because this fourth Endhoven edition had been corrected secretly be a supposed friend [...] who, knowing that Tyndale's own revision was well advanced, nevertheless entered into a contract with a competitor in order to anticipate Tyndale and thus catch a trade" (BC, *George Joye*, p. 165).

[183] BC, *George Joye*, p. 165. Cf. Duffield, *The Work of William Tyndale*, pp. xxvii–xxix.

[184] F. MacKinnon, *Notes on the History of English Copyright*, in *The Oxford Companion to English Literature*, Oxford, Clarendon, [4]1967, Appendix 2, pp. 921–31; Christopher L.C.E.

by monarchs, governments, and other civil authorities. These ensured the exclusive rights of a *printer* or *publisher* to issue a certain book in order to safeguard his or her financial interests and investments.[185] More often than not, these privileges were limited in their time frame (usually lasting a few years until the necessary investment of the initial print run was recuperated) and geographic location (by the jurisdiction of the granting authorities).[186] The very fact that such privileges were requested testifies to the existence of innumerable reprints of popular books in the first century of printing. But texts and wording as such were not at all regarded as the intellectual property of their *authors*. Therefore, to speak of 'pirated' editions is rather anachronistic.[187] In the case of printing a Bible, the notion of literary property was even less problematic.[188] No one could possibly claim the rights of the author, and Tyndale certainly rejected the claim of the Catholic Church to be the true heir and only rightful possessor and interpreter of the Scriptures. Thus, the rights of translations and their translators were even less in question.[189] Hence, claiming the rights of a translation of the Bible is an idea completely alien to the mindset of the 16th century. Furthermore, the official licenses served as

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Witcombe, *Copyright in the Renaissance. Prints and the Privilegio in Sixteenth-Century Venice and Rome*, (SMRT 100), Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2004; Paulina Kewes (ed.), *Plagiarism in Early Modern England*, Basingstoke & New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003. Although Daniell emphasizes that there was no copyright or literary ownership, he repeatedly uses expressions such as "piracy," "pirated," etc. (Daniell, *Tyndale, Roye, Joye & Copyright*, p. 94).

185 Witcombe, *Copyright in the Renaissance, passim*, see e.g. pp. xxv and 21–23.

186 For example, Erasmus' first bilingual edition of the NT (*Novum Instrumentum*, Basel: Froben, 1516), was published with the imperial privilege: "CVM PRIVILEGIO MAXIMILIANI CAESARIS AVGVSTI, NE QVIS ALIVS IN SACRA ROMANI IMPERII DITIONE, INTRA QVATVOR ANNOS EXCVDAT, AVT ALIBI EXCVSVM IMPORTET" (title page). The privilege was meant to safeguard Johannes Froben and not Erasmus.

187 "Modern writers have tended to speak of the Endhoven editions of Tyndale's New Testament as 'pirated.' To do so is probably an anachronism. For decades after the invention of printing, as in all literate centuries which preceded, the notion of literary 'property' was rudimentary, if it existed at all. Innumerable cases might be cited from the first century of the trade in printed books of a single work issued in several editions by as many different printers or publishers with no question of literary 'piracy' arising" (BC, *George Joye*, p. 165).

188 "The fact that the literary work we are here considering was a translation of the Holy Scripture made the problem even less difficult. No one could claim the author's rights in the Word of God, and as yet the question of the rights of the translator had not been raised" (BC, *George Joye*, p. 165).

189 Cf. Joye's words in his *Apologye*: "And euen here for all his holy p*r*otestacio*n*s/ yet herd I neuer sobre & wyse ma*n* so prayse his own workis as I herde him praise his exposicio*n* of the .v. vj. and .vij. ca. Mat. in so myche that myne eares glowed for shame to here him/ & yet was it Luther that made it/ T. onely but tra*n*slating a*n*d powldering yt here and there with his own fantasies" (Joye, *Apologye*, sigs. F3^{v}–F4^{r}).

a means of control over the material that was being printed, and as such they functioned as "an effective censoring device."[190] Being as heterodox as it was, Tyndale's work could not under any circumstances make any claim for such a protection. As we mentioned, Tyndale had not reacted to any of the previous van Ruremund editions. In 1535 Tyndale's NT was reprinted by another Antwerp printer, Johannes Steels, too.[191] This edition was left without comment by Tyndale.[192]

2. Since Tyndale himself complained in the second foreword that he was unaware of the preparation of the fourth van Ruremund Testament, this will be treated together with his other "charges" against Joye. Here, it will suffice to remind the reader that according to Joye's testimony, the widow van Ruremund turned first to Tyndale for his correction before the publication of their third edition.[193]

3. The breach of friendship is the most serious charge for which Joye's 20th-century biographers "condemn" him.[194] Butterworth and Chester believe that Tyndale would not even have complained about the fourth van Ruremund edition "had its text been corrected by some Englishman unknown to him."[195] There is, however, no support for that belief in Tyndale's words, and their understanding of the breach of friendship seems to differ from the charge Tyndale brings against Joye. This question, too, will be treated in detail below.

Turning to the content of Tyndale's second foreword, its line of reasoning gives the impression of being rather incoherent and unsystematic. Tyndale wrote vindictively and with much irritation. In seemingly random order, he brought both *ad hominem* charges against George Joye, and philological and theological arguments against Joye's changes and

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[190] Witcombe, *Copyright in the Renaissance*, p. xxv.

[191] *New Testament*, Antwerp: Johannes Steels, [1535].

[192] The fact that literary 'property' was not recognized does not mean that any idea of plagiarism was completely absent, even if the term itself is anachronistic. While liberal 'borrowing,' adaptation, redaction, or reworking of other people's ideas or even entire books (cf. Karlstadt and Westerburg) happened frequently, claiming the authorship for someone else's work without any (considerable) contribution was, of course, recognized as fraud. (see Joye's words *supra* in n. 189). This was, however, not the case in the Tyndale–Joye controversy, as Joye did not claim any authorship over Tyndale's translation.

[193] See *supra* on p. 294.

[194] "Of this charge [i.e. breach of friendship] Joye stands condemned" (BC, *George Joye*, p. 166). The very idea of charging, condemning, or acquitting Joye of any charge at all comes across as a surprise in a supposedly scholarly and objective work.

[195] BC, *George Joye*, p. 165.

the alleged underlying theological assumptions. Nevertheless, Tyndale's words, as will be demonstrated, were very carefully chosen.

On a personal level, Tyndale accused Joye of being dishonest in his translation by not putting "his awne name thereto and call it rather his awne translacion: & that he playeth boo pepe."[196] For in some of his books, Tyndale claimed, George Joye did put his own name on the title page.[197] However, it is surprising to find such an argument put forth in an NT that is the first of all of William Tyndale's biblical translations to bear his full name. At the same time, Tyndale accused Joye of seeking "vayne glorie": not a very convincing argument to pronounce about an anonymous edition.[198] As he repeatedly but unjustly accused Sir Thomas More of "couetousenesse,"[199] Tyndale also wrote that Joye, too, was moved by greed when accepting the correction of the van Ruremund NT.[200]

Tyndale also claimed that the whole business was done secretly: he did not know anything about Joye's intentions and theological opinions, or about the printing and correction of the NT for the van Ruremunds.[201] This is, however, not entirely correct. As has been observed, Tyndale was well

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[196] T_{1534}, sig. $^{**}7^{v}$. Cf. Erasmus' reaction to Bucer's pseudonymity *supra* on p. 214.

[197] See *supra* in n. 85 on p. 23.

[198] T_{1534}, sig. $^{**}4^{r}$.

[199] "These thinges to be euen so M. More knoweth wel ynough. For he vnderstondeth the greke/ and he knew them longe yer I. But so blinde is couetousenessse and dronken desire of honoure." (Tyndale, *An answere vnto Sir Thomas Mores dialoge*, sig. $B4^{r}$). Cf.: "But verelie I thinke that as Iudas betraid not christ for any loue that he had vnto the hie prestes/ scribes and pharases/ but only to come by that wherfore he thirsted: euen so M. More (as there are tokens evident) wrote not these bokes for any affeccyon that he bare vnto the spiritualtie or vnto the opinions which he so barelie defendeth/ but to obtayne only that which he was an hongred fore [...]" (Tyndale, *An answere vnto Sir Thomas Mores dialoge*, sig. $A7^{v}$). "{More} Fynally couetousnes maketh many (whom the truthe pleaseth at the begynnynge) to caste it vppe agayne and to be afterwarde the moste cruel ennemyes thereof after the ensample of Symon Magus. Actes. viii. Ye and after the ensample of Syr Thomas More. K. whiche knewe the truthe & for couetousnes forsoke it agayne and conspyred fyrst with the Cardynal to dysceaue the kynge and to leade hym in darckenes [...] Couetousnes blynded the eyes of that glerynge foxe more and more and hardened hys harte agaynste the trouthe/ with the confydence of hys paynted poetry, babyllynge eloquence and iuggelynge arguments of sutle sophystry, grou*n*ded on his unwrytten verytes, as true and as autentycke as hys storye of Vtopia" (Tyndale, *An exposycyon vpon the. v.vi. vii. chapter of Mathewe*, fo. lxxxii^{r}). With this false accusation, Tyndale, as Mozley rightly points out, "does his enemy a serious injustice" (Mozley, *William Tyndale*, p. 220).

[200] T_{1534}, sig. $^{**}4^{r}$. Joye's relation of his financial affairs with the van Ruremund enterprises, which we have no reason to call into question, contradicts any possibility of greed on Joye's account. See *infra* on p. 354.

[201] "George Joye secretly toke in hand to correct it [i.e. Tydnale's first translation] also by what occasyon his conscyence knoweth: & preve*n*ted me/ in so moche/ y*at* his correcyo*n* was prynted in great nombre/ yer myne bega*n*ne" (T_{1534}, sig. $^{**}4^{r}$).

aware of Joye's theological position.[202] Tyndale himself acknowledged that he knew about Joye's views: just a few lines after professing that he "was astonyed & wondered not a lytle what furye had dryuen him [i.e. Joye] to make soche chaunge,"[203] he recognized that he knew that "George Joye hath had of a longe tyme marvelouse ymaginacio*n*s about this worde resurreccio*n*, y*at* it shuld be taken for the state of the soules after departinge from their bodyes."[204] Tyndale also mentioned that he had argued and reasoned with Joye and that Frith, who was only dissuaded by Tyndale from writing against Joye, had asked Joye to cease spreading such ideas among the Protestants in England.[205]

If we can believe Joye's account in his *Apologye*, Tyndale's claim that the fourth van Ruremund edition was done in secret is also incorrect. According to Joye, as has been pointed out, Tyndale was asked by the widow for his corrections but refused the job. On the basis of the general reliability of Joye, which can be witnessed in his *Apologye*, it is very unlikely that Joye would have willingly misrepresented the truth or would have been misinformed.

Tyndale's philological arguments are more solid than the personal ones. He criticized Joye on two grounds. First, for his "chaunge/ to turne resurreccion into lyfe after this lyfe" as being unprecedented in "saynt Jeromes and all ye translatours that ever [Tyndale] heard of in what tonge so euer it be."[206] Second, that an arbitrary change to the translation of a certain word might bring the whole question of translation into jeopardy by prompting others to follow the example and bring about even more changes in the text.[207] Joye's modern biographers are seemingly in accord with Tyndale's criticism, namely, that "Joye, in the interest of advancing one of his own theological views, had wilfully mistranslated an important word."[208]

Paradoxically, Tyndale's own translation can be criticized on the basis of both arguments. It is surprising to observe, in fact, that Tyndale's attitude shows a lot of similarity to those of his own critics. When Tyndale

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202 See *supra* on p. 305.

203 T_{1534}, sig. $^{**}4^{v}$.

204 T_{1534}, sig. $^{**}5^{r}$.

205 T_{1534}, sig. $^{**}5^{r}$.

206 T_{1534}, sig. $^{**}4^{v}$.

207 "Now by y*e* same auctorite/ & w*ith* as good reason shall another come [. . .] & so put in his diligent correccion & mocke oute y*e* text" (T_{1534}, sig. $^{**}5^{v}$).

208 BC, *George Joye*, p. 166. Cf. Bucer's translation of Bugenhagen's *Psalter supra* on p. 210.

criticized Joye for the translation of the word *resurrectio*, he may not have realized that he did exactly the same thing for which he had been criticized by Thomas More and other Catholic parties: formulating philological criticism on the basis of theological arguments. In other words, both Tyndale and Joye ventured down a path that is very sensitive: viz. the replacement of the translation of a well-established, theologically heavily charged word (such as ἐκκλησία, μετανοέω, or πρεσβύτερος in Tyndale's case, or *resurrectio* in Joye's case) with another phrase that does not carry the same connotations. James Andrew Clark rightly says that

> For those who would render sacred texts, the choice between lexical and semiotic ideas of translation is especially important. The idea that rules the translator's practical consciousness will draw or at least diffract the boundary line between permissible and impermissible license in the rendering, that is to say, between norm and heresy. Moreover, as Tyndale's case shows, that boundary may also be contested by one's readers, intended or otherwise.[209]

One could apply Clark's remark to Joye's case as well. And as for stimulating others to bring about even more changes, Joye can justifiably be seen as a good student of Tyndale who in the history of English Bible translations took the first steps towards changing the traditional biblical terms.

When it comes to theological arguments, Tyndale is frequently presented as if he had accused Joye of denying the bodily resurrection. And indeed, that is the immediate impression one gets from reading Tyndale's second foreword:

> thorow out Mat. Mark & Luke perpetually: and ofte in the actees/ & sometyme in John & also in the hebrues/ where he [i.e. Joye] fyndeth this worde Resurreccio*n*/ he chaungeth it into y*e* lyfe after this lyfe/ or verielyfe/ and soche lyke/ as one that abhorred the name of resurrection.[210]

The careful reader, however, notices that Tyndale here does not claim that Joye did not believe in bodily resurrection. He only says that Joye in those instances avoids the use of the word resurrection as someone who does not believe in the resurrection would do. Tyndale's words, however, make the casual reader believe that Tyndale meant to say that Joye did

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[209] J.A. Clark, *Norm and License in Tyndale's New Testament Translation*, in J.A.R. Dick & A. Richardson (eds.), *William Tyndale and the Law*, (SCES 25), Kirksville: SCJ Publishers, 1994, p. 60. Clark, however, does not seem to realize the consequences of his own words and speaks ironically of Joye's "correction." He also seems to approve of Tyndale's attitude towards Joye, when "Tyndale rejects as heretical license the liberties that Joye has taken with his normative text" (ibid., pp. 66–67).

[210] T_{1534}, sig. $^{**}4^{v}$.

not accept the resurrection of the body.[211] This impression is strengthened by Tyndale's claim that "George Joyes correcio*n* doth manyfestlye affirme" that there will be no resurrection of the flesh.[212] Here again, Tyndale does not say that Joye denied the resurrection of the flesh but that *his translation* manifestly denies it. It is not surprising, then, that Tyndale's second foreword creates the impression that Joye actually denied the resurrection of the body. This is also how Joye himself understood Tyndale's words, and we have reason to believe that it was precisely the way Tyndale wanted his text to be understood. He most likely wanted to create the impression that George Joye rejected the bodily resurrection, without saying it in so many words.[213]

Although Tyndale never thought so, scholars of the 'conservative consensus,' on the basis of Tyndale's words quoted above, frequently tend to present Joye as having a peculiar and bizarre interest in matters of post-mortem existence. As the reader will surely remember, the theological positions dicussed in chapter three clearly give the lie to any such suggestion. In fact, in June 1534 Archbishop Thomas Cranmer issued an order that forbade preachers to discuss topics that might cause dissension and would endanger the 'unity and quietness' of the realm, viz. "purgatory, honouring of saints, that priests may have wives, that faith only justifieth, to go on pilgrimages, to forge miracles."[214] It is significant that the first two items on the archbishop's list refer to beliefs concerning post-mortem existence.

We have seen that Tyndale, as if offhandedly, enumerates the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, as well as the Acts of the Apostles and the Letter to the Hebrews, as examples of places where Joye replaces the word '*resurreccion*', as Tyndale noticed while casually looking through

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[211] Cf. the myriad of disparaging secondary literature along the lines of the conservative consensus that rely solely on Tyndale's words and assume that Joye actually denied the bodily resurrection. Just one illustration: "The reason for his emandation: a rejection of the doctrine of the resurrection of the body." (Gerald Snare, *Translation and Transmutation in William Tyndale and Thomas Watson*, in *Translation and Literature* 12 (2003), p. 195.)

[212] T_{1534}, sig. $^{**}5^{v}$.

[213] This is corroborated by Joye's account in the *Apologye*: "the tother [disciple of Tyndale] harped on his masters vntwned string, saying that because I englissh Resurreccio*n* the lyfe after this, me*n* gatherd that I denied the general resurreccion: which errour (by their own sayng) was gathred longe before this boke was printed" (Joye, *Apologye*, sig. C6^{v}). Also: "he [i.e. Tyndale] must now reuoke h*is* sclau*n*derouse & lying pistle wher in he sayth that I abhorre the name of the resurreccio*n* &that I shuld denie it" (Joye, *Apologye*, sig. D6^{v}).

[214] Cranmer, *Miscellaneous Writings and Letters*, pp. 460–61.

Joye's NT edition. This long list of places (re-enforced by Tyndale's overstatement "perpetually")[215] gives the reader the impression that Joye struck out every single occurrence (or at least most of them) of the word '*resurreccion.*' In fact, it should be noted that Tyndale enumerates here *all of the twenty-two places* where Joye does not translate the Latin *resurrectio* into English with the word resurrection.[216] As was already indicated, of these twenty-two places, more than seventy per cent refer to the belief denied by the Sadducees.[217] At the same time, Tyndale remains silent about those seventy-three instances where Joye did keep Tyndale's original 'resurreccion,' 'ryse agayne,' 'rysing from deeth,' etc. for the translation of *resurrectio* and its cognates.[218] And these seventy-three occurrences where Joye retained the word '*resurreccion*' or its cognates are not just incidental references to the resurrection; they include every single reference to the resurrection of Jesus, as well as the core Pauline texts that describe the final resurrection of the body in 1 Thes. 4–5 and 1 Cor. 15. It will suffice to illustrate this by means of this latter, renowned passage of Paul where the various forms of ἐγείρω and ἀνίστημι (all of these are translated by the forms of the *resurgo* stem in the Vg and by Erasmus) are found no fewer than thirteen times in this short text.[219] The biblical text is presented here as it is found in the edition of Joye in the fourth van Ruremund publication of Tyndale's Testament:

> If Christ be preached howe that he rose fro*m* deeth/ howe saye some that are amonge you: that there is no resurreccion from detth? [*sic*] If there be no rysynge agayne fro*m* deeth/ then is Christ not rysen. Iff Christ be not rysen/ then is oure preachynge vayne/ and youre fayth is also in vayne, yee/ and we are founde falce wytnesses of God: For we haue testifyed agaynst God howe that he raysed vppe Christ/ whom he raysed not vppe agayne/ For yf the dead ryse not agayne/ then ys Christ not rysen agayne. Iff yt be so that Christ rose not/ then is youre fayth in vayne/ and yet are ye in youre synnes/ Also they which are fallen a slepe in Christ/ are perysshed. Iff in thys lyfe only we beleue on Christ/ then are we of all me*n* the most miserablest.

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[215] See *supra* p. 326.

[216] Cf.: "Tyndale does not charge Joye, as many later writers have done, with casting out the word *resurrection* altogether, but only with altering it in some places, and when we compare his list of places with the book itself, the two exactly correspond" (Mozley, *William Tyndale*, p. 277).

[217] See *supra* on p. 326.

[218] See *supra* n. 174 on p. 326.

[219] Additionally, in 15:22 Paul also uses the word ζῳοποιηθήσονται (rendered by *vivificabuntur* in the Latin), which Tyndale translated into English by "shall be made aliue."

> Nowe is Christ rysen from deeth/ and is become the fyrst frutes of them that kept. For by a ma*n* cam deeth/ and by a man cam resurreccion from deeth. For as by Adam all dye/ eue*n* so by Christ/ shall all be made aliue.[220]

If Tyndale found the irrelevant example in an insignificant and vague passage in the letter to the Hebrews (referring to a/some resuscitation, and not to a resurrection in the strict theological sense of the word),[221] it is unthinkable that he, knowing the Scriptures as well as he did, could possibly have overlooked these far more relevant passages. One cannot but conclude that it was Tyndale's intention that his foreword should be understood as if Joye had eliminated all or most of the occurrences of '*resurreccion*.'[222]

A few paragraphs later Tyndale brought up the subject again. He informed his readers "that George Joye hath had of a longe tyme marvelouse ymaginacio*n*s about this worde resurreccio*n*/ y*at* it shuld be taken for the state of the soules after their departinge from their bodies."[223] Tyndale mentioned his discussion with Joye on the matter and the latter's letters which resulted, according to Tyndale's information, in that

> no small no*m*ber thorow his curiositie/ vtterly denye the resurreccion of y*e* flesshe & bodye/ affirminge y*at* the soule whe*n* she is departed/ is the spirituall bodye of the resurreccion/ & other resurreccion shall there none be. [...] And of this all is George Joyes vnquyet curiosite y*e* hole occasion/ whether he be of the sayde faccio*n* also/ or not/ to that let him answer him selfe.[224]

To whom Tyndale referred here is uncertain, for no such belief was documented in England at the time. But the accusation that Joye's ideas would have initiated this heresy is later rejected very emphatically by Joye.[225] Most likely Tyndale was misinformed. But his unwarranted assertion that this belief was started by Joye and the insinuations that Joye shared

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220 J_{1534}, sigs. $Ff3^{v}$–$Ff4^{r}$ (1 Cor. 15:12–22).

221 See *infra* on p. 379.

222 Cf. Demaus, who is surprised to find out that "the changes which thus excited Tyndale's indignation were, not, indeed, so numerous as he seems to have imagined" (Demaus, *William Tyndale*, p. 373).

223 T_{1534}, sig. $**5^{r}$. This is probably the text that made David Daniell believe that "Joye had already published his ideas about resurrection" (Daniell, *Tyndale, Roye, Joye and Copyright*, p. 98). Joye, however, had not put anything out in print on the question. He did write his letters to the "yonge man" and to Latimer, which were meant and thus treated as open letters, but nothing had been published in the strict sense of the word.

224 T_{1534}, sig. $**5^{r}$.

225 See *infra* on p. 357.

these ideas are enough to create the lasting impression in the reader that George Joye factually denied the resurrection of the body.

This feeling is strengthened when Tyndale states his own faith in the corporal resurrection based on the resurrection of Jesus Christ:

> Wherfore/ concernynge the resurreccion/ I protest before god and oure savioure Jesus Christ/ and before the vniversall congragacion that beleveth in him/ that I beleve accordynge to the open and manyfest scriptures & catholyck fayth/ that Christ is rysen agayne in y*e* flesshe which he receaved of his mother y*e* blessed virgin marie/ & bodye wherin he dyed. And y*at* we shall all both good and bad ryse bothe flesshe & bodye/ & apere together before the iudgement seat of christ/ to receave every man accordynge to his dedes. And that the bodyes of all that beleve and contynew in the true fayth of christ/ shalbe endewed w*ith* lyke immortalyte and glorie as is y*e* bodye of christ.[226]

It is needless to say that there is not a word in this that George Joye would have called into question. Tyndale, from his many discussions with Joye, must have known this. Since Tyndale has already distanced himself from Joye's edition, his orthodoxy in the area of the bodily resurrection cannot possibly be called into question. The only plausible reason for Tyndale's manifest statement of his orthodox faith is the implied allegation that Joye denied anything that was professed by Tyndale with such theatricality.

It must not be forgotten that in the 16th century, depicting Joye (even without actually saying it in so many words) as somebody who denied the bodily resurrection and who caused schisms and dogmatic dissent entailed a serious endangerment of his life. Tyndale's charges against Joye came dangerously close to saying that Joye was an Anabaptist, or at least that his ideas inspired Anabaptists.[227] With burning or drowning as punishment, such an allegation, as was pointed out earlier, could have cost anyone his or her life in 1534, even in the relatively tolerant Antwerp, where the authorities were reluctant to act against 'ordinary' Lutherans.[228] Furthermore, given that Anabaptists were abhorred equally by Catholics and Protestants, branding Joye (unjustly) as Anabaptist was an extremely powerful instrument to discredit him and his work in circles of mainstream

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[226] T_{1534}, sig. **6^{r}.

[227] Tyndale's identification of Joye as an Anabaptist is perhaps the result of an unconscious 'guilt by association' reasoning on Tyndale's part. As has been pointed out, Joye's most probable first place of stay on the Continent, Strasbourg harboured a number of radical Reformers on the run (see *supra* on pp. 19 and 278). Eventually they were imprisoned or ousted from there on the initiative of Bucer (see *supra* on p. 208).

[228] See *supra* on p. 280.

Christianity, an instrument that would have its lasting effects down to present-day scholarship in the 'coservative consensus.'

But Tyndale knew exactly what Joye's real reasons were for those changes in the translation. As he himself acknowledged, and as was later to be confirmed by Joye in his *Apologye*, Tyndale had long been familiar with Joye's "marvelouse ymaginacio*n*s" and knew that Joye was not so much concerned about the bodily resurrection, which Joye never denied,[229] as with the question of the present state of the souls of the deceased. In that regard, as has already been observed, Joye shared the commonly accepted belief of his time that the souls of the departed are active, and the blessed are together with Christ. In Joye's view, it is exactly this active state in the company of Christ, as will be observed later, to which those altered biblical places refer. That Tyndale was well aware of that, and that therefore it was not such an unprecedented idea as he claimed, is quite clear from Tyndale's own words: "George Joye wyll saye (as I wot well he will) that his chaunge/ is the sence & meaninge of those scriptures."[230] This remark shows that Tyndale knew about Joye's arguments, and he knew the scriptural references Joye used to support his idea. Tyndale knew that Joye was arguing for the meaning of the word *resurrectio* (or its Greek counterparts from the ἀνίστημι/ἐγείρω roots) in those places only, and not about resurrection in general, let alone the existence of bodily resurrection.

Tyndale, then, as cited above, seemingly to refute Joye's position, stated his own belief in the bodily resurrection. In a new paragraph, he continued to explain his creed regarding the real question in the case, viz. the state of the souls after death. He professed to hold that "the soules departed in the fayth of Christ & loue of the lawe of God/ to be in no worse case than y*e* soule of Christ was/ fro*m* the tyme y*at* he delivered his sprite into the handes of his father/ vntyll the resurreccion of his bodye in glorie & immortalite."[231] Nonetheless, he doubted "y*at* they be all readie in the full glorie that Christ is in/ or the elect angels of god are in."[232] The reason behind this is based not on biblical grounds, but on a purely theoretical theological reasoning: "for if it so were," Tyndale explained, "I se not but then the preachinge of the resurrecci*o*n of the flesshe were a thinge in vayne."[233] In other words, if the souls of the dead are already with Christ

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229 See *infra* on p. 354.
230 T_{1534}, sig. **5^{r}.
231 T_{1534}, sig. **6$^{r–v}$.
232 T_{1534}, sig. **6^{v}.
233 T_{1534}, sig. **6^{v}.

in the final bliss, in what sense could the resurrection of the body add anything more to that? Or to put it yet another way, if the resurrection of the dead—the final bliss, the most perfect state of happiness—is the ultimate reward of the faithful, then the souls of the departed cannot already be consorts of the angels and partaking in this happiness while they are awaiting their definitive glory at the end of the world.

It should not be left unnoticed that while Tyndale "desyred George Joye to take ope*n* textes that seme to make for y*at* purpose,"[234] he himself did not use any biblical arguments to refute Joye, not even a single scriptural reference. Of course, Tyndale does make mention of the scriptural passages where Joye altered the translation of *resurrectio*. He also spells out one of these instances (Jn. 5:28–29). There Tyndale shows that if someone followed Joye's reasoning then the sentence could be altered even further and the claim could be made that the souls (instead of the dead) will hear God's voice. Such a claim would thus deny the resurrection of the flesh.[235] The example is simply given as an illustration of Joye's changes and what consequences they could have if taken to the extreme, but it is not meant to be a theological argument against them. The reader has to take Tyndale's word for it that the original text has the meaning Tyndale presents. Tyndale uses no scriptural arguments, and no exegesis is presented to support his point of view.[236] He simply states what he believed on the basis of a theoretical construct. The principle of *sola scriptura* is seemingly sacrificed here for the sake of Tyndale's own "catholyck fayth" and reasoning.[237] He, however, declared himself to be "readie to beleve

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[234] T_{1534}, sig. **6^{v}.

[235] "As for an ensample, whe*n* Christ sayth Jo. v. The tyme shall come in y*e* which all that are in the graves shall heare his voyce & shall come forth: they that have done good vnto resurreccion of lyfe, or with the resurreccion of lyfe, & they have done evell, vnto y*e* resurreccion or with the resurreccion of damnacio*n*. George Joyes correccion is, they that have done good, shall come forth into the verie lyfe, & they that have done evell into the life of damnacio*n*, thrustinge cleane oute this worde resurreccio*n*. Now by y*e* same auctorite, & w*ith* as good reason shall another come & saye of the rest of y*at* text, they y*at* are in y*e* sepulchres, shall heare his voyce, that y*e* sence is, the soules of the*m* that are in the sepulchres shall heare his voyce, & so put in his diligent correccion & mocke oute y*e* text, that shall not make for y*e* resurreccio*n* of the flesshe, which thinge also George Joyes correccion doth manyfestlye affirme" (T_{1534}, sig. **5^{v}).

[236] Tyndale's language contains many allusions to biblical expressions from his own translation (e.g. "vayne glory" cf. Phil. 2:3; "my parte be not in ye bloude of Christ" cf. 1 Cor. 10:16).

[237] Of course, Tyndale's agnostic position is precisely that Scripture remains silent on the question of what happens to the souls between death and resurrection. Accordingly, there could be no scriptural arguments used to support his view. Yet, he could have offered

it/ [i.e. that the souls of the departed are already in Heaven] if it maye be proved with open scripture."[238]

The only reference to a biblical passage in Tyndale's second foreword besides the instances of Joye's alterations can be found in the expected answer Tyndale anticipated Joye would give.[239] This reference is made to the passage where Jesus, according to the Gospel of Luke (23:43), declares to the repentant criminal who is crucified with him: "To daye thou shalt be with me in Paradise."[240] Tyndale mentions this passage only *passim* and makes no sense of it, but he ridicules any attempt Joye might make to use it as a possible text to support the existence (and active state) of souls after death. In fact, as Joye informs us in his *Apologye*, this is one of the references Joye had used in his discussions with Tyndale to support his case, prior to the appearance of Tyndale's revision of the NT.[241]

Before concluding our survey of Tyndale's second foreword, one important aspect of this text still has to be mentioned. Tyndale introduced his attack on Joye at a very strategic point in his NT: it is placed after his first foreword and his "Prologe into the .iiii. Euangelystes" (an introductory note on the four evangelists and on their gospels), just before the beginning of the actual biblical text, in "the most public place he c[ould] find."[242] This is the place where the "Christen reader" is usually addressed by the editor, translator, or printer of the book in order to encourage or educate him about how to read and use the book most beneficially. Tyndale himself wrote such an introduction (first foreword: *W.T. vnto the Reader*), where he presented his elucidatory remarks. Tyndale used this crucial place to attack his fellow exile, to discredit him by making him appear as a heretic, and to discourage and prevent people from buying and reading the NT in Joye's edition.[243]

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exegetical arguments to disprove the traditional proof texts for the immortality of the soul, just as Frith argued against the existence of Purgatory.

[238] T_{1534}, sig. **6^{v}. The question remains whether he was genuinely open to argument or only wanted to create a false sense of openness, as he indeed suggested to John Frith to do in his letter. See *supra* on p. 305.

[239] See *supra* n. 235.

[240] T_{1534}, sig. **6^{v}.

[241] Joye, *Apologye*, sig. B7^{v}.

[242] Daniell, *Tyndale, Roye, Joye, and Copyright*, p. 94.

[243] Tyndale gives a fairly precise description of the colophon of the fourth van Ruremund NT in order to warn his readers not to buy that particular edition: "Finally that new Testame*n*t thus dylige*n*tly corrected/ besyde this so ofte puttinge oute this worde resurecc*i*on/ and I wote not what other chau*n*ge/ for I have not yet reede it over/ hath in the ende before the Table of the of the Epistles and Gospelles this tytle: (Here endeth the new Testament dylygentlye ouersene and correct and printed now agayne at Andwarp/ by me

But Tyndale did not confine his reaction to Joye's changes to the second prologue. He alluded to their dispute in his first foreword as well,[244] and he changed his translation in Heb. 11:35, where he himself seemed to have translated ἀνάστασις by the phrase "to life again" in his first translation.[245] He also added a note to the margin of 1 Pt. 4:6 claiming that "(The deed) are the ignoraunt of God, for they that be deed from this worlde haue no flesshe."[246] Finally, he included one more dig at Joye on the very last page of his NT. He placed it among his scriptural notes, which he included only to fill up the empty space on the last two folios:[247]

> {math.v.}Hell: it is called in Hebrue the valeye of Hennon. A place by Ierusalem/ where they burnt their chyldren in fyer vnto the ydole Moloch/ & is vsurped & taken now for a place where the wycked and vngodlye shalbe tormented both soule and bodye/ after the generall iudgement.[248]

Tyndale included these last two clauses against Joye, viz. to imply that the souls of the dead are indifferent, insensible, and unconscious *before* the general judgement.

Tyndale's attack on Joye in his revised NT edition has always been regarded as an understandably angry and therefore justified rebuke to Joye. However, an unbiased study of Tyndale's accusations, contrasted with the available facts and with Joye's report, presents us, as has been

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wydow of Christophell of Endhouen. In the yere of oure Lorde. A. M. D. xxxiiii. in August.) Which tytle (reader) I have here put in because by this thou shalt knowe the booke the better. Vale" (T_{1534}, sigs. **7^{v}–**8^{r}). The actual colophon reads: "¶ Here endeth the new Testament diligently ouersene and corrected/ and prynted now agayn at Antwerpe/ by me wydowe of Christoffel of Endouen In the yere of oure Lorde. M. C C C C C. and xxxiiij. in August."

244 "If anye man fynde fautes ether with the tra*n*slacion or ought besyde (which is easyer for manye to do/ then so well to have translated it them selves of their awne pregnant wyttes/ at the begynnynge witthoute forensample) to the same it shalbe lawfull to tra*n*slate it them selves and to put what they lust therto. If I shall perceave ether by my selfe or by the informacion of other/ that ought be escaped me/ or myght be more playnlye translated/ I will shortlye after/ cause it to be mended. Howbe it in manye places/ me thynketh it better to put a declaracyon in the margent/ then to runne to farre from the text. And in manye places/ where the text semeth at the fyrst choppe harde to be vnderstonde/ yet ye circu*m*sta*n*ces before and after/ and ofte*n* readinge together/ maketh it playne ynough. &c." (*W.T. vnto the Reader.*, T_{1534}, sig. *1^{v}).

245 For the Greek ἔλαβον γυναῖκες ἐξ ἀναστάσεως τοὺς νεκροὺς αὐτῶν, Tyndale has "The wemen receaved their deed to lyfe agayne" in his 1526 Worms edition, which he changed in his November 1534 revised edition to "And the wemen receaved their deed *raysed* to lyfe agayne" (emphasis mine). Joye points out this modification in his *Apologye* (Joye, *Apologye*, sig. B5^{r}). See *infra* on p. 379.

246 T_{1535}, fo. ccxc^{r}.

247 "¶ These thinges have I added to fill vp the leffe with all" (T_{1534}, sigs. Ee7^{v}–Ee8^{r}).

248 T_{1534}, sig. Ee7^{v}.

established in this section, with a different picture. To some degree, Tyndale's anger is indeed understandable. It is perfectly reasonable that he distanced himself from an anonymously published NT edition that could be mistaken for his soon-to-appear new edition; the edition was based upon his own work but was seriously altered in a crucial point, which Tyndale considered to be an utter mistranslation. On the other hand, that Tyndale in all likelihood deliberately presented Joye (without actually saying it in so many words) as a heretic who denied the bodily resurrection, endangered Joye's life and impaired his reputation for centuries.

Joye's Second New Testament (November 1534–January 1535)[249]

Joye felt unjustly and gravely impaired by Tyndale's attack.[250] As soon as it was published, Joye set out to write a "defence to pourge a*n*d clere [his] name whyche [Tyndale] had defamed & defiled."[251] And since Tyndale's accusations were made in public, Joye intended to publish his defence too, as soon as he was ready. Mutual friends, however, intervened, called them together, and moved them to come to an agreement.

Mozley suggests that this agreement between Joye and Tyndale included two actions. First, that Joye withhold his defence completely, and second, that Tyndale recall and rewrite the preface for his fresh revision of the NT that he was putting into print.[252] "In fact," Mozley specifies, this "new preface was to be a joint affair (this was Tyndale's own proposal), each man giving his reason for his rendering of *resurrection*, and leaving the matter to the judgement of the learned, and saluting with a common salutation as a mark of amity."[253] But Tyndale "had no great confidence that Joye was in earnest, when the reconciliation was engineered by mutual friends."[254] And, according to Mozley, this was rightly so, because the agreement, to Mozley's understanding, was broken by Joye when the fifth van Ruremund edition came out on 9 January 1535, again containing Joye's corrections and an additional short postscript by Joye. This postscript, in Mozley's interpretation a renewed attack against Tyndale, would

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249 A summary of this section has been published as: Juhász, Cat. 104 in *TT*, p. 161.

250 Cf. Bucer's reaction to attacks on his person as a result of his translation of Bugenhagen's Psalter (see *supra* on p. 214).

251 Joye, *Apologye*, sig. A2^{r}.

252 Mozley, *William Tyndale*, p. 278.

253 Mozley, *William Tyndale*, p. 278.

254 Mozley, *William Tyndale*, p. 284.

certainly lead Tyndale to "consider the treaty of peace to be at an end."[255] Accordingly, Tyndale, instead of publicly retracting his criticism of Joye, simply left it out when he published his second revision in January 1535. But Joye did not give up the struggle, and he published his *Apologye* on 27 February 1535.

Butterworth and Chester share Mozley's understanding of the agreement that mutual friends dissuaded Joye from publishing the defence at all, and that they suggested that Tyndale should tone down his preface, at which point Tyndale proposed that he and Joye should publish a joint statement about their firm belief in the corporal resurrection.[256] On the other hand, they doubt that the publication of the fifth van Ruremund NT was taken by Tyndale as a breach of agreement on Joye's part: "the publication of [T_{1535}] followed so closely the publication of [J_{1535}] that it is possible that Tyndale's decision [to omit the second prologue altogether] was made before he had any knowledge of the contents of [J_{1535}]."[257] In fact, they seem to suggest that it was Tyndale who did not live up to their agreement by not recalling his attack on Joye, and that this provoked Joye's outrage, which he voiced in his *Apologye*.

David Daniell gives yet another presentation of the events that followed the publication of Tyndale's second foreword. According to him, when Joye visited Tyndale, it was Joye who suggested that "they should jointly publish their views."[258] Yet Daniell denies, without any apparent reason, that there was ever any agreement between Tyndale and Joye: "Tyndale declined, in spite of some pestering from Joye."[259] Therefore, according to Daniell, Joye published his "tendentious and intemperate Apology."[260]

However, all of these scholarly speculations have their own shortcomings. None of them can satisfactorily explain the motives behind Joye's publications, nor do they fully account for Tyndale's silence and for Joye's unmistakably irritated words. Furthermore, David Daniell's presentation, without presenting any argument for doing so, clearly contradicts (or misinterprets) on several points both accounts by Joye, the exclusive sources for the course of events. An attentive study of Joye's twofold accounts of the story shows some discrepancies between Joye's own words on the one

255 Mozley, *William Tyndale*, p. 279.
256 BC, *George Joye*, pp. 173–74.
257 BC, *George Joye*, p. 174.
258 Daniell, *William Tyndale*, p. 325.
259 Daniell, *William Tyndale*, p. 325.
260 Daniell, *William Tyndale*, p. 325.

hand and how they are understood by either Mozley or Joye's biographers on the other.

Yet the more one studies the matter, the clearer the terms of the agreement—or at least the manner in which Joye must have understood it—become. Joye demanded that Tyndale revoke his false accusations which "nether he nor no man els shall neuer proue"[261] and that he purify Joye's name of the blemish Tyndale had created. This was to be accomplished by revising and correcting his second foreword, which was to appear in Tyndale's next edition, on which Tyndale was already working: "T. on his parte shuld cal agein his pistle into his hand/ so to redresse it/ reforme it/ & correcke it from siche sclaunderous lyes as I was therwith offended."[262] It seems that Tyndale agreed to do so and promised to revoke his words. Further, Joye also demanded that Tyndale's changed foreword should receive Joye's approval or should at least appease him: "that I shulde be therwith wel contented."[263] All this, at least in Joye's understanding, was agreed to by Tyndale. In return Joye would not publish his defence at full length but would confine it to simply the explanation of his motives for altering the translation of resurrection in those twenty-two places. This way the readers would be able to judge the matter for themselves: "I shoulde for my parte (a reason and rekenyng firste geuen why I translated this worde Resurrectio into the lyfe after this) permyt & leaue my translacion vnto the iugement of the lerned in christis chirche)."[264] Apparently, Tyndale and Joye agreed to await the opinion of two commonly recognized authorities: Robert Barnes (1495–1540) and Johannes Aepinus (1499–1553).[265] The idea was to receive a balanced and

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[261] Joye, *Apologye*, sig. A2r.
[262] Joye, *Apologye*, sig. A2v.
[263] Joye, *Apologye*, sig. A2v.
[264] Joye, *Apologye*, sig. A2v.
[265] "And then leaue the mater to the iugement of Doctour Barnes and of his [i.e. Tyndale's] felowe called Hijpinus pastour of. s. nicholas parisshe in Hambourg" (Joye, *Apologye*, sig. A3r). Robert Barnes (*c.*1495–1540), an Augustinian friar, went to study in Leuven, where he obtained his doctor's degree in theology (1523). He returned to Cambridge and was elected prior there. Under the influence of Luther's writings, and due to the personal insistence of Thomas Bilney, Barnes embraced his German confrere's ideas. In 1525 he was summoned to Cardinal Wolsey, and the following year he had to appear before Bishop Stephen Gardiner to account for his beliefs. In 1530 he fled to the Continent, visited Wittenberg, and stayed for a while in Antwerp. After Henry's break with Rome, he moved back to England, where he became Chaplain to the Court. As such, he made several ineffective attempts to reconcile Henry with the German Protestants. In 1534 Barnes went on a mission to Hamburg to explore the possibility of an alliance with Christian III (see *supra* on p. 5). In the following two years he made three more journeys to Germany, first

more or less impartial judgement. While Doctor Barnes was a Cambridge man whom Joye certainly knew quite well from the time he was studying and teaching there, Aepinus, to whom Joye refers as Tyndale's "felowe," was probably an old friend of Tyndale's, possibly from the time when Tyndale reputedly sought refuge in Hamburg. The choice of persons to act as judges in the matter was also to be justified to some degree by their explicit interest in the theology of the afterlife, as attested to in their later publications.[266] When this much was accepted, Tyndale suggested something which Joye understood to be that Tyndale would not only rewrite his

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to seek Luther's opinion on 'the King's great matter,' second to persuade Melanchthon to visit England, and finally as a member of the English delegation to the Lutheran Council of Wittenberg, where the so-called Wittenberg Articles were drawn up. In 1540, Barnes was burned at Smithfield together with Thomas Garret and William Jerome. (See: Carl R. Trueman, art. *Robert Barnes* in IS ODNB; Neelak Serawlook Tjernagel, *The Reformation Essays of Dr. Robert Barnes*, London: Concordia, 1963; Clebsch, *England's Earliest Protestants*, pp. 42–77; Maas, *The Reformation and Robert Barnes*. Johannes Aepinus (Johann Hoeck, also spelled as Epinus, Hoch, and Huck) was the son of a councillor in Ziesar. He studied under Johannes Bugenhagen in the monastery school of Belbuck (Pomerania). In 1520 Aepinus received his bachelor's degree at Wittenberg, where he befriended Martin Luther and Philipp Melanchthon. While teaching at a school in Brandenburg, he was arrested for heresy, and when he was released, he had to flee. After spending some time in Pomerania in close association with the leaders of the Reformation there, he was put in charge of a school in Stralsund around 1524. In 1529 he became pastor of Saint Peter's in Hamburg, and three years later he was appointed the first Lutheran superintendent of Hamburg. During this period he hosted Barnes in his own home. On Henry VIII's invitation (who probably acted on the advice of Barnes and Cromwell), Aepinus went to England in 1534 to discuss the divorce and his separation from Rome. Aepinus returned to Hamburg the following January and subsequently made various journeys as a representative of the city. He took an active part in the Reformation movement and frequently had the deciding vote in disputed matters of faith. (See: Friedrich Wilhelm Bautz, art. *Aepinus*, in Friedrich Wilhelm Bautz (ed.), *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*, I, 1990, Hamm: Traugott Bautz, cols. 48–49; Maas, *The Reformation and Robert Barnes*, p. 26.)

[266] In 1542 Aepinus was challenged by Johannes Garcaeus the Elder concerning Aepinus' teaching of Christ's descent into Hell. His sermon commenting on Ps. 16(15):10 discussed this article of the Creed. The sermon was published by his assistant, Johann Freder (Johann Aepinus, *Auszlegung D. Johannis Epini/ vber den XV. Psalm Dauids An eynen Erbarn Radt zů Hamburg geschriben/ Darinn von disen nachfolgenden stucken allen Christen notwendig zu wissen gehandelt wirdt*, Franckfurt am Meyn: Peter Brubac, 1543), and eventually Melanchthon's advice was sought, although he refrained from taking either side. (See: Ernst Kähler, art. *Garcaeus* (*Gartz[-en], -ius, cius*), *Johannes d. Ä.*, in Otto Stolberg-Wernigerode (ed.), *Neue deutsche Biographie*, vol. 6 *Gaál—Grasmann*, Berlin, 1964, pp. 70–71.) In a letter to Aepinus dated 21 June 1540, Barnes mentions his own "fierce controversy" with Bishop Gardiner of London "respecting justification by faith and Purgatory," a controversy in which he only received the support of Latimer (*Original Letters Relative to the English Reformation*, ed. Hastings Robinson, vol. 2, Cambridge: UP, 1847, pp. 616–17). See also his earlier denial of the biblical grounds for Purgatory: Robert Barnes, *A Critical Edition of Robert Barnes's A Supplication Unto the Most Gracyous Prince Kyng Henry the VIII*, ed. Douglas Harold Parker, Toronto: UP, 2008, p. 198, ll. 2276–77, p. 402.

foreword, but that said foreword would be replaced with a jointly written preface in Tyndale's forthcoming next edition of his NT. This would bear witness to the reader that the breach between the two men had ended.[267] This, in the understanding of Joye, would not affect the publication of his defence, which, according to their agreement, would still be restricted to the mere explanation of Joye's reasons for the changes in the translation of the word *resurrectio*. "[O]f these co*n*dicions we departed louyngly," Joye remembers.[268]

There is little doubt that Joye must have misunderstood Tyndale. It is improbable that Tyndale would have frankly consented to, let alone suggested, such an agreement. In light of what was going to happen, it is much more plausible that Tyndale suggested something totally different, viz. that *both* Joye's reasons for altering the translation of the word *resurrectio and* Tyndale's "reformed pistle" should be published together in Tyndale's imminent revision of the NT. For Tyndale was without a doubt aware of the fact that Joye was planning to publish his defence in Catherine van Ruremund's next edition of Tyndale's NT (the fifth edition from the press of the van Ruremund family), which was already on its way to the press. The book was to be published once again with George Joye's corrections. Tyndale, however, wanted to prevent any further spread of Joye's ideas and thought that he could restrict its effect if Joye's defence were to be published along with his own foreword, in which he was going to invalidate Joye's arguments. As this was going to be published in Tyndale's own revision of his NT translation (where the word *resurreccion* was used in all of those places in question), the reader would get the impression that the judgement of the translators was settled according to Tyndale's position in that matter after all.

As to the events that followed, there is no obvious reason why we should reject Joye's account as found in his *Apologye*. Five or six days after the agreement, Joye went to see Tyndale again to enquire about Tyndale's corrected foreword. Tyndale, according to Joye, excused himself by saying that he had not thought about the question since their agreement.[269] After another five or six days, Joye asked Tyndale about it again, and Tyndale

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[267] "T. addyng with hys own mouthe that we shulde with one accorde in his next testament then in printing in the stede of this vncharitable pistle wherwith I was offended/ salute the reders with one comon salutacio*n* to testifye our co*n*corde" (Joye, *Apologye*, sig. A2^{v}).

[268] Joye, *Apologye*, sig. A2^{v}.

[269] "Then after .v. or .vj. dayes I came to Tin. to se the correccion and reformacio*n* of hys pistle/ & he sayd he neuer thought of it sence" (Joye, *Apologye*, sig. A2^{v}).

now replied that Joye would not be able to read his handwriting.[270] Even after Joye's assertion that he was well acquainted with Tyndale's handwriting, Tyndale rejected his request.[271] But Joye persisted, and he went a third and a fourth time as well, for he was anxious to see his name cleared from the imputation of heresy. After many cavillations, Joye was finally told what Tyndale's real plans were: "he [i.e. Tyndale] wolde firste se my reasons & wryte agenst them ere I shulde se this his reformacion & renouacio*n*."[272] But to Joye's understanding this was a breach of their agreement: not Tyndale but the reader—and especially the two learned readers, Doctor Barnes and Johan Aepinus—should judge Joye's arguments: "Then thought I/ syth [=since] my parte a*n*d reasons be put into the iugeme*n*t of the lerned/ T. ought not to write agenst them tyl their iugeme*n*t be done/ no nor yet then nether/ syth he is co*n*tent before these men to stonde to their iugeme*n*t/ & not to co*n*tende any more of thys mater with me."[273] Tyndale, however, would not comply and wanted to see Joye's tract first in order to be able to counter it.[274]

The agreement between Tyndale and Joye must have taken place over the course of December 1534 or during the very first days of 1535. In the meantime, the widow went on with the printing of the fifth edition of Tyndale's NT from the van Ruremund press. The volume appeared on 9 January 1535, again in the form of a handy little sextodecimo.[275] Like its immediate predecessor, the fifth van Ruremund English NT also contained Joye's corrections. From the only extant copy, the title page together with the first six following leaves is wanting. Butterworth and Chester raise the

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[270] There are two documents that are believed to contain Tyndale's own handwriting. One of them is preserved in the State Archives in Brussels in the form of a letter from his prison in Vilvoorde (Brussels, *Algemeen Rijksarchief*, Officie Fiscaal van de Raad van Brabant, liasse 1330. English translation by Mozley: Mozley, *William Tyndale*, p. 329, republished in *TT*, p. 172). The other alleged evidence of Tyndale's own handwriting is a recently discovered manuscript of a Lollard tract. See: W.R. Cooper, *A Newly Identified Fragment in the Handwriting of William Tyndale*, in *Reformation* 3 (1998), pp. 323–48. If these are genuine, they testify to the readability of Tyndale's handwriting.

[271] "I prayd him to make yt redy shortely (for I longed sore to se it) and came agene to him after .v. or vj. dayes. Then he sayd it was so wryten that I coude not rede it: & I sayd I was wel aquainted with his ha*n*de & shulde rede it wel ynough: but he wolde not let me se it" (Joye, *Apologye*, sigs. A2^{v}–A3^{3}).

[272] Joye, *Apologye*, sig. A3^{r}.

[273] Joye, *Apologye*, sig. A3^{r}.

[274] "He persisted in his laste purpose a*n*d wolde fyrste se my reasons & wryte agenst them" (Joye, *Apologye*, sig. A3^{r}).

[275] William Tyndale (trans.) & George Joye (ed.), [*The New Testament*], Antwerp, Catharyn wydowe [of Christoffel van Ruremund], 9 January, 1535. The only known copy is in the British Library (shelf number: C.36. bb.3).

question of whether "Joye, in the light of Tyndale's criticism, had caused his [i.e. Joye's] name to be put on the title page."[276] In all likelihood, the answer to that question is affirmative: at the time, Joye was seeking reconciliation with Tyndale, and he certainly judged it to be safe enough to put his own name on the title pages of both of the other two publications appearing that same year.[277] Tyndale's later silence about the matter certainly suggests that Joye complied with Tyndale's request and put his name on the title page. At any rate, the epilogue does contain Joye's name, so the reader could have had absolutely no doubt about the fact that this was a "new Testame*n*t prynted after the copye corrected by George Ioye: wherin for englisshyng thys worde Resurrectio/ the lyfe after this."[278] The text is a remarkably close reprint of the earlier biblical text (including, of course, Joye's original corrections). Joye also introduced a few minor changes, most of which follow Tyndale's 1534 edition, and for typographical reasons he altered some of the layout.[279] After the NT text a chapter called "Pistles of the Olde Testament" was added. This contained the OT readings according to the Sarum (Salisbury) use for Sundays and the feast days of the saints. A table to these and to the NT readings was also included. The book contained the customary calendar at the beginning of the volume, and the marginalia were again limited to biblical cross-references.[280] In other words, this was a 'deluxe' version of the former edition. At the very end, Joye's three-page–long address "Unto the Reader" was added.[281]

The fact that Joye placed his defence at the very end of his NT is already a statement, for this is a much less prominent location than the one Tyndale's second foreword occupies in T_{1534}.[282] In his defence, Joye held himself strictly to their agreement, or at least to what he thought was their agreement, and confined his defence to the explanation of why he translated the Latin *resurrectio* by "the lyfe after this" in those twenty-two places in question. He does give a very brief account of their agree-

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[276] BC, *George Joye*, pp. 170–71.

[277] The *Apologye* and *A compendyouse Somme of the very Christen relygyon*, London: John Byddell, September 1535.

[278] Joye's address "Unto the Reader" in his J_{1535}, sig. $C7^r$ (see Appendix on p. 436).

[279] E.g. Joye followed Tyndale in Jn. 1:2; 8:45; and 9:3. Cf. Westbrook, *George Joye's New Testament*, pp. 1–2. Joye also changed "to" into "from" in Heb. 11:35. See *infra* on p. 380.

[280] With the exception of the note on Menander at 1 Cor. 15:33 (see *supra* on n. 166, p. 324) and five additional marginal notes to some of the OT readings (four in Is. 4 and one in Hos. 14).

[281] A full reprint of this address can be found *infra* among the Appendices on p. 436.

[282] As books were customarily sold unbound, the outer pages of a volume were the most fragile (and therefore less significantly esteemed) places.

ment with practically the same wording as referred to above from the *Apologye*,[283] but he quickly passes over to cautioning the reader not to take offence at his dispute with Tyndale. Their variation in the translation of a single term should not cause the reader to avoid either his own books or those of Tyndale.[284] Joye's main concern is the spread of the doctrine and Gospel of Christ, which should not suffer because of theological differences between the Reformers. His fervent but irenic tone contrasts with Tyndale's: in the most public place he could find, Tyndale asked his readers to avoid reading the NT in Joye's edition. Joye, by contrast, asked his readers at the end of his NT to continue to read Christ's Gospel and doctrine as edited either by Tyndale or by himself.

Joye then shortly explained the reasoning behind his choice of words: his conviction that the souls of the departed are not indifferent but receive their judgement immediately upon death. Joye was deeply troubled by the Anabaptists' teaching about the idle, inactive, and insensitive sleeping state of the souls between the moment of death and the bodily resurrection at the end of the world. He feared that this teaching would actually engender in some readers the exact charge that was put against him (or so he understood)—the denial of the resurrection—and thus promote immorality.[285] In other words, his concern about the Anabaptists' denial

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283 "W. Tindale was so sore offended that he wrote hys vncharitable pistle agenst me prefixed his newe corrected testament/ prynted. 1534. in Nove*m*ber/ entytled. W.T. yet once more to the Christen redere. Which pistle W.T. hath promysed before certayne men & me (orels I wolde my selfe haue defended my name & clered myselfe of those lyes a*n*d so correcte yt/ redresse yt/ a*n*d reforme yt accordinge to my mynde that I shulde be there wyth co*n*tented/ a*n*d vs bothe (as agreed) to salute the readers withe one salutacion in the same reformed pistle to bet set before this testame*n*t now in printing. And that I/ for my parte/ shulde (a rekeninge and reson firste geuen of my translacion of the worde) permyt yt vnto the iudgement of the lerned in christis chirche. Which thynge/ verely I do not onely gladly co*n*sent there to/ vpon the co*n*dicion on his parte/ but desyer them all to iuge/ expende and trye all that euer I haue or shall wryte/ by the scriptures" (J_{1535}, sig. $C7^{r}$).

284 "Let yt not therefore in the mean ceason offende the (good indiffere*n*t reder) nor yet auerte thy mynde nether from W. Tindale nor fro me: nor yet fro*m* redyng out bokis whiche teche a*n*d declare the very doctryne a*n*d Gospel of Christe/ because yt thus chaunceth vs to varye a*n*d co*n*tende for the trewe englisshyng of this one worde Resurrectio in certayne places of the newe Testame*n*t" (J_{1535}, sig. $C7^{v}$).

285 "Noman to thinke hence forth that the soulis departed slepe with out heauen feling nether payne nor ioye vntill domes daye as the Anabaptistis dreame but to be a lyue in that lyfe after thys whithe/ a*n*d in Christe in blysse a*n*d ioye in heue*n*/ as the scritptures clerely testifye. Whych verite a*n*d true doctrine off Christe & his apostles/ as yt is a swete a*n*d present co*n*solacion vnto the pore afflicte persecuted and trowbled in thys worlde for Christis sake when they shall dye/ so doeth the tother false opinion and erroneouse doctryne/ that is to weit/ that they sleap out of heauen nether feling payn nor ioye/ minyster a*n*d geue perellous audacite and bolde suernes to the vngodly here to lyue styl a*n*d

of the bodily resurrection motivated him to not translate the Latin *resurrectio* by the English word "resurrection" in those twenty-two places.

But Joye's concern about the possible damage caused to the unity and harmony of the faithful was even greater. Therefore, he did not ponder the debated question too much; instead, he reminded the reader that to have dissent among good friends is normal when they "stryue for the knowlege of the trowth with a meke a*n*d godly co*n*tencion."[286] He pointed out that even the apostles quarrelled among themselves.[287] Joye was also confident with regard to the final outcome of their debate, which is the better understanding of the meaning of the Scriptures: "For I doubt not but that God hathe so prouyded yt/ that our stryfe a*n*d dyssent shalbe vnto hys chirche the cause of a perfayter co*n*corde & co*n*sent in thys matter."[288] Thus, he expressed his hope that the end of their debate was near: the dispute will last only "a lytle ceason (as I trust in god this shal not co*n*tinew longe betwene vs two)."[289]

The publication of the fifth van Ruremund English NT edition, and especially Joye's postscript at the end of the volume, has sometimes been interpreted as a conscious breach of an agreement between Joye and Tyndale. However, this position, as has been demonstrated previously in this book, can hardly be supported by the available evidence. Joye complied with Tyndale's request to put his own name on the NT that he corrected. Both Joye's irenic tone and the content of the postscript showed that he was honestly looking for an edifying solution to their disagreement. Joye was apparently confident with regard to the end of their quarrel, for as far as he was concerned, he kept to their agreement (at least as he understood it) and confined his defence to a very brief explanation of his motives for changing the translation.

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continew in their wickednes/ sith they se & be so taught that aftir their departing there is no punysshment but sleap a*n*d reste as wel as do the soulis of the good and ryghteous tyll domes daye. Which daye as some of the*m* beleue it to be very long ere yt come/ so do many of the*se* beleue that yt shal neuer come" (J_{1535}, sigs. $C7^{v}$–$C8^{r}$).

286 J_{1535}, sig. $C8^{r}$.

287 "Also to stryue for the knowlege of the trowth with a meke a*n*d godly co*n*tencion hathe happened vnto farre perfayter me*n* then we be bothe/ Nether haue there bene euer any felowship to fewe and smal/ but some tyme syche breache and imperfeccion hath hapened emonge them for a lytle ceason (as I trust in god this shal not co*n*tinew longe betwene vs two) ye a*n*d that euen emonge the apostles as betwene Paul & Peter/ {Gala. ij.} and Paul and Bernabas. {Acto.xv.}" (J_{1535}, sig. $C8^{r}$).

288 J_{1535}, sig. $C7^{v}$.

289 J_{1535}, sig. $C7^{v}$.

Joye's *Apologye* (February 1535)

Joye's hope for a speedy and satisfactory end to their quarrel proved futile. Tyndale never wrote his "reformed pistle"; he simply left it out of his next edition of the NT. Since the fifth van Ruremund NT could no longer be mistaken for his own work, Tyndale, probably realizing the unjustness of his attack[290] and seeing no point in including the confutation of Joye's "translational and theological folly" (as he surely thought of it) without Joye's own statement, omitted his second foreword altogether from his second revision of the NT. The publication (T_{1535}) came out in January 1535 and is commonly known as the GH edition, after the initials of the publisher Godfried van der Haeghen.

Joye had been trying to convince Tyndale to live up to their agreement up until the very last moment: when Tyndale, after having cavilled for a while, made it clear that he wanted Joye's arguments in writing before he would rewrite his second foreword, Joye applied to two of the mutual friends who were "present at the condicions of our agreme*n*t."[291] He spoke to one of them personally and wrote to the other, "desyering the*m* al to moue him [i.e. Tyndale] & aduyse him to holde his promyse."[292] But Joye had to realize that Tyndale had no intention whatsoever of setting the matter right publicly. T_{1535} appeared without containing anything to clear Joye's name. Joye felt that he did not deserve this treatment by Tyndale and that he himself was compelled to do something to clear his name of the imputation of heresy. Therefore, he decided that the readers should be able to make an objective but informed judgement about the matter.[293] To this end he not only went on with the publication of his original, lengthier defence, which he had wanted to publish in the first place, but he also extended it. This revised defence came out of the press about six weeks later, on 27 February 1535, as a separate volume in the form of a thin, small octavo, entitled *¶An Apologye made by George Ioye to satisfye (if it maye be) w. Tindale: to pourge & defende himself ageinst so many sclaunderouse lyes fayned vpon him in Tindals vncheritable and vnsober Pystle so well worthye to be prefixed for the Reader to induce him into the vnderstaning of hys*

290 Cf. Joye's words: "But in co*n*clusion I perceyued that T. was half ashamed to reuoke according to his promyse al that he coude not iustifye by me, a*n*d whiche I was so offended" (Joye, *Apologye*, sig. A3^{v}).

291 Joye, *Apologye*, sig. A3^{v}.

292 Joye, *Apologye*, sig. A3^{v}.

293 "I am co*m*pelled to answere here now for my selfe: which I desier euery indiffere*n*t reder to iuge indifferently" (Joye, *Apologye*, sig. A3^{v}).

new Testament diligently corrected & printed in the yeare of oure lorde .M. CCCCC. and xxxiiij. in Nouember.[294] Underneath the title, towards the bottom of the page, Joye added the following telling words: "¶ I knowe and beleue that the bodyes of euery dead man/ shall ryse agayne at domes daye." And after some space: "¶ Psalme .cxx. Lorde/ delyuer me from lyinge lyppes/ and from a deceatfull tongue. Amen . . . 1535."

As has been noted above, Joye's *Apologye* has been disparaged by scholars for being a lengthy and self-righteous piece of writing inspired by personal resentment, through which Joye achieved only one thing: he made "Tyndale seem as petty as himself."[295] Daniell found it "tedious in the extreme."[296] Also, according to the assessment of Mozley, Tyndale's usually more balanced biographer, Joye's *Apologye* "is a long and rambling document" in which Joye "exhibits a ludicrous medley of conflicting emotions."[297] Even Joye's biographers depict the *Apologye* as incoherent, repetitious, intemperate, and filled with heavy irony far beyond the standards of his time.[298] This judgement, I believe, is passed too easily. Joye's work is clearly structured and is far from being incomprehensible or unconvincing. Admittedly, his argumentation is fairly concise at times, reflecting the mind of a philosophically and biblically well-trained scholar. Accordingly, his line of reasoning is not always easy to follow for a non-specialist, but his arguments are clear, and anyone with the necessary theological background can follow his thrust. As for Joye's style, which will be discussed in detail later, it is repetitive but not beyond what is rhetorically or pedagogically prudent. His satirical and injured tone can be explained by the circumstances, and it certainly corresponds with the standards of his time and the conventions of the genre.

Joye's work is structured by means of running titles and can be divided on that basis into two main sections, as Joye's 19th-century editor, Edward Arber, did in his reprint. In the form of an acrostic, the first section (sigs. $A2^{r}$–$C2^{v}$) starts with the letter 'A' and the second section (sigs. $C2^{v}$–$G4^{v}$) with the letter 'B.'[299] Although Joye surely structured his writings con-

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294 The sole known existing copy can be found in Cambridge University Library (Shelfmark: Syn.8.53.75).

295 Daniell, *William Tyndale*, p. 325.

296 Daniell, *William Tyndale*, p. 325.

297 Mozley, *William Tyndale*, pp. 280 and 283 (resp).

298 BC, *George Joye*, p. 175.

299 Section **A**: "After that w. Tyndale had put forth . . ."; Section **B**: "But let vs now here Tindales vncharitable pistle set before hys newe Testament thus tytled . . ." (Joye, *Apologye*, sigs. $A2^{r}$ and $C2^{v}$; Arber, *Apology*, pp. 3 and 19).

sciously and was aware of the importance of such poetic structuring devices as the acrostic, this is probably just by coincidence, for unlike the reprint, the original publication prints only the letter A as an adorned initial.[300] Section A contains five running titles: "How we were once agreed" (sigs. A2^{r}–A3^{r}); "Tindals opinion of the soules departed" (sigs. A3^{v}–A4^{r}); "The confutacion of Tindals opinion" (sigs. A4^{v}–A7^{r}; B1^{v}–C2^{v}); "The text is declared" (sigs. A7^{v}–A8^{v}); and "A rekeninge is gyue*n* of my tra*n*slatio*n*" (sig. B1^{r}). Section B has only one running title: "The Apologie & answere vnto Tindals pistle."[301]

In all probability, Section B was the original defence that Joye prepared immediately after the publication of T_{1534}, and Section A was meant as an introduction to the subject. Accordingly, Section A deals with the past: clarifying Tyndale's position with regard to the souls of the departed on the basis of Tyndale's *An answere vnto Sir Thomas Mores dialoge* and *The exposition of the fyrste Epistle of seynt Ihon*, as well as giving an account of their discussions on the subject prior to the publication of Tyndale's attack.[302] It also contains their agreement and a short explanation of Joye's translation of the Latin word *resurrectio*. Section B answers Tyndale's second foreword in the customary technique of the time: by citing smaller or larger portions of Tyndale's text and refuting them point by point.

In the rest of this chapter, Joye's *Apologye* will be analysed in detail: first, his argumentation (both his theological and his other arguments), and then his scholarship, style, and translational strategy.

Joye's Non-Theological Arguments

The non-theological arguments of Joye's defence can be divided into three groups: (1) Joye's version of the events leading to their clash; (2) his rejection of Tyndale's charges; and (3) *ad hominem* counterattacks sneering at Tyndale's personality, scholarship, and translation.

1. Just as Tyndale recounted the motives that engendered his anger and moved him to write his second foreword, Joye, too, gave in the *Apologye* his version of their dealings that led to the *Apologye*'s publication. In addition to the events prior to the publication of his *Apologye*, which

[300] In his introductory paragraph to his translation of the Lamentations of Jeremiah, Joye drew attention to the fact that the original Bible text uses acrostic: "Euery verse hauinge before it orderly an Hebrew letter aftir their. A.B.C." (Joye, *Ieremy the Prophete*, sig. L1^{r}).

[301] Sometimes printed with the contraction of the first two words: "Thapologye & answere vnto Tindals pistle."

[302] Cf. *supra* on p. 301.

have already been presented in the previous sections, Joye also relates the frequent disputations between him and Tyndale.[303] For Joye, having learned about Tyndale's belief about soul sleep as manifestly exemplified in his books, went to discuss the matter with him a number of times.[304] During these discussions, Joye tried to argue the matter on a biblical basis, but instead of refuting his arguments with biblical or logical arguments, Tyndale acted, at least in Joye's experience, derogatorily and arrogantly.[305] This arrogant attitude—which, according to Joye, was partly the reason behind Tyndale's not living up to their agreement—finally moved Joye to treat the matter of the fate of the souls of the departed in writing.

2. Joye's defence against Tyndale's non-theological charges boils down to the following five themes: (I) the denial of being greedy; (II) the denial of being dishonest; (III) the denial of being vainglorious; (IV) the denial of secrecy; and (V) the denial of misleading others.

I. One of Joye's personal motivations for correcting the fifth van Ruremund NT was, according to Tyndale, his greed.[306] To reject Tyndale's accusation, Joye gives a detailed description of the financial aspects of his editorial work for the van Ruremund establishment. Originally, the widow had offered him two and a half Flemish stivers per sheet (a gathering of sixteen leaves) for the correction, but Joye bargained and required a groat more, i.e. three stivers per quire. For comparison: a master mason would earn a daily wage of 6–9 stivers on a summer day in 1534–35.[307] A barrel (approx. 66 litres) of bay salt cost that year around 10 stivers, a pound of wax around 6 stivers, a pound of butter almost 3 stivers, a pound of Flemish cheese a little over 1 groat (half a stiver), and a Lier *gelte* (2.84 litres) of Rhine wine around 10 stivers.[308] According to the proceedings of the suit of the van Ruremunds against Frans Birckman (active 1503–29), a copy

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303 "I resoned agenst him more then once or twyce a*n*d proued him the co*n*trary by the scriptures" (Joye, *Apologye*, sig. A4^{r}).

304 "Aftir I had sene theise places [i.e. Tyndale's *Answere* and *The exposition of the fyrste Epistle of seynt Ihon*] and known Tindals erroneouse opinion [on soul sleep] I resoned wyth hym as we walked togither in the feeld more then once or twyce: bryngyng agaynst him siche textis as me thought, proued playnely agenst hym" (Joye, *Apologye*, sig. B7$^{r–v}$). For the full account of their discussions, see sigs. B7^{r}–C2^{v}.

305 "But these playn testimonyes of the scripture wolde take no place with Tindal/ for [...] he aftir his wont disdaynful maner agenst me fylipt them forth betwene hys fynger & his thombe/ & what disdaynfull a*n*d obprobious wordis he gaue me for so resoning agenst hym I wyll not now reherce/ lest I shuld minysshe the good opinio*n* that some men haue in him" (Joye, *Apologye*, sig. C1^{r}).

306 See *supra* on p. 330.

307 Van der Wee, *The Growth of the Antwerp Market*, vol. I, Appendix 27/2 on p. 340.

308 Van der Wee, *The Growth of the Antwerp Market*, vol. II, Graph. 18 on p. 48.

of Tyndale's NT from the van Ruremund press cost 4.5 stivers in 1530.[309] For his English-speaking readers' sake, Joye also gives the value in English money: "iiij.pense halfpeny starling."[310] Since there are 28 sheets in J_{1534}, Joye earned scarcely 84 stivers, or 14 Flemish Shillings, the equivalent of 10s6d in English money, or little more than half a pound sterling.[311] By way of comparison: a German *landsknecht* in Henry's army would receive 12s qd. p.m. in March 1544, "but there would be 10 percent double pays, while the 37s. received by the cavalry was doubled for 'barded' horse."[312] The Bedford Franciscans in Joye's native county received, according to the survey of monastic property in 1535, the annual sums of £1, £2, and £1, respectively, for letting two parcels of 7 acres (ca. 2.83 ha) and a parcel of 3 acres (ca. 1.21 ha) of pasture.[313] Newnham Abbey possessed 16 acres (ca. 6.75 ha) of wood in Joye's birthplace, Salpho manor, Renhold, which was worth 16s in 1534.[314] A few years later, around 1538, the church of Houghton Conquest, just north of Ampthill, Bedfordshire, is recorded to have paid £1 4s for a Bible when it was obliged to do so by the injunction of Cromwell, the King's vicegerent for spiritual affairs: "Item for a byble when the parrysshe were commaunded to have one in the church ~~xxiiij~~ j_s."[315] While imprisoned in the Tower of London in 1534–35, Thomas More had to pay the weekly sum of 10s for his upkeep and 5s for his servant, whom as a knight he was required to keep. According to the calculations based on the retail price index, 10s6d English money would have had the same "purchase power" in 1534 as £209, $417, or €285 in the year 2008.[316] This

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309 Cf. Andrew HOPE, Cat. 96 in *TT*, p. 153. On the Birckmans, see n. 338 on p. 359.

310 Joye, *Apologye*, sig. $C5^v$.

311 Joye, *Apologye*, sig. $C5^v$. Arber (blindly followed by Mozley) gives 12s English money, but he probably made a mistake in his calculations (Arber, *Apology*, p. 22; MOZLEY, *William Tyndale*, p. 270).

312 David POTTER, *The International Mercenary Market in the Sixteenth Century. Anglo-French Competition in Germany, 1543–50*, in *EHR* 111 (1996), p. 27.

313 PAGE, *The Victoria History of the County of Bedford*, vol. I, p. 380; vol. II, p. 91; vol. III, p. 216.

314 PAGE, *The Victoria History of the County of Bedford*, vol. III, p. 215.

315 Francis C. EELES, (ed.) & J.E. BROWN (transcriptions), *The Edwardian Inventories for Bedfordshire*, (Alcuin Club Collections 6), London: Longmans, 1905, p. 28.

316 Value in British pounds sterling is based on the calculations of the Economic History Services (IS *EHS*). Values in US dollars and euros are based on the exchange rates of 1 January 2008 available at The FX Historical Currency Exchange Rates (IS *FX HCER*). Mozley's estimate of "£9 in modern value" is about double our approximation (his nine pounds sterling of 1937 would be about £433 in 2008, according to the same IS). This can only partly be explained by Arber's miscalculations (see n. 309). Based on "average earnings," the site suggests the figure of £2,590 in 2008 for the value of 10s6d from 1534. To compare Joye's wage with the money Tyndale earned, see *infra* on p. 358.

is, by all standards, a fairly modest remuneration for the time-consuming work of the corrector, which easily could have taken three months of full-time work in the case of printing a NT.[317] And, as was pointed out, Joye not only did the proofs, but compared the text with his Latin sources and applied textual corrections in the translation. We therefore have no reason to doubt Joye's honesty when he claims that "the goodnes of the deede & comon profyte & helpe to the readers co*m*pelled me more then the money."[318]

II. Joye also denied that it was out of dishonesty that he neglected to put his name on the fourth van Ruremund edition. Quite the contrary, he explains in the *Apologye*—to call the work his own translation would have been an untruth; he only mended a few places, and he calls his work "but a dyligent correction and no translaccion/ for yt had ben but a lye to cal yt my translacion for translatyng and mending a fewe certayn doutful and derke places"[319] Joye's modern-day critics share his views.[320] Had he put his name on the title page and had he called it his own translation, Joye explained, then Tyndale would have had every reason to call him vainglorious. But as Tyndale published T_{1526} anonymously, so too did Joye, in order "to avoyd vaynglory."[321] And if he for that reason can be said to have played "bo peep," then the same can be said, Joye claimed, not only of Tyndale himself, but also of Saint Paul, who wrote his letter to the Hebrews anonymously.[322]

III. Joye points out how ridiculous it is on Tyndale's part to charge him with secrecy and dishonesty for not calling the volume his own translation while simultaneously accusing him of seeking vainglory. How could he possibly seek his own laurels, asked Joye, if the work was prepared in secret, as Tyndale alleged, and if Joye's name did not appear in the volume

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317 Joye complains about the tediousness of his work because of the terrible state of the *Vorlage*, in particular in the tables of the readings: "I wolde not haue done yt for.v. tymes so miche, the copie was so corrupt & especially the table" (Joye, *Apologye*, sig. $C5^{r}$).

318 Joye, *Apologye*, sig. $C5^{v}$.

319 Joye, *Apologye*, sig. $F6^{r}$.

320 E.g. Butterworth and Chester, who claim that the unintentional changes are fairly small in number, while the effect of the more numerous intentional modifications is negligible: "Certainly it would be absurd to speak of Joye's *version* of the New Testament" (italics in the original). BC, *George Joye*, p. 162).

321 Joye, *Apologye*, sig. $D4^{r}$.

322 Joye, *Apologye*, sig. $D4^{r–v}$. Joye, like most of his contemporaries, believed that the *Letter to the Hebrews* was written by the apostle Paul.

at all so it could be mistaken for Tyndale's work?[323] And with regard to Tyndale's claim of Joye's vainglorious attitude in putting "his title" in some of his publications, Joye explains: "I cannot tell what he meaneth by my title: except yt be, that in some of my bokis I write that I was some tyme fellow of Peter College in Cambridge for the more difference betwene a nother ma*n* that perchau*n*ce might haue the same name that I haue."[324] But Joye readily concedes: "And yf thys be the tytle that offendeth T. I will hence forthe leaue yt oute."[325]

IV. Joye also denied both the secrecy of the printing and correction business and the rush to be first on the market. On the contrary, it was not only not kept in secret, but Tyndale himself "was pricked forthe to take the testame*n*t in ha*n*de, to print it & correcke it as he has professeth a*n*d p*r*omisseth to do in the later ende of his first tra*n*slacio*n*."[326] Later, Tyndale was "called vpon agen."[327] Nonetheless, Tyndale felt no need for hurry and "p*r*olo*n*ged & differed so necessary a thing a*n*d so iust desyers of many me*n*."[328] The "dewche" printer lost his patience at last and went on with the publication.

V. Finally, Tyndale accused Joye that his ideas caused others to believe that there will be no resurrection, because the spiritual body of the resurrection is the soul after death. Joye rejects this allegation with very strong language in his *Apologye*.[329] Joye was deeply aggravated by Tyndale's

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[323] "He that doth a thing secretly & putteth out hys name/ how seketh he vayngloryʔ" (Joye, *Apologye*, sig. C7^{r}).

[324] Joye, *Apologye*, sig. D.iiij^{v}. Joye's "title" is found only on the title page of his translation *Ieremy the Prophete, translated into Englisshe: by George Ioye: some tyme felowe of Peter College in Camebridge*. Tyndale's friend, Robert Barnes, also put "his title" on the title page of his pamphlet: Robert Barnes, *A supplicatyon made by Robert Barnes doctoure in diuinite/ vnto the most excellent and redoubted prince kinge henrye the eyght*, [Antwerp: Symon Cock, 1531?].

[325] Joye, *Apologye*, sigs. D4^{v}–D5^{r}. No further publication contained Joye's position at Cambridge University in the title page, but at the end of his life, during his second exile in Antwerp, Joye complained, embittered with understandable reminiscence and melancholy, that he had lost his tenure when he had to flee from England: "I my selfe was then [. . .] co*m*pelled to lese my college a perpetuall sufficient lyuinge, & all that I had" (Joye, *A present consolacion for the sufferers of persecucion for ryghtwysenes*, [Antwerp: Catherine van Ruremund?] September, 1544, sigs. A6^{v}–A7^{r}).

[326] Joye, *Apologye*, sig. C4^{v}.

[327] Joye, *Apologye*, sig. C4^{v}.

[328] Joye, *Apologye*, sig. C4^{v}.

[329] "This informacio*n* T. bringeth in, in the seco*n*de leif of his pistle to co*n*firme the same sclaunderouse lye ymagened of hys owne brayne. [. . .] This shameles lye and sclanderouse affirmacio*n* T. is not ashemed to prynte, onely because I saye that there is a lyf aftir this wherein the blessed spirits departed lyue in heue*n* with criste [. . .] but also because he is so enformed. Besydis thys conde*m*pnacio*n* of me by hearsaye or enformacio*n* of hys

accusation, not only because Tyndale attacked Joye on the basis of what was at best hearsay information, but also because Joye was concerned about the unity of the Protestant community.

3. Joye, however, not only rejected Tyndale's charges but went further and claimed that all of these charges and then some can be laid against Tyndale himself. Although Joye claimed that he did not want to pass judgement on Tyndale,[330] he incessantly expressed his disapproval of Tyndale and his behaviour. This was certainly not uncommon in the era or in the genre. In fact, Joye's use of polemics resembles very strongly other polemical writings of his time that are marked with *ad hominem* arguments.[331] To snare, snub, and spurn the opponent was considered an acceptable rhetorical tactic to prove one's own right: for "it is a greate shame to the teacher when his owne deedis & wordis reproue a*n*d conde*m*pne himself."[332]

I. To counterattack Tyndale's charges of greed, Joye discloses his hearsay knowledge that Tyndale received £10 for his corrections, suggesting that if anyone can be found guilty of greed, it is Tyndale himself.[333]

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faccion: he is not ashamed of hys owne brayne to affirme & to wryte it, saying in the same fowrthe peise of his pistle" (Joye, *Apologye*, sigs. C7^{v}–C8^{r}). In a similar vain: "Al this forsayd peise therfore is nothinge els (I take god to recorde) but a continuall shamelesse lye & perpetual spightful sclau*n*der maliciously blowne togyther vpon me out of Tin. mouthe" (Joye, *Apologye*, sig. D7^{v}). See also sigs. D8^{v}–E1^{v} and E2^{v}–E3^{r}.

330 "But I wyll not be his Phisicion & decerne his water at this tyme" (Joye, *Apologye*, C6^{r-v}). Joye's words refer to the techniques of his time when doctors used appearance, odour, and taste of urine as indicators of health and disease. (Paul G. Brewster, *Physician and Surgeon as Depicted in 16th and 17th Century English Literature*, in *Osiris* 14 (1962), pp. 13–32; [SS] *Urine Glucose Analysis Kit Teacher's Manual*, Burlington: Carolina Biological Supply Company, 2**000**, p. 2.) Cf. Shakespeare's *Henry IV*, part II, Act 1, Scene 2: "Falstaff: Sirrah, you giant, what says the doctor to my water? | Page: He said, sir, the water was a good healthy | water; but for the party that owned it, he might | have more diseases than he bargained for." And Molière's *Le Médecin volant*, Scène IV: "GORGIBUS: Oui-da; Sabine, vite allez quérir de l'urine de ma fille. [...] Hé quoi? Monsieur, vous l'avalez? | SGANARELLE: Ne vous étonnez pas de cela! Les médecins, d'ordinaire, se contentent de la regarder; mais moi, qui suis un médecin hors du commun, je l'avale, parce qu'avec le goût je discerne bien mieux la cause et les suites de la maladie. Mais, à vous dire la vérité, il y en avait trop peu pour asseoir un bon jugement: qu'on la fasse encore pisser."

331 L.A. Schuster, *Reformation Polemic and Renaissance Values*, in *Moreana* 43/44 (1974), pp. 47–54. See also Rainer Pineas, *William Tyndale's Use of History as a Weapon of Religious Controversy*, in *HTR* 55 (1962), pp. 121–43; Pineas, *Thomas More and Tudor Polemics*, *passim*; Rainer Pineas, *Thomas More's Use of the Dialogue Form as a Weapon of Religious Controversy*, in *SRen* 7 (1960), pp. 193–206.

332 Joye, *Apologye*, sig. C6^{r}.

333 "If this be couetousnes/ the*n* was Tindal moche more couetouse/ for he (as I herd saye) toke .x. ponde for his correccion" (Joye, *Apologye*, sigs. C5^{v}–C6^{r}). Unfortunately, Joye does not disclose in which currency this amount is expressed. As the readership of the

Of course, the comparison, even if Joye's information about Tyndale's remuneration was correct, is somewhat misleading, for Joye's task was different from Tyndale's: Joye corrected the sheets of a corrupt copy of the NT, which he compared to the Latin text to make his emendations, while Tyndale prepared a thoroughly reworked edition, amending it on the basis of the Greek text. On the other hand, the comparison was quite justified from the standpoint of the printer or publisher (the person who financed the edition), who cared only for the result: a correctly printed English text of the NT. As for the value of £10: ten years earlier, Tyndale's annuity promised by the London merchant Humphrey Monmouth when arranging his flight to the Continent was exactly ten pounds.[334] The cost of living between 1525 and 1535 more or less stagnated, and in fact there was monetary deflation in 1535. In 1528, the records of St John's College, Cambridge, state that the 32-foot-wide, 14-foot-deep, and 46-foot-high new organ of the chapel was built for 10 pounds.[335] In 1534, Newnham Abbey held £10 temporalities in the very manor in which Joye was born: Salphobury, Renhold.[336] Around 1534, Joye's fellow Bedfordshire man, Sir William Harper, rented his magnificent house, "the largest and stateliest house of this citie," at the annual sum of £10. Later, the house was described as "a Burse to be more fair and costly buylded in all points than is the Burse at Antwerp."[337] In Antwerp, the house called *De Vette Hinne* (The Fat Hen), located on the Cammerstraat adjacent to the *Pand* of Our Lady near its northwest corner, together with its warehouse (*packhuyse*) was rented from the Church by the printer Frans Birckman for his wife and children in 1520 for the staggering annual sum of twelve pounds, suggesting that it was a huge complex.[338] Most neighbouring houses were rented

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Apologye is English and there was no conversion to English money, and furthermore the probable source of Joye was English, we will assume that the value is given in English money. If the sum is expressed in the local money, the figure should be multiplied by 0.75 based on the conversion rate given by Joye.

334 Pollard, *Records of the English Bible*, p. 88.

335 "Sondry and diuers marchauntes in London gave emongist theyme X *li* towardes the beying of the newest Orgaynes" (Quoted by Crotchet, *St. John's College, Cambridge*, p. 779). Some thirty years later, the Audit Book of 1557–58 records a donation of two shillings to cover the costs of a lectern for the organ: "Item for makyng a lecterne for ye orgaines in the quere" (*ibidem*).

336 Page, *The Victoria History of the County of Bedford*, vol. 3, p. 215.

337 C.M. Clode, *Early History of the Merchant Taylors' Company*, vol. I, pp. 257 and 397; vol. II, p. 258.

338 Archieven van de Onze-Lieve-Vrouwekathedraal, Antwerp, OR 12, 1520, fo. 8. The Birckman family was a well-established and productive printing family with extended business relations throughout Europe and with shops in Cologne, Paris, London, and

for one or two pounds a year.[339] The free Chapel of Fenne in Fishtoft, in the Diocese of Lincoln, was receiving an annual pension of five pounds

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Antwerp. They employed the address "The Fat Hen" for their offices in Cologne (*zo der vetter henne*), Antwerp (*De Vette Hinne*), and Paris (*À la poule grasse*), which served as an easily recognizable brand (a franchise logo *avant la lettre*). Its Latin translation ('In Pingui Gallina') was also used as a motto for their imprints. A biblical allusion to their address 'Quoties volui congregare filios tuos, quemadmodum gallina congregat pullos suos' (Mt. 23:37) and the more commercially oriented slogan 'Utilia semper nova saepius profero' can also be found in some of their printer's marks. Both the family and the address of their offices originate from Cologne, where the street is still called *Unter Fettenhennen Straße* and the printer's house can be visited at no. 17. Abutting the store stood the *Brothalle* where the chickens were fattened. (IS *Köln Tourismus Office*) Their devices varied, but they always incorporated a fat hen. In London, their shop was situated under the fourth arcade of St Paul's, vacated by Peter Kaetz (the London address was 'In St Paul's Churchyard at the sign of St Augustine' or 'in cimiterio sancti pauli sub intersignio sancti Augustini'). The Birckmans played an important role in supplying the English market with English NTs and other books. Writing from Cambridge on 21 December 1513, Erasmus claimed that Frans Birckman is the person who imported nearly all books into England (*qui libros ferme omnes solius est huc importare*, Allen, I, p. 547, Ep. 283). However, he did not have a high opinion of Birckman. Erasmus satirized the printer as a spider weaving webs of intrigue and deception, charging the buyer with more than he had, falsifying the book of accounts, applying all sorts of business tricks, intercepting and opening other people's letters, etc. (Erasmus, *Philetymus et Pseudocheus* in *Colloquia*, *ASD* I,3, 1972, pp. 321–24). Erasmus spoke from experience: Birckman denied a debt of thirteen guldens which he owed to Erasmus. (Allen, V, p. 566). The Dutch scholar voiced his contempt of Birckman's unreliability, the 'Sicambrica fides' (Geldrian honesty), on several occasions (Ep. 283, line 162; cf. *Colloquia*, p. 571). The Birckmans also had an extensive business cooperation with Joye's publishers, the van Ruremunds. This collaboration had its own problems, too. In 1530, after the death of Frans Birckman, the van Ruremunds demanded through their agent Jan Silverlinck £25 10s Flemish from the heirs of Birckman as the balance on £28 17s 3d, the price of 725 English NTs (Antwerp, Stadsarchieven, *Vonnisboek* 1236 (1529–32), fo. 70^{v}, published with photograph as Cat. 96 in *TT*, p. 153; full transcription of the text and translation: Juhász, *Antwerp Bible Translations in the King James Bible*, pp. 102 and 118). The Birckman family stayed in business for almost 300 years, and they frequently reprinted liturgical books according to the Sarum use, works by Tyndale, and other publications for the English market. On the Birckman family, see: Paul Arblaster, Cat. 36 in *TT*, pp. 90–91; Andrew Hope, Cat. 96 in *TT*, p. 153. Charles Béné, *Henri VIII et Thomas More, lecteurs de Marulić*, in Bratislav Lučin (ed.), *Colloquia Maruliana V. (1996)*, Split: Knjiæevni krug, 1996, p. 90; Anne Rouzet, *Dictionnaire des imprimeurs, libraires et éditeurs des XVe et XVIe siècles dans les limites géographiques de la Belgique actuelle*, (Collection du Centre national de l'archéologie et de l'histoire du livre 3), Nieuwkoop: B. de Graaf, 1975, pp. 17–20; Josef Benzing, *Die Buchdrucker des 16 und 17 Jahrhundert im deutschen Sprachgebiet*, Wiesbaden, 1982, p. 239; Kronenberg, *Notes on English Printing in the Low Countries*, pp. 139–63; Jean-Dominique Mellot & Elisabeth Querol, *Repertoire d'imprimeurs/ libraries XVIe–XVIIIe siécle*, Paris: Bibliotheque Nationale de France, 1997, p. 444; Avis, *England's Use of Antwerp Printers*, pp. 234–40; John D. Fudge, *Commerce and Print in the Early Reformation*, (The Northern World: North Europe and the Baltic c. 400–1700 AD: Peoples, Economies, and Cultures 28), Leiden: Brill, 2007, pp. 129–64 *passim*.

[339] Dan Ewing, *Marketing Art in Antwerp, 1460–1560: Our Lady's Pand*, in *The Art Bulletin* 72 (1990), p. 568.

from the Rectory of Fishtoft in 1535.[340] According to the retail price index, ten pounds had the same 'purchase power' in 1534 as £3,990, $7,968, or €5,421 in 2008, quite a generous payment for a few months' worth of work by an illegal immigrant worker.[341] That Tyndale was not short of money is also attested to by Foxe, who recounts that Henry Phillips, just before he had Tyndale arrested, was clever enough to borrow 40s from Tyndale under the pretext that he had lost his wallet on the way.[342]

II. If Tyndale accused Joye of dishonesty, Joye, too, depicted Tyndale as being dishonest: Tyndale knowingly and willingly included unjust charges against Joye in his attack. The most important of these was the assertion that Joye denied the resurrection and that this belief led others astray and engendered dissent among the early English Protestants. These assertions, Joye suspected, were invented by Tyndale himself or originated from Tyndale's co-workers. Tyndale, however, knew very well that these charges were untrue, yet dared to include them in his attack.

III. It is not he himself, Joye declared, who is motivated by the possibility of vainglory, but rather Tyndale. For Tyndale seeks glory and respect for the merits of his translation, but he is not really concerned with improving the translation itself. According to Joye, this was the reason behind the delay of the promised revised edition, and this is why it was prepared so promptly upon Joye's editorial work.[343]

IV. It is not only not true that Joye was rushing the work in order to be the first on the market, Joye affirmed, but it was Tyndale's reluctance that caused the printer to lose patience. Joye had warned the Dutch printer several times of Tyndale's supposed preparatory work, but this was dragging so much that the printer went on with the publication.[344]

V. Joye pointed out that it was not his, but rather Tyndale's doctrine that was unorthodox and led others to heresy. Joye, as has been observed, believed in the immortality of the soul. But Tyndale embraced Luther's new teachings and (possibly) "infected" Frith with what Joye regarded

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340 IS John Parkinson, *History of St Guthlac's Church*.

341 Using "average earnings," £10 from 1534 is worth £49,300 in 2008 (IS *EHS*). On the method of calculations, see *supra* n. 316 on p. 355.

342 "Then went he [i.e. Phillips] fourth agayne, I thynke to prouyde and sett the officers whiche he brought with hym from Bruxelles in the streate, and about the doore, then about noone he came agayne and went to M. Tyndal, and desyred hym to lende hym fortie shyllynges, for sayde he, I loste my purse thys mornyng, comyng ouer at þe passage betwene this and Machelyn" (Foxe, *A&M*, 1563, p. 520).

343 Cf. Joye, *Apologye*, sigs. C4^{v}–C5^{v}.

344 "But th*is* testamen*t* was printed or T. was begu*n*, & that not by my preue*n*cion, but by the printers quicke expedicio*n* T. own lo*n*ge sleaping" (Joye, *Apologye*, sig. C7^{r}).

as the malicious belief of the soul sleep and the denial of the particular judgement following immediately upon death.[345]

VI. To strike back at Tyndale's statements that vainglory and covetousness were the two things blindly guiding the correction of the van Ruremund NT, Joye claimed that Tyndale was being blindly guided by malice and envy.[346] According to Joye's assertion, Tyndale knew that he had accused Joye wrongfully, and if Tyndale willingly made false accusations, then it could be only malice and envy that moved Tyndale to act against his own conscience.[347]

VII. Joye expresses in his *Apologye* that he is very much aggrieved by the fact that Tyndale relied on hearsay and unverified information, some of which Tyndale must have known not to be true.[348] On the other hand, Joye himself does not feel reticent about disclosing information that he only has on hearsay.[349]

VIII. Joye, a former university lecturer, was quick to point out and ridicule Tyndale's fallacies in formal philosophical reasoning and logic: "I meruell that Tin. is so scle*n*derly lerned in the forme of arguyng that he se not howe his antecede*n*ce may be true & co*n*sequ*en*ce false: seyng that the co*n*trary of his co*n*sequ*en*ce is necessary."[350]

IX. Furthermore, Joye argued, it was Tyndale himself who called upon his readers to correct his work.[351] "God forbyd," Joye wrote, "that T. shulde so thinke of hymself, that he hathe so exquysitly, (ye & that at firste) tra*n*slated the testame*n*t that yt cannot be me*n*ded, for he aknowlegeth

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345 Joye, *Apologye*, sig. E1r–v. Cf. *supra* on pp. 274 and 305.

346 "And yet is the man [i.e. Tyndale] not ashamed to wryte that vayngloryand couetousnes where [*sic*] my two blynde goides, but I tell Tin. agen, that if malyce & enuy (for all his holy pr*o*testacio*n*s) had not bene his two blynde goidis, he wold neuer thus falsely, vncharitably, a*n*d so spightfully belyed & sclaundred me with so perpetual an infamie" (Joye, *Apologye*, sig. C6r).

347 Cf. Joye, *Apologye*, sigs. A2r and C2r–v. On sig. C8r–v Joye wrote: "may ye not se then the maliciouse entent, shrewed purpose, a*n*d corrupt conscience of this man for all his holy protestacions, thus temerariously a*n*d abominably to write to defame and sclau*n*der me? Ar not these the venomouse tethe of vepers that th*us* gnawe a nother ma*n*nis name? ar thei not spearis & dartis & their to*n*gues as sharpe as swerdis as the pr*o*phet paynteth the*m*? whette {Psal.57.Psal.140} thei not their to*n*gues lyke serpe*n*ts: norysshe thei not adders venome with their lippes? yisse verely. For the trowth is not in their mouthes sayth Dauid: They are {Psal.5} corrupted within, their throte is an open stynking graue, wyth their tongues they flater and deceyue. Here may ye smel out of what stynkyng breste and poysoned virulent throte thys peivisshe Pistle spyrethe and breathed forthe."

348 Cf. Joye, *Apologye*, sigs. C7v–C8r and D7r.

349 See *supra* on p. 358.

350 Joye, *Apologye*, sig. A4v.

351 Joye's argumentation remarkably resembles Bucer's. See *supra* on p. 211.

& proueth the contrary himself, & desyerth other me*n* to me*n*de yt."[352] Joye's correction work was

> according to his owne desier in the ende of hys [i.e. Tyndale's] first new testame*n*t desyering all that be able to mende that at [*sic*] was amysse in it & to geue the wordis (where he did not himself) their right significacions: for he co*n*fesseth eue*n* there that hys first tra*n*slatcion was a thinge borne before the tyme, rude & imperfit, rather begun then fynisshed, not yet hauing her right shape[353]

Joye quoted from the epilogue of T_{1526}. He did only what Tyndale had asked. It is striking to observe how fundamentally Joye and Tyndale differed from each other in their attitude towards Bible translation. Joye fundamentally believed that no translation puts a definite end to the history of Bible translations: after Origen's translation, Jerome was asked by Pope Damasus to translate the NT, and even Jerome's translation was later corrected by many others.[354] According to Joye, no translation can represent a final say, and one should not be discontented, but rather pleased if one's work is corrected:

> And I doute not but there be, & shal come aftir vs, that canne & shall correcke our workes a*n*d tra*n*slacions in many places & make them miche more perfayt & better for the reader to vnderstande, and shulde we therfore brawll & wryte agenst them as T. dothe agenst me? god forbyde, but rather thanke them a*n*d geue place as Paule teacheth.j.Corinth.xiiij.[355]

Joye's words stand out against Tyndale's claim that he "nether can ner will soffre of anye man/ that he shall goo take [his] translacion and correct it without name."[356]

X. In fact, Joye argued, Tyndale's attitude towards his own Bible translation is the manifestation of his intellectual pride. According to Joye, this same intellectual pride and self-importance made Tyndale blind to recognizing that the Latin word *resurrectio* (and its Greek counterpart) had two different meanings.[357] In another passage Joye claimed that Tyndale's

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[352] Joye, *Apologye*, sig. $D5^{r}$.

[353] Joye, *Apologye*, sig. $B4^{r}$.

[354] Joye, *Apologye*, sig. $D5^{v}$.

[355] Joye, *Apologye*, sig. $D5^{v}$. Cf. Joye's favourite device: "Burne nomore goddis worde: but me*n*de it where it is not truly translated" (Joye, *The Prophete Isaye*, 1534, sig. $A7^{v}$).

[356] T_{1534}, sig. $**7^{v}$. Quoted by Joye, *Apologye*, sig. $F6^{v}$. (Spelling follows Tyndale's original.)

[357] "Of which ignora*n*ce this his errour springeth God so suffring vs to fal sta*n*ding to miche in our own co*n*saight*es*/ thynking our self so highly lerned/ & to tra*n*slate & write

intellectual pride prevented Tyndale from admitting that he could be corrected by someone whom Tyndale despised because of his seemingly inferior abilities.[358]

XI. As Tyndale charged Joye with wilful mistranslation of the biblical text in order to prove his theology, Joye, too, laid the same charge against Tyndale. According to Joye, Tyndale wilfully ignored or altered tenses and moods of verbs in his translation with the intention of supporting his own theological ideas about soul sleep.[359]

XII. But wilful mistranslation was not the only reason, Joye claimed, for the mistakes in Tyndale's translation: they could also stem from Tyndale's allegedly insufficient knowledge of the biblical languages.[360] Joye also expressed his low opinion of Tyndale's scholarship in general on several occasions.[361]

XIII. One of Joye's recurring arguments is that Tyndale passed judgement on Joye in a matter of conscience, and by doing so Tyndale assumed God's place and role and passed a judgement on Joye before and instead of God.[362] By acting thusly, Tyndale showed that he was not acting as a good Christian, Joye argued, because Tyndale showed no respect for "his [Jesus'] terrible thretening, saing Juge noman lest ye be {mat.7.Luc.6.}

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al thingis so exq*ui*sitely a*n*d perfaitly that no ma*n* is able ehter to do it better or to correck our work*es*" (Joye, *Apologye*, sig. A4^{v}).

[358] "So prowd a*n*d arroga*n*t are they that stonde so hyghly in their own co*n*sayght a*n*d false opinion, pertinatly to defend it though they se it right false, rather then thei wolde seme conuicted especially of any simpe and one that apereth no so wel lerned as thei be them selues" (Joye, *Apologye*, sig. C2^{v}). Cf. sig. C5^{r}.

[359] "T. in hys diligen*t* last correccio*n* turneth the presente*n*ce [Vg: *de mortuis autem quod resurgant* for the Greek περὶ δὲ τῶν νεκρῶν ὅτι ἐγείρονται in Mk. 12:26] into the future. a*n*d verbe pessiue into a neuter [i.e. present active] to stablish his errour thus corrupting the text. And lyke wyse he plaith with the verbe in Luke [20:37] & in Marke [12:23.25] he englissheth the verbe of the pretertence [i.e. perfect subjunctive] resurrexerint/ for the future. So fayne wolde he wrest the word*es* fro*m* their natyue sence to serue for hys errour [. . .] I wou*n*der wherfore T. flitteth fro*m* the text in these places" (Joye, *Apologye*, sig. A8^{r-v}). When writing, Joye probably only had Tyndale's last edition at hand because Tyndale translated the verb with the future: "shall ryse agayne," already in T_{1526}.

[360] Cf.: "and I wou*n*der how he coude compare yt with the greke sith himselfe is not so exquysitely sene thereyn" (Joye, *Apologye*, sig. C3^{r}.)

[361] E.g. "Tind. but a ma*n*, farre interrior vnto them [Origen, Jerome and the other Church Fathers] both in lerning, jugeme*n*t, & vertew" (Joye, *Apologye*, sig. D5^{v}).

[362] "Lo good Reder/ here mayst thou se of what nature & co*m*plexion T. is so sodenly fyercely & boldly to choppe in to any ma*n*nis co*n*science & so to vsurpe & preuent the office of god in iugeme*n*t which is onely the enseer & sercher of herte & mynde" (Joye, *Apologye*, sig. C3^{v}) Cf. "thus fyercely & soden*l*y of lyght & false coniecture & temeariouse iugeme*n*t (I wil say no worse) to preue*n*t bothe the iugeme*n*t of god & man a*n*d to vsurpe the offyce of god before he come to iuge vs bothe" (Joye, *Apologye*, sig. D1^{r}).

iuged, co*n*de*m*pne not lest ye be conde*m*pned your selues."[363] Paradoxically, Joye never reflected upon the fact that his *Apologye* does exactly the same thing when Joye pronounces his judgements upon Tyndale: Joye repeatedly claimed that Tyndale accused him contrarily to Tyndale's own conscience.[364]

XIV. But even if Tyndale were right, Joye maintained, Tyndale should have first corrected Joye privately, as the Scripture teaches Christians to do (Mt. 18:15–17). Only if Joye remained obstinate should Tyndale have made his charges public against Joye.[365] Tyndale should "haue had co*m*passion rather vpon me," Joye wrote, "to warne, to exhorte me,"[366] because after the publication of Tyndale's second foreword, Tyndale "can [...] not reuoke it, & restore it me agene."

To summarize Joye's non-theological arguments, it can be recognized that Joye's critics are certainly right when they point out the stinging character of the *Apologye*. Joye's account, albeit a bitterly angry retort, appears to be quite reliable in (1) recounting the preceding events and (2) his rejection of Tyndale's charges; however, (3) Joye often embellished the facts or was inaccurate when he made remarks about Tyndale.[367] In fact, Joye's *ad hominem* attacks on Tyndale do appear strange in the eyes of the modern reader. On the other hand, Joye's cynical remarks about Tyndale's personality and his criticism of Tyndale's translation are certainly not incomparable to the stinging nature of Tyndale's own words or, for that matter, to almost any other writing in the same genre at that

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[363] Joye, *Apologye*, sig. D1r.

[364] Cf. "so falsely belye & sclaunder me of syche crymes which I neuer thought/ spake/ nor wrote/ a*n*d of sich which I knowe wel his owne co*n*scie*n*ce doth testifye the co*n*trarie" (Joye, *Apologye*, sig. A2r).

[365] "But ere T.had thus by open writing & printing it to, accused & dampned me, yt had become him (yf he had wylled to be take*n* for a cristen ma*n*) firste to haue these vices priuately correced betwene me & them who*m* I had with these synnes offended a*n*d eft aftir for my uncorrigible a*n*d vntractable hardnes not hearing the chirch, to haue also offe*n*ded yt openly casting me out of yt, as crist techeth vs" (Joye, *Apologye*, sigs. C8v–D1r). Obviously, Joye refers here to Tyndale's charges on account of the publication of the NT and not to their differing theological views, which had been discussed several times in private, according to Joye's own testimony.

[366] Joye, *Apologye*, sig. D1v.

[367] Cf. Edward Arber's words in the introduction to the reprint of the *Apologye*: "We may believe Joy in what he says about himself; but not so much what he says about Tindale: whom, notwithstanding all, he unconsciously admires and thoroughly respects; though he is vexed at having been injured, as he thought, by so powerful an author" (Arber, *Apology*, p. vi).

time.[368] That Joye ventured into the use of heavy irony far beyond the standards of his time is simply not true.

Joye's Theological Arguments[369]

Having surveyed Joye's non-theological arguments, which, as has been observed, are alienating to the modern reader, it will be more satisfying to turn to his theological arguments. To understand Joye's theological argumentation, the reader should remember that Joye's reasoning is intrinsically rooted in his dualistic anthropology, which corresponded to that of his times. According to this, "man consisteth of two parts/ bodye and soule: of y*e* which one is sensible/ heuey/ & flesshly: and y*e* tother intellectuall/ subtyle/ and spirituall."[370] In other words, the human person is made up of two distinct components: a physical body and an incorporeal soul. At the moment of death the soul escapes from the body and lives in an intermediary state as *anima separata* until the end of the world. After death, the soul immediately undergoes the individual judgement, and it can enter Heaven or Hell accordingly.[371] The souls of the righteous are therefore already with God, but their full, final bliss will come only at the end of time, when the general resurrection will take place—when the dead bodies will be raised and will join their souls.

This metaphysical dichotomy of body and soul did not necessarily involve a concurrent ethical dichotomy. Admittedly, the body was usually regarded as inferior, at times even cumbersome, to the soul. So Joye can, for example, speak about "the imbecilite and dwolnes of our flesshe."[372] Yet the body was not at all considered a 'necessary evil,' but rather something that is less valuable yet essential to the fullness of humanity: the final bliss was only due when the soul was reinvested in the glorified and perfected body. The fullness of humanity, the human person in his or her true self can only be the reconstituted human person in body and soul. Joye is quite consistent in pressing this point in the *Apologye*.[373]

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[368] Cf. *supra* on pp. 140–141.

[369] Some of this section has been published in Gergely Juhász, *Translating Resurrection. The Importance of the Sadducees' Belief in the Tyndale–Joye Controversy*, in Bieringer, Koperski & Lataire (eds.), *Resurrection in the New Testament*, FS Jan Lambrecht, (BETL 165), pp. 107–21.

[370] Joye, *A frutefull treatis of Baptyme and the Lordis Souper*, sig. A2^{r}.

[371] Joye, as has been observed, denied the existence of Purgatory. See *supra* on p. 297ff.

[372] Joye, *A frutefull treatis of Baptyme and the Lordis Souper*, sig. A2^{v}.

[373] Cf. Joye, *Apologye*, sig. A5.

As the reader will remember, this commonly accepted view was challenged by Luther's early works.[374] Luther's position, partly intended as a critique of some of the pronouncements of the Fifth Lateran Council, influenced both Frith and Tyndale.[375] The reader will also remember the reaction from the Catholic side as it was promulgated by Fisher, Rastell, and More.[376] Joye, despite his reverence for Luther, Tyndale, and Frith, could not help but think of this new teaching as something illogical or heretical. And indeed, it is not very difficult to see how the position of soul sleep would appear nonsensical to anyone trained in the philosophy of his time.[377] But neither Luther nor Tyndale argued on the basis of a coherent philosophical system. Their ultimate criterion was their own understanding of Scripture read in the light of their own, in Tyndale's captivating expression, "feeling faith." Joye, on the other hand, reasoned on the somewhat eclectic remnants of his manifestly sound Scholastic studies. Surely, the ultimate touchstone for him, too, was Scripture, yet his reading and making sense of the biblical text clearly show his traditional academic training.

In order to facilitate the understanding of Joye's theological arguments I have divided them into six groups. (1) First, the arguments to invalidate Tyndale's theological arguments are considered. Then, (2–6) Joye's scriptural arguments to support his own standpoint are studied. These, in turn, are arranged in the following way: (2) passages about the belief of the Sadducees, (3) passages containing the word *resurrectio* in the Latin and altered by Joye but not referring to the belief of the Sadducees, (4) passages referring to the bodily resurrection proper, (5) passages not containing the word *resurrectio* in the Latin but proving the immortality of the soul and the interim state, and finally, (6) Joye's other exegetical arguments, which can be grouped into three subjects: (I) the exemplary role of Christ's soul for the Christians, and the biblical usage of the verbs (II) 'to stand up' and (III) 'to sleep.'

1. *The Refutation of Tyndale's Theological Arguments.* Joye's main concern, of course, was to clear his name of the imputation of heresy. Tyndale's words, as will be remembered, gave the impression to the reader that he

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374 See *supra* on p. 125.

375 On the Fifth Lateran Council, Frith, and Tyndale, see *supra* on pp. 123, 208, and 295, respectively.

376 On Fisher, Rastell, and More, see *supra* on pp. 253, 260, and 259, respectively.

377 Cf. Erasmus' remark in his *Explanatio symboli apostolorum* (1533) *supra* on p. 145.

accused Joye of the heresy of the denial of the bodily resurrection. Therefore, Joye, as has been observed, confessed his faith in the bodily resurrection immediately on the title page: "I knowe and beleue that the bodyes of euery dead man shall ryse agayne at domes daye." Later in the volume, he repeatedly accentuated this point. He emphasized that his earlier works clearly confirmed his faith in the resurrection of the flesh.[378] In particular he pointed to his *Ortulus anime*, in which he included his version of the translation of the Creed in the chapter entitled *A frutefull & very Christene Instruccion fore childrene*.[379] Joye's version of the Creed runs as follows:

> I Beleve in god the father almyghtye/ maker of heauene & erthe. And in Jesu Christe his only sonne ower lorde. Whiche was conceived by the holy goste/ and borne of Mary y*e* virgine. He suffred vnder Poncius Pilate/ he was Crucifyed/ dede/ and buryed. He descended to thelles/ and rose the thirde daye from dethe. He ascended to the hevens/ and sitteth on the righthande of god the father almyghty And frome thense shall he come to iuge the quyck and dede. I beleve in y*e* holygoste. I belive y*e* holy chirche every were to be companie or the congregation of the holy & faitfull [*sic*] men. I beleve to have forgevenes of my synnes. And that every man shal ryse ageyne. And I beleve to have lyfe everlastinge. Amen.[380]

In this text, published four years prior to the beginning of the public controversy (and possibly also included in his earlier, now lost *Primer* published around 1529), Joye unmistakably affirmed both Jesus' resurrection and the expectation of the bodily resurrection of the faithful. There is another point to be observed in Joye's translation of the Creed for which this has been quoted here in its entirety, and that is his tendency to include explanations in the text of the translation itself.[381] Joye's outspoken Protestant ecclesiology is made explicit in the comment about the nature of the Church which he included as part of the text of the Creed.

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[378] "I neuer doubted of but beleue it [the resurrection of the flesh] as co*n*sta*n*tly as he/ I haue p*r*eached & taught is/ & so interp*r*eted it [the Latin word *resurrectio*] where it so signifyeth & co*n*fesse it openly as euery man maye se that read my workis" (Joye, *Apologye*, sigs. A8^{v}-B1^{r}). In a similar vein: "as euery ma*n* maye se me in my bokis co*n*stantly wrytinge a*n*d affirmyng the Resurreccion of our bodyes at domes daye which (I thanke god) I neuer douted of" (Joye, *Apologye*, sig. C8^{r}). See also Joye, *Apologye*, sig. E1^{v}.

[379] "I englisshe it Resurreccion [. . .] in the article of our Credo" (Joye, *Apologye*, sig. B1^{r}) and "T. & his enformers shuld haue turned fyrst to the article in our credo co*n*cerning the resurreccion which I tra*n*slated" (Joye, *Apologye*, sig. D7^{r}).

[380] Joye, *Ortulus anime*, Argentine: Francis Foxe [*vere* Antwerp, Willem Vorsterman], 1530, sig. H^{r-v}. The only known copy can be found in the British Library (shelfmark: b107a30).

[381] See *infra* on p. 418.

The reader will also remember Tyndale's claim in his second foreword that due to Joye's teachings a number of people were led astray, denied the resurrection of the flesh, and believed that the departed soul is the spiritual body of the resurrection.[382] Although Tyndale does not explicitly say so, the obvious reading of this text is that these people held these ideas because Joye held such ideas. This is certainly how Joye took Tyndale's words, and he reacted to it very emphatically: "if T. can shew me these wordes to be mine ether in writing, or brynge forthe any man that euer herde me speke them, then let me suffer dethe. For I take god to recorde that I neuer thought them."[383] But Joye not only denies the position which is laid in charge against him, he also ridicules it as illogical, unscriptural, and unorthodox, an idiosyncrasy of the Anabaptists. In fact, Joye perceived the very charge Tyndale seemingly put against him (the denial of the bodily resurrection) as a belief that was a direct consequence of the Anabaptists' teaching on soul sleep. And this teaching, advocated by Tyndale, was exactly the motivation for Joye to alter Tyndale's translation.

The position on soul sleep seemed so illogical for Joye because it contradicted his dichotomic metaphysical view of the human person and because it seemed utterly unbiblical to him.[384] Joye claimed that Tyndale misunderstood or misinterpreted the Scriptures and committed philosophical fallacies when Tyndale regarded the immediate reward or punishment of the soul after death and the bodily resurrection as mutually exclusive ideas and argued for soul sleep in the following way: "If the soulis of the faithful were in heue*n*/ there shulde be no resurrection."[385] Based on the principle that the veracity of the resurrection of the flesh is a core doctrine of Christianity and thus cannot be denied, Tyndale concluded, according to Joye, that the premise (that the souls enter Heaven or Hell upon death) must be false. Accordingly, Tyndale "laith them [i.e. the souls] down to slepe out of heuen as do the Anabaptists tyl domes daye."[386] In other words, Joye clarified, Tyndale claimed that the active survival of

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[382] See *supra* on p. 332 and on p. 357.

[383] Joye, *Apologye*, sig. E2^{r}.

[384] "Sence I red my philosophy, I knew the differe*n*ce betwene a bodye & the soule, & was neuer so mad as to call the soule a spirituall bodye, as Tindal sayth I do affrime yt" (Joye, *Apologye*, sig. E2^{r}).

[385] Joye, *Apologye*, sig. A4^{v}. In another place Joye criticized Tyndale's argumentation with the following wording: "for this is his wyse argume*n*t, he that putteth the soulis in heue*n* before domes daye stealeth away the resurrecci*o*n of their bodyes" (Joye, *Apologye*, sig. C7^{v}).

[386] Joye, *Apologye*, sig. A4^{v}.

the soul and the bodily resurrection are logically mutually exclusive. But this is erroneous thinking on Tyndale's part, Joye continued, because "his antecede*n*ce may be true & the co*n*sequen*n*ce false."[387] Furthermore, Joye suggested, if anyone can be called a heretic because he shares the view of the Anabaptists, it is Tyndale.[388]

Joye was aware of the fact that Tyndale never overtly confessed the idea of the soul sleep. Yet he pointed out that both Tyndale's *An answere vnto Sir Thomas Mores dialoge* and his commentary of 1 John leave very little doubt about Tyndale's true position.[389] Joye called his readers' attention to Tyndale's ambiguous attitude: while Tyndale claimed in his *Answere* that the idea of the immortality of the soul originated from the pagan Greek philosophers and that the Pope inserted this idea into Christ's teaching (which, according to Joye, would suggest that Tyndale argued for soul sleep), when it comes to revealing his own ideas, Tyndale pleaded ignorance on the question.[390] But in fact, Joye claimed, Tyndale was a materialist and thought that even the soul was of a material substance, a position that Tyndale supposedly admitted to Joye in a conversation: "but T. in deed [...] grau*n*ted me that the soule of ma*n* was also a bodely substaunce: wherat," Joye added sarcastically, "a non I perceyued his highe lerning."[391] There is no evidence in Tyndale's own writings to substantiate Joye's claim, but this could explain Tyndale's apparently underlying monistic anthropology. While professing ignorance on the subject of the fate of the soul, Tyndale in all likelihood regarded the human being as an indivisible entity. In his eyes, body and soul are but two different aspects of the same human person, a position that most modern exegetes believe to be the earliest biblical view on the human being.[392]

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[387] Joye, *Apologye*, sig. A4^{v}.

[388] Joye is not only concerned about the spread of Anabaptist ideas but is outraged by the fact that Tyndale implicitly charged him with such ideas. As has been pointed out, such an accusation, much more so than the charge of Lutheranism, could easily have cost him his life. See *supra* on pp. 279 and 338.

[389] See *supra* on pp. 301ff.

[390] "Now reade Tinda. wordis in hys answere to M. Moris fourth boke, a*n*d loke whether he grau*n*teth not playnly that the soulis sleap tyll domes daye, a*n*d whether he calleth not the doctryne that they shulde lyue euer: heythen a*n*d flesshly doctryne of the Philosophers ioyned with the popis doctrine. And agayn in the .cxviij. leif where vnto he remitted the reader in his table with thys sentence/ Soulis sleap" (Joye, *Apologye*, sig. B6^{v}). "And yet bothe there in his answers and in his exposition vpon Johns Pystle apon [the text of 1 Jn 2,28] He sayth yt is a depe secrete layd vp in gods tresury" (Joye, *Apologye*, sigs. B6^{v}–B7^{r}).

[391] Joye, *Apologye*, sig. E2^{r}.

[392] Cf. Tyndale's argument in his posthumously published *Brief Declaration of the Sacraments* against the Catholic teaching on the transubstantiation, according to which the

But, quite contrary to Tyndale's opinion, Joye argued, if there is any logical connection between the active survival of the soul after death in Heaven and the bodily resurrection, then it must be one of mutual necessity. That is to say, if the soul leaves the body at the moment of death to enter Heaven, then this does not exclude but rather presupposes that there must be a bodily resurrection at the end of the world when the souls will be reinvested in their glorified bodies. This must be so—and Joye referred here to Col. 1:18—because Christ is the head and the Church is the body, and wherever the head goes so too must the body: "Christe our head is rysen: wherfore yt must nedes folowe that his bodye which is his chirche shall ryse ageyn."[393]

Furthermore, if Tyndale was right in affirming that the survival of the soul after death would render the bodily resurrection pointless, then, Joye reasoned, there is a theological problem with regard to Jesus' soul while Jesus' body lay in the tomb. Because one either (1) has to say that Jesus' soul survived His death on the cross and therefore conclude that Jesus' resurrection was pointless, or (2) has to believe that Jesus' soul did not survive death actively but "slept out of Heaven."[394] In Joye's view, both of these positions are erroneous because they contradict the Bible. But the Bible cannot be wrong: "Heuen & erthe shal soner passe away then one iote of goddis worde shal passe unfulfilled" (Mt. 5:18). Therefore, Joye concluded, Tyndale's argumentation is faulty and the survival of the soul does not render the bodily resurrection pointless.[395]

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substances of the bread and the wine are changed into the body and blood of Christ in the Eucharist. According to Tyndale, such a teaching separates the body, the blood, and the soul of Christ from one another, as well as the persons of the Holy Trinity: "Wher Chrystes bloud is ther is hys body: and wher hys body is ther is hys soul and where hys soul is, ther is the godhead and the trynitye/ the father, the sonne, & the holy gost" (Tyndale, *A Briefe declaration of the sacraments*, 1548, sig. E4^{v}). Furthermore, Tyndale argued, if Christ could make His body and blood separate and immortal in the Eucharist, why could he not do the same for his physical body and blood when He died on the cross: "yf he were so myghty, why is he not as myghty to make his bloude to be alone and hys body alone? hys blood, body, & soule, were eche alone at hys deathe. & whyle the bodye lay in the sepulcher" (ibid., sig. E7^{r}). In that regard, it is also very interesting to note Tyndale's remark that the Word of God (being an indivisible unity) has a "body" (an outer, physical aspect) and a "soul" (an inner, spiritual aspect): "The scripture hath a body with out/ a*n*d within a soule/ sprite & life." (Tyndale, *The prophete Jonas*, A2^{r}). On the alleged monistic anthropology of the Hebrew Bible, see *supra* on pp. 73ff.

393 Joye, *Apologye*, sig. A5^{r}. According to Joye's account, this argument silenced Tyndale in their dispute. See *infra* on p. 392.

394 Joye, *Apologye*, sig. A5^{r}.

395 "Wherfore ther ca*n* no co*n*dicionall an*te*cede*n*ce of T. nor yet of any angel in heue*n* make this *con*clusio*n* false" (Joye, *Apologye*, sig. A5^{r}).

Yet, Joye argued, Tyndale's own words contradict his position. After having already staged a vision of an angel in his commentary on 1 Jn. 2:2, Tyndale also presents a lengthy and bizarre imaginary apparition of Paul to the elect of God in the 16th century.[396] The purpose of the apparition is to present Paul as a faithful follower of Luther. But Joye pointed out that while Tyndale thought that Paul was asleep until the general resurrection, Tyndale's Paul 'confesses' that he is already enjoying the beatific vision in the presence of other saints and is presented with a clear foresight into the future.[397]

Joye thought thus that Tyndale's position was untenable. But he was not satisfied with only disproving Tyndale. He wanted to discover the true meaning of the passages in question and wanted to understand Christ's and the Apostle's message. In his eyes, the eschatological hope of the human being was a core element in the Christian *kerygma* and he was therefore deeply dissatisfied with claiming ignorance on the subject. Therefore he sought exegetical arguments to prove his own position.

2. *The Belief of the Sadducees.* As will be remembered, three quarters of all those places where Joye changed Tyndale's translation of '*resurreccion*' refer to the belief denied by the Sadducees. Twelve can be found in Jesus' discussion with the Sadducees in the Synoptics (Mk. 12:18–25 *et par.*), and four can be found in the account of Acts of the Apostles (23:6–24:21) about Paul setting the Sadducees against the Pharisees in the Council. Both in the Synoptic passages and in the passage in Acts, it is said that the Sadducees denied the belief in the *resurrectio*. It will come as no surprise, then, that Joye's foremost arguments for his changes come from the exegesis of the texts about the Sadducees.

As the reader will remember, the passage about the Sadducees' question to entrap Jesus was used by More in his *Dialogue* to disprove (Luther's

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396 Tyndale, *The exposition of the fyrste Epistle of seynt Ihon*, sigs. C8^{r}–D1^{v}. One is very much puzzled reading such apparitions (even if clearly imaginary) from the pen of Tyndale, who reacted so strongly against the apparition accounts of Catholic popular devotion.

397 "He bryngeth in Paule tellynge a longe tale in hys sleap (yf Tin. doctryne be trew) a*n*d maketh Paule at laste to co*n*fesse that he himself with other sayntis be in heue*n*/ contrary to hys own saynge" (Joye, *Apologye*, sig. B7^{r}). Cf. Tyndale's words: "But now my [i.e. Paul's] loue is without payne. For I se the will and prouidence of God/ and how the ende of al thinges shalbe vnto his glorie & profecte of thelecte. And thoughe I se thelecte shall somtyme fall/ yet I se how they shall arise agayne and how that their fall shalbe vnto the glorie of God and their awne profecte. And we that are in heauen/ loue you al a lyke: nether we loue one moare and a nother lesse" (Tyndale, *The exposition of the fyrste Epistle of seynt Ihon*, sig. D1^{r}).

and) Tyndale's denial of the saints being in Heaven.[398] The reader will also remember that Tyndale reacted and claimed that More abused the biblical text and "stole away" Jesus' argument, for the teaching of the immortality of the soul "was not in the world" then.[399] Despite his hatred of More and in spite of his esteem for Tyndale, Joye claimed that it was not More but Tyndale who misinterpreted Jesus' answer (and the Sadducees' question) because Tyndale, in Joye's eyes, did not understand what the problem really was.[400] For the precise dogmatic issue which was at stake in the Sadducees' enquiry and in Christ's reply was, according to Joye, not the bodily resurrection but the survival of the soul. That is what the Sadducees denied, not the bodily resurrection.

Even today, very little is known about the Sadducees.[401] The only records are found in the writings of their contemporary opponents: in the NT, in some works from the Jewish-Roman historian Josephus Flavius, and in a few scattered rabbinical texts of varying value. Almost all of this material was available in the 16th century, and Joye exhibited explicit knowledge of it.[402] So, for example, Joye explained to his readers that the Sadducees accepted only the Torah as authoritative.[403] Furthermore, Joye intimated that they believed in the free will of the human person and rejected

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398 See *supra* on p. 261.

399 See *supra* on p. 302.

400 In his book against More (*The Subuersion of Moris false foundacion*, see *supra* in n. 84 on p. 22), Joye called More "M. Mok" (sig. B5^{r}) and the "old holy upholder of the papistical Synagoge" (sig. B3^{v}). In a parody of Erasmus' friendly pun on More's name, Joye called More a 'fool' on the titlepage. He used similar expressions in his *The Souper of the Lorde*, too, in which Joye 'incidentally' refuted More's book against Frith. For more information on the subject, see: O'Sullivan, *The Authorship of* The Supper of the Lord, pp. 215–19; Rainer Pineas, *George Joye's Controversy with Thomas More*, in *Moreana* 38 (1973), pp. 27–36.

401 See Juhász, *Translating Resurrection. The Importance of the Sadducees' Belief in the Tyndale–Joye Controversy*, pp. 107–21 and the literature cited therein.

402 With the debatable exception of the evidence found in the Dead Sea Scrolls. For some scholars maintain that one may search for the roots or the origins of the Qumran community in the Sadducean party. If this hypothesis were true, it means that the Qumranic material represented an important additional source to those already known in the time of Tyndale and Joye. (Lawrence H. Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls*, Philadelphia & Jerusalem: The Jewish Publication Society, 1994, p. 88. See also E. Earle Ellis, *Jesus, the Sadducees and Qumran*, in *NTS* 10 (1964), pp. 274–79; Jeffrey Rubenstein, *The Sadducees and the Water-Libation. Methodological Analyses of Qumranic and Rabbinic Texts Regarding the Legitimacy of Oral-Law*, *JQR* 84 (1994), pp. 417–44; James C. VanderKam, *The People of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Essenes or Sadducees?*, in *BibRev* 7 (1991), pp. 42–47.)

403 "The Saduceis wold apere to kepe no nother obseruacions besyde the law of Moses" (Joye, *The vnite and Scisme of the olde Chirche*, [Antwerp, Catherine van Endhoven] June 1543, fo. v^{v}).

predestination, even the possibility that God could see into the future.[404] He also pointed out the persistent hostility between the Pharisees and the Sadducees.[405] More relevant for our matter is the Sadducees' standpoint vis-à-vis the dead and the hereafter. Here Joye explicitly referred to Josephus' testimony about the Sadducees.[406] Josephus, who was himself a contemporary Jew, Joye explained, never mentioned that the Sadducees would deny the bodily resurrection. What they denied was the immortality of the soul, i.e. the survival of the soul after death: "The Saduceis/ as wryteth that aunciau*n*t historiograph Josephus beinge himself a iew/ in his. xviij. boke the .ij. ca. sayd that the soule of ma*n* was mortal and dyed with the bodie."[407] The reference is exact and the quotation precise:[408] Josephus, indeed, does not mention the bodily resurrection and speaks only about the immortality of the soul.[409]

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404 The Sadducees, wrote Joye, "gaue nothing to fortune and destinye/ but to the free lybertye thei attributed althinges. For thei threw althings subiecte vnder owr own power/ aknowleginge owr own selues to be the authors of good workes" (Joye, *The vnite and Scisme*, fo. v^{v}). Joye's aim is evidently to draw a parallel between his own Catholic opponents and the Sadducees.

405 "Thei [*i.e.*, the Sadducees] [were] estiemed of the pharisais as men most vile and vnpure/and thus was there perpetuall stryfe betwixte them both" (Joye, *The vnite and Scisme*, fo. v^{r}).

406 Only fourteen years after the publication of the Gutenberg Bible, on 28 June and 23 August 1470 Johann Schüssler published the *editiones principes* of the Latin translations of Josephus' *De antiquitate Judaica* and *De bello Judaico* in Augsburg. Subsequently, Josephus' works were regularly republished throughout Europe. In the Library of the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven alone, we find copies dating back prior to 1535 from Lucas Brandis' press in Lübeck (1475–76), G. Leeu's office in Gouda (1482), and the printing presses of M. Ungut and S. Polonus in Seville (1492), N. Spindeler in Barcelona (1492), A. Verard in Paris (1492?), B. di Libri in Florence (1493), Ioannes Frobens in Basel (1524), and E. Cervicorn in Cologne (1534). The Greek text was not published until 1544 in Basel at the office of H. Froben and N. Episcopius. Several editions of Josephus' works appeared in most of the modern vernaculars as well.

407 Joye, *Apologye*, sig. A5^{v}.

408 Σαδδουκαίοις δὲ τὰς ψυχὰς ὁ λόγος συναφανίζει τοῖς σώμασι. (Josephus, *De antiquitate judaica* XVIII,16 (4, ii)) "The Sadducees hold that the soul perishes along with the body" (Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities, Books XVII–XX*, vol. 9, (The Loeb Classical Library), ed. L.H. Feldman, London: William Heinemann, Cambridge (MA): Harvard UP, 1965, pp. 12–13).

409 In his *De bello judaico*, Josephus gives details about the belief of the Sadducees in a very similar vein: Σαδδουκαῖοι δέ, τὸ δεύτερον τάγμα, [...] ψυχῆς τε τὴν διαμονὴν καὶ τὰς καθ' ᾅδου τιμωρίας καὶ τιμὰς ἀναιροῦσιν (II,164–65 (14, iii)). "As for the persistence of the soul after death, penalties in the underworld, and rewards, the Sadducees, the second of the orders, will have none of them" (Josephus, *The Jewish War, Books I–III*, vol. 2, (The Loeb Classical Library), ed. H. St. J. Thackeray, London, William Heinemann, Cambridge (MA): Harvard UP, 1967, pp. 386–87; word order in the translation slightly adapted for the quotation). Joye refers to both places as well as to Pliny in his later book: "Plinys boke of the natural storyes ca.xvij. and Josephus in his.xviij. boke of the antiquites ca. ij. and in his boke of the Jewes batail cap.vij." (Joye, *The vnite and Scisme*, fo. 6^{r}).

This statement by Josephus, Joye argued, concurs with the evidence one finds in the NT. In the episode in the Acts of the Apostles about Paul before the Council, the author of Acts tells us that the Sadducees hold that there is no *resurrectio*; there are neither spirits nor angels, but the Pharisees acknowledge them both: *Sadducaei enim dicunt non esse resurrectionem neque angelum neque spiritum Pharisaei autem utraque confitentur* (23:8).[410] Now, if the word *resurrectio* (or its Greek original: ἀνάστασις) referred to the bodily resurrection, Joye maintained, and it constituted a separate item in the list denied by the Sadducees, the author could not possibly have said that the Pharisees believed in *both*, but rather *in all three* of them. But the Latin *utraque* (and the Greek τὰ ἀμφότερα), just like the English *both*, refers to *two* items.[411] Even Tyndale himself translated it with "both": "But the phariseies graunt bothe" (T_{1526}). Therefore, Joye argued, the expression "spirits and angels" in 23:8 can only be seen as standing in apposition to the term *resurrectio*. The text could then be paraphrased in Joye's understanding as follows: the Sadducees say that there is no *life beyond this earthly life*; there are neither spirits (that is, the souls of the departed between their death and the resurrection) nor angels.[412]

Joye then turned to Christ's encounter with the Sadducees in the Synoptics. He recapitulated the story put to Jesus about the seven brothers

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[410] Joye quotes the text from Erasmus' Latin NT translation, or a critical edition of the Vulgate that uses *utraque*. The widely used, uncritical editions of the Vulgate have *utrumque*.

[411] The use of ἀμφότερα referring to three items is said to be within the scope of admissible grammar by some. E.g.: F.J. Foakes Jackson & Kirsopp Lake (eds.), *The Beginnings of Christianity*, part I, vol. 4, Kirsopp Lake & Henry J. Cadbury, *The Acts of the Apostles*, London: Macmillan, 1933, p. 289; F.F. Bruce, *The Acts of the Apostles*, London: Tyndale, 1951, pp. 411–12; Haenchen, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, [15]1968, pp. 638–39; Hans Conzelmann, *Die Apostolgeschichte*, (HNT 7), Tübingen: Mohr, 1972, p. 138.

[412] "Paul co*n*firming the same to be their opinion/ addeth that thei said ther were nether spirits nor angels: so that to saye there is nether spirit/ (spirit properly is the soule departed) nor aungel/ is as miche to saye as the soule is mortall/ & no lyfe to be aftir this: and the Saduceis in denying the lyfe aftir this/ denied by the same denye but onely those two: that is/ bothe spirit and angell: for if they had denyed by that worde Resurrectio the generall Resurrection to in that place/ so had thei denied thre dist*in*cte thingis: but Paule addyng/ Pharisei aute*m* vtraq*ue* co*n*fitentur/ but the pharises graunt them bothe two/ declareth manifestly that thei denyed but onely two thingis that is to saye bothe spirit & angell: for aftir this present lyfe tyl domes daye there is no lyfe of eny creature but of these two creatures spirits and aungels. And if by this worde Resurrectio Paul had vnderstond*en* as T. doth the resurrection of the flesshe/ he wolde not haue sayd/ the pharyses graun*t* them bothe/ but all thre. For this word vtraq*ue* as euery latyne ma*n* knoweth/ is spoke*n* but of two thingis only: but as for this my mynde I leaue it vnto the iugeme*n*t of the lerned" (Joye, *Apologye*, sigs. A6^{v}–A7^{r}).

who died one after the other, each leaving his wife to the next brother without an heir. In his answer, Jesus tells the Sadducees that they are wrong because they do not know "the power of God." Joye understood this to be the power to give life (even to the dead), and in a marginal note he refers to Jn. 5, Jn. 12, and 1 Jn. 5 to corroborate his argument.[413] It is God, the Father, and the Son who are the "vere lyfe" and the origin of all life, and it is therefore in their power to give life to the dead and keep the souls of the departed alive.[414] It is this lifegiving power of God of which the Sadducees are ignorant when they doubt the survival of the soul.[415] Jesus then explains, Joye argued, that in the *resurrectio* (Matthew: ἐν τῇ ἀναστάσει), when the dead *resuscitantur* (Mark: ὅταν ἀναστῶσιν Joye: "are reuiued or resuscited"), they neither marry nor are given in marriage but are like angels (Matthew, Mark: angeli, ἄγγελοι) in Heaven and are sons of God (Luke).[416] Joye points out that Jesus formulates his answer in the present tense: "christe in describing their present state/ saith in the present tence. Thei mary not nor ar maryed/ but ar lyke au*n*gels."[417] Furthermore, Joye asked, when are the deceased more like angels: (1) when they are still bodiless, incorporeal, purely intellectual souls, or (2) after the resurrection, when they will have already joined their bodies? Undoubtedly, he said, they are much more like angels in their bodiless state, i.e. in the intermediate state, because angels do not have bodies.[418] Tyndale

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[413] John 5 is the story of the healing of the lame on a Sabbath at the pool of Bethsaida. Joye had probably vv. 21–29 in particular in mind. The last verse of this passage (v. 29) also bears witness to Joye's editorial work. He quotes 5:24 verbatim on sig. B6^{r}. John 12 recounts Jesus' last actions after having raised Lazarus but prior to the Last Supper. Joye probably refers to vv. 24–26 and 48–50. In 1 Jn. 5 vv. 11–12 are probably the ones Joye refers to: "And this is that recorde, how that god hath geue*n* vnto vs eternall lyfe, a*n*d this lyfe is in hys sonne. He that hath the sonne hath lyfe, and he that hath not the sonne of god hath not lyfe" (J_{1534}).

[414] Joye, *Apologye*, sig. A6^{v}.

[415] "Thei erred being ignora*n*t of the scriptures a*n*d also of the power of god/ whiche powr christe declareth to consist in the p*re*seruing the dead a lyue" (Joye, *Apologye*, sig. A6$^{r–v}$).

[416] Both in Matthew and Mark, some mss. read: (οἱ) ἄγγελοι (τοῦ) θεοῦ. Luke uses a different expression, with a very slight shift in the meaning: ἰσάγγελοι γάρ εἰσιν. See Emmanuelle Main, *Les sadducéens et la résurrection des morts. Comparaison entre Mc 12,18–27 et Lc 20,27–38*, in *RB* 103 (1996), pp. 424–25.

[417] Joye, *Apologye*, sig. A6^{v}. He recapitulates this argument on sig. A8$^{r–v}$: "But as touching the dead/ that thei ar resuscited or they ar all redy alyue (he saith not that they shalbe alyue or shall ryse agayne as T. in hys dilige*n*t last correcio*n* turneth the presente*n*ce into the future: a*n*d the verbe passiue into a neuter to stablissh his errour . . .)."

[418] "I aske hym [i.e. Tyndale] whether that the childre*n* of that lyfe & worthy that worlde (as Luke calleth them) be not now more lyke aungels then they shalbe aftir the resurreccion of their bodies? me thinketh that in thys poynt/ that they nether marye nor

is therefore wrong to translate the present passive *resuscitantur* with the future tense "shal rise agen" in Mk. 12:26.[419]

Jesus then, to prove the veracity of the *resurrectio*, quotes Ex. 3:6.15f: "I am the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac and the God of Jacob" and adds "He is God not of the dead but of the living."[420] What is surprising here, Joye explained, is that this argument is totally pointless if the question is about the general resurrection at the end of the world. For Jesus' addition ("He is God not of the dead but the living") refers to the present relationship of the patriarchs with God: they are not dead figures of the past but are alive and present.[421] Furthermore, if the dead slept in an indifferent, insensible, and unconscious state until the general resurrection at the end of the world, as Tyndale maintained, then God could not possibly be called "God of the living," but "God of the sleeping who will be living."

That there was a logical problem in Jesus' answer was already noticed by the Fathers. The reader will remember how Jerome, in his *Commentary on Matthew*, argued that Jesus proved the immortality of the soul on the basis of a citation from Exodus, and from the immortality of the soul the bodily resurrection should follow.[422] Calvin, too, will find a similar solution

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are maryed: au*n*gels a*n*d the spirits be now bothe a lyke: a*n*d the chyldre*n* of the lyfe or the worlde where now the blessed lyue with Christe/ are now more lyke au*n*gels then they shalbe aftir the resurrectio*n* of their bodyes/ for now they ar substances incorporal/ immortall/ & intellectuall/ and so be au*n*gels: but then they shalbe bodely substances hauyng very flesshe and bones which the aungels neuer had nor neuer shall haue" (Joye, *Apologye*, sig. A7^{r}).

[419] Joye, *Apologye*, sig. A7^{r}. Joye used Erasmus' Latin translation (E). For the Greek περὶ δὲ τῶν νεκρῶν ὅτι ἐγείρονται, the Vulgate reads *de mortuis autem quod resurgant*. Erasmus appears to have been discontent with the translation of the passive present indicative of the intransitive ἐγείρονται by the verb *resurgant* in the active present subjunctive. He uses instead the passive present indicative of another verb, *resuscitantur*, in order to set it in contrast with the verb ἀναστῶσιν (E, Vg: *resurrexerint*) of the previous verse. To improve the style, Matthew changes the clause into a nominal construction: περὶ δὲ τῆς ἀναστάσεως τῶν νεκρῶν (E: *de resurrectione vero* (Vg: *autem*) *mortuorum*). Luke also changes Mark's somewhat awkward construction but keeps the verb in the passive present indicative: ὅτι δὲ ἐγείρονται οἱ νεκροί. Here, however, Erasmus keeps the Vulgate's reading: *quia* (E: *quod*) *vero resurgant mortui*. Tyndale translates the sentence both in Mark and in Luke with the future tense: "that the deed shall ryse agayne."

[420] "De resurrectione vero mortuor*u*m/ no*n* legistis quod vobis dictu*m* est a deo/ qui ait. Ego sum de*us* Abraha*m* &c. That is to saye. As co*n*cernyng the lyfe of them that be dead haue ye not red what is tolde you of god saying: I am the God of Abraha*m*/ the god of Isaac/ and the god of Jacob: God is not the God of the deade/ but of the lyuinge" (Joye, *Apologye*, sig. A7^{v}).

[421] Cf. *supra* on pp. 189 and 195.

[422] See *supra* on p. 93.

to the problem: "Quum vero tradit Scriptura, ex spe resurrectionis pendere spiritualem vitam, et animas a corporibus solutas illuc respicere, quisquis resurrectionem convellit, animas quoque immortalitate spoliat."[423] In other words, the immortality of the soul and the resurrection necessarily presuppose each other. Therefore, proving immortality proves resurrection at the same time.

Joye also recognized the difficulty with Jesus' answer.[424] But for him this second step in the argumentation (namely, that the immortality of the soul presupposes the bodily resurrection) is unnecessary because the word *resurrectio* itself refers to the intermediate state. This is the question at stake for the Sadducees. By proving the immortality of the soul, Jesus already answered the question of the Sadducees:

> By this argume*n*t: god is the god of the lyuing & not of the dead: God is the god of Abraha*m* Isaac & Jacob ergo Abraha*m* Isaac a*n*d Jacob are a lyue: christe co*n*cludeth planely/ nothing els but that there is a lyfe aftir this whereyn the soulis departed lyue/ whiche co*n*clusio*n* sith it is directly made ageynst the Saduces opinion/ it must nedis folow that thei denyed in this place that thinge which christe proued.[425]

In other words, if Jesus proved the immortality of the soul, then this must have been the assertion that was called into question by the Sadducees at this point. "If the Saduces here had denyed cheifely [*sic*] & principally/ by that worde Resurrectio the generall resurreccio*n*,"[426] Joye argued, then Christ would have proven the general resurrection with applicable scriptural quotes and arguments. Instead, he proved the immortality of soul, and with that he silenced the Sadducees. Therefore, the Sadducees' question must have been about the immortality of the soul, otherwise they would not have been silenced by Jesus' answer: "or els they [i.e. the Sadducees] myght haue well obiected saying: Syr what is this answere to our question? we aske the whose wyfe shall she be at the general resurreccion of their bodyes? and thou answereth vs nothyng els nor prouest vs any thing els with this scripture but that there is a lyf after this wheryn the soulis departed nowe lyue."[427]

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[423] Jean Calvin, *In harmoniam ex Matthaeo, Marco et Luca compositam commentarii*, Tom. II, ed. A.F. Tholuck, Berlin: Thome, 1838, p. 223.

[424] "For thoughe this place proueth not directly the resurreccio*n* of the bodies yet are there many places moo that proue it" (Joye, *Apologye*, sig. B1^{v}).

[425] Joye, *Apologye*, sig. A7^{v}.

[426] Joye, *Apologye*, sig. A8^{r}. See *supra* on p. 190.

[427] Joye, *Apologye*, sigs. A7^{v}–A8^{r}.

Joye saw an additional reinforcement of his argument in the final clause of Jesus' answer, found only in the Gospel of Luke: *omnes enim illi vivunt* (πάντες γὰρ αὐτῷ ζῶσιν).[428] They (meaning the dead) all *live* (and do not sleep) "in him" or "by hym." This means that the departed just persons are alive (Joye calls attention again to the fact that the verb is in the present tense). Therefore, it cannot refer to the general resurrection at the end of time.

Joye summed up his argumentation with the conclusion: "the latyn worde [Resurrectio]/ besid*es* that it signifieth in other places the Resurreccion of the bodye/ yet in these it sygnifieth the lyfe of the spirits or soul*is* departed as christis answere vnto the Saduceis/ a*n*d John declare."[429] Despite Joye's at times quite sharp style, on the whole he comes across as quite convincing in presenting his arguments on the belief of the Sadducees. His exegetical and historical arguments, supported with a manifest knowledge of the available sources, appear much more persuasive than Tyndale's more private arguments based on his personal "feeling faith."

3. *Private Judgement and the Interim State of the Soul.* In his *Apologye* Joye argued that the interim state of the soul after this life is the meaning of the Latin word *Resurrectio* in three other passages (four occurrences) where he had altered Tyndale's translation. These occurrences do not refer to the belief of the Sadducees, but rather—at least in Joye's understanding—in one way or another to the individual judgement passed immediately after the death of the person. One of them can be found in Lk. 14:14, two in Jn. 5:29, and one in Heb. 11:35. In his *Apologye*, Joye clarified his motives for changing the translation in the latter two passages. Lk. 14:14 is not explained by Joye himself, but it will be apparent why he regarded this text as referring to an interim state.

Heb. 11:35 will be considered here first, since Joye regards his argument about this text as one of his best scores against Tyndale's views.[430] In Heb. 11 the author lists a long line of examples of biblical figures who distinguished

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[428] Joye, *Apologye*, sig. A8^{r}. This is again the text of Erasmus' Latin NT translation; the Vulgate reads *omnes enim vivunt ei*.

[429] Joye, *Apologye*, sig. B1$^{r–v}$. Joye refers to Rev. 20:5–6 and identifies the expression 'first resurrection' (*resurrectio prima* ἡ ἀνάστασις ἡ πρώτη) with the life of the departed souls before the general resurrection (the 'second death' *secunda mors* ὁ δεύτερος θάνατος in Joye's reading). See *infra* on p. 387.

[430] "I do here snare & hold him faste, tyl he be able to loose himselfe" (Joye, *Apologye*, sig. B4^{v}).

themselves by their steadfastness in faith, even during tribulations and torture. Later, in chapter 12, the author of Hebrews contrasts the exemplary behaviour of the biblical OT 'saints' and martyrs with that of his readers, who "have not yet resisted unto bloudsheddynge" in their "stryvynge agaynst sinne." (Heb. 12:5 T_{1526}) Part of this list of illustrious saints and sufferers is found in 11:35, which in Erasmus' NT reads: ἔλαβον γυναῖκες ἐξ ἀναστάσεως τοὺς νεκροὺς αὐτῶν· ἄλλοι δὲ ἐτυμπανίσθησαν οὐ προσδεξάμενοι τὴν ἀπολύτρωσιν, ἵνα κρείττονος ἀναστάσεως τύχωσιν. This was put into English by Tyndale in his Worms edition with: "The wemen receaved their deed to lyfe agayne. Wother were racked/ & wolde nott be delivered/ thatt they myght receave a better resurreccion." Joye was glad to discover that by rendering ἐξ ἀναστάσεως τοὺς νεκροὺς αὐτῶν with "their deed to lyfe agayne," Tyndale gave a somewhat loose translation of the first part of verse 35. The clause refers to a/some case(s) of resuscitation (possibly to Elijah's story in 1 Kgs. 17:17–24 and/or his successor Elisha raising the son of the Shunammite woman in 2 Kgs. 4), and for that purpose Tyndale might have thought that his translation would leave no ambiguity. Joye, however, chose to change the last clause of the verse by replacing Tyndale's 'resurreccion' there with 'lyfe.' He also inserted the adverb 'rather' (to render the comparative) and changed Tyndale's indefinite article into a definite article:[431] "that they myght receave rather the better lyfe."[432]

In Tyndale's understanding the first sentence of the verse clearly refers to a resuscitation rather than to a resurrection in the proper theological sense of the word. To avoid any ambuiguity, and as a reaction to his dispute with Joye on the issue, Tyndale inserted the word 'raised' in his 1535 revision so the first clause read: "And the wemen receaued their deed raysed to lyfe agayne."[433] It is worth noting that Tyndale's rendering does

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[431] Tyndale supplied an indefinite article in English. The absence of an article in the Greek text does not necessarily support this: Greek can also use nouns (especially abstract nouns) without any article in sentences where the definite article would be used in English (cf. Maximilian Zerwick, *Biblical Greek Illustrated By Examples*, § 171, 176ff and BDF, §258). Joye was translating from Latin, which has no articles at all.

[432] Joye also changed Tyndale's somewhat awkward and repetitious "wother" (appearing also at the beginning of v. 36) into the more smoothly reading "some." He kept the structural division between the two sentences of the verse and started a new paragraph at the beginning of the second sentence of v. 35, just as Tyndale did.

[433] Joye commented on Tyndale's change with the following remark: "But yet in his last newe testamen*t* so diligen*t*ly corrected & co*m*pared wyth the greke, because he woulde varie & swarue fro my englysshing (ye fro*m* the trueth of the worde) he goyth aboute per ambages with a lo*n*ge circu*m*locution, saying raysed fro*m* dethe to lyfe agen […] he had leuer th*us* play bo peep with .ij. wordis […] the*n* to say the trueth with me. Here may

not answer the question of what had happened with the body and/or the souls of those who were resuscitated or where they returned from. The second clause of the verse in T_{1526} undoubtedly refers to the general (and, in Tyndale's understanding, only) judgement at the end of the world: that the Maccabean martyr brothers (2 Macc. 7:1–29), to whom the text probably refers, might receive a better judgement at the general resurrection. We have seen that this is Frith's reading of the story in 2 Maccabees.[434] J_{1534}, however, interprets the verse differently. Joye believed in the immediate private judgement after death; hence, he took the second sentence as referring to this individual judgement and to the condition of the soul—that the martyrs' souls might receive a "better lyfe" immediately their death. Over the course of their controversy, Joye went even further in J_{1535}, and by—congruously—changing the preposition 'to' to 'from,' he makes it correspond to the Latin *de* (and the Greek ἐξ) of his *Vorlage*. In J_{1535}, therefore, the first clause reads: "The wemen receaued their deed from lyfe agayne." Thus, this clause in Joye's understanding refers to a return from another life, namely, the intermediate state. Therefore, 'lyfe' in this sentence means the life of the soul after death. Hence, Joye's translation could be paraphrased in modern English as: the women received their dead from the intermediate state.[435]

Joye's move is neither unmotivated nor illogical. Joye argued that it is rather Tyndale's version that is illogical and absurd if Tyndale understands the resurrection of the body under the English term 'resurrection.' If Tyndale uses the term a '*better* resurrection,' it presupposes that there must be a '*worse* resurrection,' too, which is clearly absurd.[436] In Joye's eyes the comparison can only be with this life, in which "these me*n* so streched & racked hauing experie*n*ce of the worse [...] despysed the delyuera*n*ce to obtayne [a] better [life after death]."[437]

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ye se what shift*es* th*is* ma*n* maketh to discrode fro me: ye rather fro*m* the trueth" (Joye, *Apologye*, sig. B5^{r}).

[434] See *supra* on p. 269.

[435] Cf. *supra* on p. 196.

[436] "T[yndale] englisheth a beter resurrecci*on*: where it is playn that he englissheth it falsely, for sith he taketh here Resurrecci*on* for the resurrecci*on* of the flesshe: & this co*m*parison is here betwene two resurrecci*on*s only, it must nedis folow that aftir T. there shuld be two resurrecci*on*s of our bodyes, of the which one is beter then the tother" (Joye, *Apologye*, sig. B3^{v}).

[437] Joye, *Apologye*, sigs. B3^{v}–B4^{r}. Cf.: "for the co*m*parison *con*sisteth betwene this lyfe, of which thei were werie, and the tother beter lyfe after this whiche thei so feruen*t*ly desiered that they refused to be delyuered fro*m* their paynes" (Joye, *Apologye*, sig. B4$^{r–v}$).

Furthermore, by translating Heb. 11:35 the way he did, Tyndale rendered a Greek clause that had three substantives (γυναῖκες, ἀνάστασις, and νεκροί) with an English clause that also had three substantives ('women,' 'life,' and 'dead').[438] Moreover, in the Greek (and in the Latin), just like in Tyndale's rendering, γυναῖκες (*mulieres*, women) is the subject of the sentence, and νεκροί (*mortui*, dead) is the direct obejct. Accordingly, Joye supposed, the third substantive (ἀνάστασις, *resurrectio*, life), being the determiner of a prepositional phrase in each language, should correspond in Greek/Latin and English; thus, Joye concluded, Tyndale himself translated *resurrectio* (ἀνάστασις) with 'life' in Heb. 11:35. Accordingly, Joye could declare: "For in so englysshyng the worde I do nomore abhorre the name of the resurrection then do your selfe in the.xj.cap.to the hebrews where youre selfe call yt lyfe also: and haue graunted it me that yt so signifyeth."[439]

The Latin preposition *de* (as the Greek ἐξ) is primarly used to designate a source or origin. In this meaning, Joye argued, the preposition is usually translated by the English prepostions 'from' or 'of,' or the phrase 'out of.' The relationship that the English preposition 'to' expresses, on the other hand, is usually expressed by the Latin preposition *ad*. To translate *de resurrectione* with "to life" is therefore "playing bo peep," Joye notes, throwing Tyndale's own words back at him.[440] Once ἀνάστασις/*resurrectio* is translated by "life," it is logical, Joye maintained, that the same word appearing in the same verse for the second time with no apparent reason to the contrary should be translated by the same English word.

Joye believed that the broader context of the passage also reinforces his interpretation. He was convinced that in Heb. 12:18–24 the author gives a "playne description of the state where vnto the soulis departed in cristhe ar receyued."[441] The text reads in Joye's rendering as follows:

> ye ar not come vnto the hill Sinai which none might touche: but ye are come vnto the mount zion the cite of the lyuing god, the heuenly Jerusalem, & vnto the innumerable company of aungels vnto the congregacion of our former first begoten fathers writen togither in heuen, & to god, the iuge of al men, & vnto the spirites of the pure iuste and vnto Jesus criste the mediatour of the newe couenant euen vnto the bespreigned bloude.[442]

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[438] The Vulgate has also three substantives (*mulieres, resurrectio*, and *mortui*): *acceperunt mulieres de resurrectione mortuos suos*.

[439] Joye, *Apologye*, sig. D3^{v}. Cf. "Lo here resurrectio aftir T. signifethy lyfe/ & not the generall resurreccion: ergo T. abhorreth this worde resurreccion & denyeth the resurreccion of the flesshe/ these be his arguments ageinst me" (Joye, *Apologye*, sig. B4^{v}).

[440] Joye, *Apologye*, sig. B5^{r}.

[441] Joye, *Apologye*, sig. C1^{r}.

[442] Joye, *Apologye*, sig. C1^{v}.

The text mentions spirits in this passage, so it is "playne," Joye argued, "that in this heuenly Jerusalem ar now the co*n*gregacion of our former fathers & the spirites of the iuste men, for aftir the generall resurreccion, this co*n*gregacion shalbe no spiritis, but the co*m*pany of very me*n* hauyng flesshe a*n*d bone."[443] To prove that the text cannot refer to the future state after the bodily resurrection, Joye quoted the words of the risen Jesus to his disciples in which Jesus contrasts his corporeal state after the resurrection with the acorporality of a ghost: "a spyrit hath nether flesshe nor bones," (Lk. 24:39).[444]

Joye also elucidated his motives for altering the second passage (Jn. 5:29) in the *Apologye*. As has been observed, Joye already made a cursory reference to Jn. 5 in the discussion about the belief of the Sadducees.[445] But he also gave a more detailed reading of chapter 5 of the Fourth Gospel. In that chapter Jesus is confronted by the Jews for healing a lame man at the pool of Bethesda on the Sabbath. Jesus, in justification of His deed, points to the Father who raises the dead and gives them life, and claims that the Son also gives life to whomever He wishes (v. 21) because the Father has allowed the Son to have life in Himself (v. 26). Accordingly, Jesus promised that "the tyme shall come, and nowe ys, when the deed shall heare the voyce off the sonne of god. And they that heare, shall live." (v. 25 T_{1526}). Jesus also promised that "who so here my worde & beleue in hym that hath sent me/ hath lyfe euerlastinge & shall not come into co*n*de*m*pnacio*n*/ but is passed ouer fro*m* dethe to lyfe" (v. 24).[446] This promise is understood by Joye as a clear reference to the individual judgement and to the survival of the soul: the believer will be judged at death and will not be condemned but admitted to life everlasting.[447] Consequently, Joye believed that vv. 28–29 should also be interpreted as referring to the individual judgement and the interim state of the soul: "Maruayle not at thys/ that the houre shall come in the whych all that are in the graues/ shall heare hys voice/ and shall come forthe/ they that haue done goode

[443] Joye, *Apologye*, sig. C1^{v}.
[444] Joye, *Apologye*, sig. C1^{v}.
[445] See *supra* on p. 376.
[446] Joye, *Apologye*, sig. B6^{r}.
[447] Joye, *Apologye*, sig. E6$^{r–v}$. This text, in the eyes of Joye, served also as a refutation of Tyndale's argument that the survival of the soul was not held by the Jews or the early Christians because Paul did not console the Thessalonians with this idea (see *supra* on p. 302). In Joye's understanding, Jn. 5:24 proves that the soul has "euerlasting life" and at death it "passes over from death to life." While Paul did not refer to this text, Joye argued, it does not prove that he was ignorant of this just because he chose to use another teaching to console the Thessalonians. At any rate, Joye maintained, an argument from silence is always week and dangerous (Joye, *Apologye*, sig. B6$^{r–v}$).

into the very life. And they that haue done euyll/ in to the lyfe off dampnacion." (J_{1534}). In fact, the three promises refer to the same thing: Jesus is trying to drive home the point.[448] Repetition is a common figure of speech in the Bible, Joye argued, and John is champion of this, especially in the explanatory usage of the conjunction 'and.'[449] He does so in Jn. 6:35 and 11:35, where Jesus significantly claimed that "I am the resurreccion and lyfe."[450] Here, "lyfe" explains the meaning of "resurreccion."[451] Therefore, *resurrectio* cannot, Joye concluded, be anything other than the everlasting life of the blessed, which begins immediately after the death of the body.

As the reader will remember, Tyndale referred to Jn. 5:28 in his second foreword as a possible example where someone following Joye's 'folly' could make even further changes in the text.[452] There, Tyndale 'suggested' that instead of those "y*at* are in y*e* sepulchres, shall heare his voyce," one could substitute "the soules of the*m* that are in the sepulchres shall heare his voyce," which, according to Tyndale, is clearly an absurd rendering. But for Joye, the change 'suggested' by Tyndale is in fact logical, because it is not the dead body that will hear Christ's voice but the soul.[453] In fact, this is the "trewe & catholyk sence" of the verse, and not even Tyndale can "make it false."[454]

The last passage under consideration is Lk. 14:13–14. Tyndale translated the Greek text of these two verses as follows: "Butt when thou makest a feast, call the povre, the maymed, the lame, and the blinde, and thou

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[448] "For where he sayd before/ the dead shal here his voice/ now he sayth for the same/ all that ar in graues shall here his voyce/ a*n*d where he sayd in the first same sente*n*ce/ ar passed frome dethe to lyfe & haue euerlasting life/ in the seconde sentence he sayth/ shal lyue/ and in the thirde & last of all he saythe/ shal come forth in to that very and perfit lyfe/ & where he sayd before/ condempnacio*n*/ here at last he calleth the same the lyfe of conde*m*pnacion or dampnable lyfe" (Joye, *Apologye*, sigs. E6^{v}–E7^{r}).

[449] "Yt is the como*n* phrase of scripture to saye spiritus sanctificationis/ pro spiritu sancto & sanctitas veritatis pro vera sanctitate with many siche lyke/ Also yt is to be noted that there is none of theuangelistis nor apostles so plentuouse in expowning himselfe with so many wordis & so ofte repeting one thing as is Iohn/ vsyng thys particle (Et) in englyssh as myche to saye as (And) expositiue: that is to expowne the sentence or worde before" (Joye, *Apologye*, sig. E7^{r}).

[450] Joye, *Apologye*, sig. E7^{r}.

[451] "There thys worde (and) expowneth what resurreccion sygnifyeth/ euen very lyfe" (Joye, *Apologye*, sig. E7$^{r–v}$).

[452] See *supra* on p. 339.

[453] "I wolde know of Tinda. whether whe*n* a mannis bodye is dead & layd in graue/ yt be his dead bodye or hys soule that hereth cristis voyce/ I am suer T. is not so farre besydis his comon sencis as to saye the dead bodye hereth cristis voyce/ ergo yt is the soule that hereth yt/ a*n*d then why dothe T. despyse my sence or rather the trw sence of the scripture calling it a mocking out of the text a*n*d a false glose?" (Joye, *Apologye*, sig. E5^{r}).

[454] Joye, *Apologye*, sig. E7^{v}.

shalt be happy: For they cannot recompence the. Butt thou shalt be recompensed at the resurreccion of the iuste men." (T_{1526}). Joye, however, changed the last clause to "But thou shalt be reco*m*pe*n*sed at the lyfe of the iuste me*n*." Although Joye did not explain his motivation to change Tyndale's translation of this text, there can be no doubt that in Joye's reading, this sentence also refers to the judgement of the individual at the moment of death: the 'reward' for the good deeds on earth shall be given to the individual upon his or her death. This interpretation of the text is consistent with his anthropological view and with his belief that the souls of the dead receive their reward or punishment immediately upon their death. Interpreting *resurrectio* in this sentence as referring to the bodily resurrection would have contradicted his dualistic anthropology or, at least in Joye's understanding, would have promoted the Anabaptists' (and Luther's and Tyndale's) position on soul sleep.

As has been demonstrated, the three passages where Joye altered Tyndale's translation that do not refer to the belief of the Sadducees were all understood as referring to the individual judgement and the immediate retribution or reward of the separated human soul after the physical death of the body. Joye's exegetical arguments are consistent with his view of the human person and with his conviction that the soul is indestructible and survives the death of the body.

4. *Bodily Resurrection (1 Cor. 15, Rev. 20).* Although on the basis of Tyndale's criticism and Joye's later critiques one gets the impression that Joye altered Tyndale's translation in all, or at least most, of the places where the word *resurrectio* appears in the Latin text, Joye left Tyndale's translation of this word unaltered in most cases. As has been pointed out, Joye emphasized that he never denied that bodily resurrection was the first and foremost meaning of the Latin word (and its Greek equivalents).[455] But Tyndale's question is justified and unavoidable vis-à-vis such a position: what is the function or usefulness or purpose of the bodily resurrection, if one enjoys heavenly bliss immediately upon death?

In his *Apologye*, Joye pointed to biblical texts where the Latin text contains *resurrectio* or one of its cognates and where the term, according to him, does mean the bodily resurrection, and his exegesis of these texts reveals the answer to Tyndale's question. The most prominent of these is 1 Cor. 15. This passage is left unaltered in Joye's edition, for he,

[455] See *supra* on p. 368.

unlike Melanchthon, Zwingli, and Westheimer, was convinced that the bodily resurrection is Paul's subject in this passage.[456] Nonetheless, he also disagreed with Tyndale's interpretation of 1 Cor. 15 as Tyndale used this text in his debate with Thomas More, because Joye believed that Tyndale wilfully misrepresented Paul's argument when he wanted to confute More.[457] For Tyndale, Joye asserted, "haue coupled paulis consequence with an antecedence of his own ymaginacion" when Tyndale summed up Paul's message in the following way: "If ther be no resurrection, we be of al wretches the most miserablest."[458] But, Joye argued, this is not what Paul wrote. "For this is Paulis argume*n*t. If we haue but in thys lyfe onely oure hope fastened in christe, so were we miserablest of al me*n*."[459] Although Tyndale's words are probably a fair summary of Paul's logic in vv. 13–19, Joye is, as usual, exact both in citing Tyndale and in 'correcting' him, because 1 Cor. 15:19 indeed reads: εἰ ἐν τῇ ζωῇ ταύτῃ ἠλπικότες ἐσμὲν ἐν Χριστῷ μόνον ἐλεεινότεροι πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐσμέν.[460] Therefore, Joye maintained, Paul's words do not support Tyndale's claim: "for so myght his antecede*n*ce be true & his *con*seq*ue*nce false."[461] Namely, Joye could hypothetically imagine that even if there were no bodily resurrection, one should not despair, because in the afterlife justice for the soul is done at the individual judgement. Therefore, compared to the souls of saints, who are received into heavenly bliss upon their death, those who are on earth together with the damned souls who "be dead & not receyued i*n*to Abraha*m*s bosom but in hel in tormentis be mich more misarable."[462] In other words, Paul's argument in vv. 13–19 is the following, according to Joye: Christians would be the most miserable if there were no hope at all beyond this earthly life, neither in the form of bodily resurrection nor in the form of immortality of the soul. It has to be recognized that even if

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[456] For Melanchthon's, Zwingli's, and Westheimer's interpretation of the passage, see *supra* on pp. 192, 195ff, and 240.

[457] "Here may ye se how T. ru*n*neth ryot of his own wit falsely belying Paule hauing no respecte vnto his book, ner yet dew reuere*n*ce vnto holy scriptures alleging the*m*" (Joye, *Apologye*, sig. B5^{r-v}). More has argued that the souls of the saints are alive in Heaven. (See: *supra* on p. 262.)

[458] Joye, *Apologye*, sig. B5^{r}. For Tyndale's argument, see: *supra* on p. 301.

[459] Joye, *Apologye*, sig. B5^{v}.

[460] Joye is again following Erasmus' Latin translation and not the Vulgate: (E): *Si in uita hac spem in Christo tantum fixam habemus, miserabiliores omnibus hominibus sumus*. (Vg): *si in hac vita tantum in Christo sperantes sumus miserabiliores sumus omnibus hominibus*. Tyndale had translated this sentence with "*Yf in thys lyfe only we beleve on Christ, then are we off all men the miserablest*" in T_{1526}, and this was left unaltered by Joye.

[461] Joye, *Apologye*, sig. B5^{r}.

[462] Joye, *Apologye*, sig. B5^{r}.

Joye obviously misinterpreted Paul's intention here, the formulation of v. 19 leaves space for Joye's hypothetical interpretation according to his own logic.

But this is, of course, merely a theoretical possibility for Joye because Jesus' resurrection proved the veracity of the resurrection beyond any doubt.[463] Furthermore, the souls of the saints in the interim state are not yet in the full glory. At the end of the world, after the general judgement "the soulis shal resume their own bodyes not mortal but immortal/ incorruptible/ spiritual/ and gloriouse for euer" (cf. vv. 42–44).[464] Only after the bodily resurrection shall the joy of the saints be perfect, because then their bodies, which were instrumental in their good works and shared in their hardships, will also participate in the heavenly bliss.[465] This state after the resurrection of the body will be the perfection for which all creatures long; this will be "the delyuera*n*ce oute of their seruitute into that gloriouse libertye of the childeren of god," and this will be the redemption of the body of which Paul spoke (Rom. 8:19–23).[466] "Thys perfeccion and full state" is what Luke called "the tyme of refrigery and confort of the presence of god and tyme of the restoring of all thyngis" (Acts 3:20–21).[467] And this final state will be that of which Heb. 11:39–40 speaks.[468] At the general resurrection, "vniuersal a*n*d intire corps of criste his hole chirche [shall] be made ful & perfit in hir most gloriouse and perfit state & perpetual fruicio*n* ioyned in ioye euerlasting vnto hir head Iesu criste."[469]

The other important passage about the bodily resurrection and the eschatological events at the end of the world is Rev. 20, which, according to Joye, reveals more than a few enlightening details. There it is said that an angel descended from Heaven and bound Satan for a thousand years and that the souls of those beheaded for their testimony of Christ

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463 Joye, *Apologye*, sig. B5^{r}. Cf. Joye, *Apologye*, sig. F2^{r}. Cf. *supra* on p. 191.

464 Joye, *Apologye*, sig. F2$^{r–v}$.

465 "The scriptures [...] declare playnely that the glorye and ioye of the soulis is more ful and perfit whe*n* they shal haue their bodyes felows & parte takers of their felicite & ioye who*m* they had once as ministers of their good workis & partakers of their afflictio*n*s/ then whe*n* they haue their glory a lone wyth out their bodyes" (Joye, *Apologye*, sig. F2^{r}).

466 Joye, *Apologye*, sig. F2^{r}. Cf. sig. F2^{v}.

467 Joye, *Apologye*, sig. F2^{v}.

468 "And Paule expressing this gloriouse perfeccion & perfit glorye of bothe bodyes soulis togither aftir the general resurreccion/ sayth. All these thorow fayth deseruyng thys testimony haue not yet receyued the promyse (that is to saye the intire renewing/ rede*m*pcion/ & resurreccion of their bodies p*ro*mised them) because that god had prouided th*is* one beter thyng for vs/ that is to wete/ that thei without vs shuld not be made ful & perfite or be set faste in their ful glorye of bothe body & soule" (Joye, *Apologye*, sigs. F2^{v}–F3^{r}).

469 Joye, *Apologye*, sig. F3^{r}.

and the word of God came to life and reigned with Christ for a thousand years (20:1–4). "This is the first resurrection," says the author of the book of Revelation (v. 5), and he calls blessed those who share in this first resurrection, because "the second death" will have no power over them (v. 6). When the thousand years have ended, Satan will be released from his prison and will go out to deceive the nations (vv. 7–8), but he will ultimately be punished together with those who were deceived by him (vv. 9–10). The dead will be raised up and judged according to their deeds, and anyone who is not written in the Book of Life is going to be cast into a lake of fire (vv. 12–15). "This is the second death," we read in Rev. 20:14.

Joye mentions this chapter several times in his *Apologye* (occasionally referring to different verses within the same chapter). The first occurrence can be found in his clarification about the Sadducees' belief.[470] Secondly, Joye refers to the text as one of those he used in his discussion with Tyndale when he tried to convince Tyndale about the biblical foundation of the teachings about the intermediate state of the soul. Joye argued that just like in Rev. 14,[471] the author of Revelation (whom Joye equated with the Apostle John and with the author of the Fourth Gospel) describes the state of the souls after their death in vv. 4–5. These souls, according to the description of the biblical author, "were alyue & raigned with crist .M. yere"[472] (Rev. 20:4), and their state is designated as 'first resurrection' (ἡ ἀνάστασις ἡ πρώτη; Vg: *resurrectio prima*) in v. 5. It is therefore evident, Joye asserted, that the author here "calleth that lyfe of the soulis, prima*m* resurrectionem, the first resurreccio*n*."[473] Furthermore, he argued, "here is it playn that this worde Resurrectio is not euery where taken a lyke as T. saith."[474] That the expression 'first resurrection' (*resurrectio prima*) refers to the life of the souls in the intermediate state is further corroborated by the fact that in the following verses John describes the state of the damned after the general judgement ('second death,' *secunda mors*, ὁ δεύτερος θάνατος). For if the expression 'second death' correlates to the term 'first resurrection,' which is clearly the intent of the author of Revelation, Joye argued, then the 'first resurrection' must be taken in the sense of 'first life.'[475] Later, Joye reiterated that John called the 'first resurrec-

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[470] Joye, *Apologye*, sig. B1^{v}. See *supra* on p. 379.
[471] See *infra* on p. 391.
[472] Joye, *Apologye*, sig. B8^{v}.
[473] Joye, *Apologye*, sig. B8^{v}.
[474] Joye, *Apologye*, sigs. B8^{v}–C1^{r}.
[475] "Whiche correlatiuis calling it the first resurreccio*n* in respecte of the seco*n*de, & those antithesis a*n*d puttyng one co*n*trary agenst a nother euery reader maye gather

tion' the "state of the soulis departed" before the general resurrection in Rev. 20:5.[476] The expression 'the second death' is thus used for the general resurrection.[477]

Joye's explanation of both 1 Cor. 15 and Rev. 20 reveals that he understood the interim state of the blessed souls as the first and necessary step in the process of attaining the perfect heavenly bliss. This process is only fulfilled at the end of the world, when the universal Church will be perfected and all souls will be rejoined with their bodies. While Joye hypothetically mentioned the possibility that even if there were no resurrection, the immortality of the soul and the private judgement after death would still safeguard the justice of God, this is clearly a purely hypothetical possibility. According to him, bodily resurrection and the interim state of the soul correlate with each other, as Rev. 20 teaches.

5. *The Interim State.* As has been mentioned, Joye's understanding of what happens to the human being after death is essentially based on his inherited dualistic anthropology, which was influenced by the principles of Scholastic philosophy. Nonetheless, Joye consciously sought scriptural texts that could shed light on the issue. The Latin *resurrectio* can only refer to an intermediate state if such a state exists. He therefore needed arguments to prove that such a state is indeed attested to in the Bible; he needed arguments to support his position. In the *Apologye* he summarized these proofs (most of which he had used to argue his case with Tyndale prior to the publication of his defence).[478]

The first text he brought up to convince Tyndale was Lk. 23:43: "when christe answerde the theif hangyng by his crosse saying. This days thou shalt be with me in paradyse."[479] According to Joye:

> it is manifest that if christe had that daye co*m*mended hys spirit into hys fathers ha*n*dis in heue*n* (as he dyd in deed) & p*ro*mised that the spirit of the theif should be with his spirit (for their bodies were not togither) it must nedys folow that hys spirit was with crist*is* spirit in heue*n*. And to expresse the place more playnly christe added saying, In paradyse, which is not els then in heuen.[480]

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whiche is the first lyf, & first dethe, whiche is the seco*n*de dethe & seco*n*de resurreccio*n*" (Joye, *Apologye*, sig. C1^{r}).

476 Joye, *Apologye*, sig. C8^{r}.

477 Joye, *Apologye*, sig. D4^{r}.

478 See *supra* on p. 354.

479 Joye, *Apologye*, sig. B7^{v}.

480 Joye, *Apologye*, sig. B7^{v}.

Obviously, Joye interpreted Jesus' words in a strict temporal sense. For him, time and temporality are self-evidently indispensable characteristics of human nature (and of the human soul) in which Christ (and His soul) also participated. And the declaration that Christ was going to be in Paradise on that day together with the 'good thief' can only refer to His soul, Joye maintained, because Christ's body was resting in the tomb. This argument alone manifestly proves the survival of the soul according to Joye's view.[481] Tyndale, however, remained apparently unimpressed, although he mentioned this argument in his second foreword.[482]

Joye's second proof is Mt. 8:11–12: "I tell you verely that many shal come fro*m* the east & west a*n*d shal sit down to eat with Abraham Isaac and Iacob in the kyngdo*m* of heue*n* [...] but the chyldren of the kyngdo*m* of the deuyl shalbe cast forth into extreme derknesses where shalbe wepinge & gnasshing of tethe."[483] According to Joye this "sitting down at table with Abraham" is the association with patriarchs, being partakers in their present joy and fruition in Heaven, wheras the 'gnashing of teeth' means Hell, where the damned souls enter immediately after leaving the body.[484] In Joye's understanding this 'sitting down at table with Abraham' is just another term for Abraham's bosom "into which all that resemled Abraha*m* in faith, aftir their departinge were receyued" and of which Jesus spoke in the parable of the poor Lazarus and the rich (Lk. 16:22).[485] Without any doubt Joye understood the intermediate state under the term 'Abraham's bosom.' In fact, he believed that in this parable the precise state and lot of the chosen and of the wicked are described immediately after their death: he held "thelecte to be borne of aungels into Abrahams bosome as was Lazarus/ & the reprobated to be caste into hell into torme*n*tis wyth the ryche gloto*n*."[486]

Another text Joye cited during one of his disputes with Tyndale is 2 Cor. 5:1ff: "For we knowe that yf oure erthye tabernacle where in we dwell were destroyed/ yet haue we a perpetual ma*n*sion not made with handis/ in heue*n*."[487] According to Joye, this eternal heavenly mansion,

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481 "Whych one autorite albe it, it had bene sufficie*n*t for any mane that wolde haue admytted & receyued the sengle a*n*d playn veryte of christ*is* worde" (Joye, *Apologye*, sig. B7^{v}).

482 See *supra* on p. 340.

483 Joye, *Apologye*, sigs. B7^{v}–B8^{r}.

484 Joye, *Apologye*, sigs. B7^{v}–B8^{r}.

485 Joye, *Apologye*, sig. B8^{r}.

486 Joye, *Apologye*, sig. B8^{r}.

487 Joye, *Apologye*, sig. B8^{r}.

which was prepared by God, who sent the Spirit as a guarantee (cf. 2 Cor. 5.5), is the same mansion Jesus promised to prepare in His farewell speech (Jn. 14:2–3), in which he also promised the sending of the Spirit. Furthermore, Paul affirmed that "to be absent from the bodye, is to be present with god"[488] (cf. 2 Cor. 5:8). This 'being absent from the body' and 'being with God' can only refer to "state of soulis now beyng with god/ absent frome theyr bodyes yet a sleape in the erthe tyll thei be awaked & raised yp at the general iugeme*n*t."[489]

To prove the biblical basis of the intermediate state, Joye also referred to Phil. 1:21–24. There, Paul affirms that "dethe is to himself more aduau*n*tage then here to lyue: & therfore he desired to be losed from his body that he might be with criste his life."[490] Joye clearly understood Paul's words as referring to the intermediate state and says that Paul believed "this state to be miche beter then the lyfe of this worlde."[491] Here, too, Joye took Paul's words in Philippians in a temporal sense, for Paul's wish "to depart" and "to be with Christ" can only be a real alternative to "to remain in the body" for the benefit and joy of the Philippians if Paul's being with Christ would follow immediately upon his death, and not only after an inactive sleep in a sort of intermediate state.[492]

Joye's next proof text is Rev. 14:9–13, where John, according to Joye, describes "the states bothe of the dampned & also of the blessed that dye in the lorde hence forthe."[493] This text, too, can only refer to the intermediate state, Joye argued, because the angel—the angel who promises that they will rest from their labours, for their deeds follow them—calls those who die in the Lord blessed *from then on* (Rev. 14:13): "which sith they be blessed fro*m* their dethe forth, it must nedis folow that thei be in blysse in heue*n*." Thus, Joye understood *amodo* (ἀπ' ἄρτι) as connected with the predicate *beati* (μακάριοι) and not as an adverb of the subordinate clause (of the Latin text) governed by *moriuntur*. But the interim state of the souls is attested to also in Rev. 20:4–6 and in Heb. 12:18–24, as has been pointed out above.[494]

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488 Joye, *Apologye*, sig. B8^{r}.
489 Joye, *Apologye*, sig. B8^{v}.
490 Joye, *Apologye*, sig. B8^{v}.
491 Joye, *Apologye*, sig. B8^{v}.
492 Cf. Calvin's commentary on the same text: *supra* in n. 140 on p. 319.
493 Joye, *Apologye*, sig. B8^{v}.
494 See *supra* on pp. 382 and 388.

6. *Joye's Other Exegetical Arguments.* Joye's other exegetical arguments can be grouped around three topics: (1) the idea that what happened to Christ's soul during the three days between His death and resurrection is decisive and exemplary for all Christians; (2) the biblical usage of the verb 'to sleep'; and (3) the biblical usage of the verbs 'to stand up' (*surgere*) and 'to resurrect' (*resurgere*).

1. As has been pointed out briefly, Joye thought that his most pertinent proof was concerning the condition of Christ's soul between His death and resurrection.[495] When Joye discussed the matter with Tyndale, Joye had the impression that Tyndale could not refute this argument:

> But at laste I reme*m*ber that I made hym thys reason/ sayinge. Syr ye knowe that christe is our head/ & we his members/ & altogether hys bodye/ ye knowe also that {1.cor.15} christe is the firste frutis/ & fore leader of them that sleap/ Then I argewed thus/ The bodye must nedis folow the head/ & whother the head we*n*t thither must the bodye folow (for crist optayned of his father {ioa*n*.14.and.17} that wheresoeuer he shuld be/ there shulde his faithful be with him to se his glorie) but christis spirit departed slept not oute of heue*n*/ but wente into the fathers ha*n*dis in heue*n*/ wherefore euen so shell ours aftir our dethe/ if we dye his me*m*bres a*n*d in the lorde.[496]

Joye's carefully constructed contention is built up from the following elements:

I. Joye, not uncommonly for his era, combined the various metaphors found in the Pauline corpus: those of the homologoumena—we are one body in Christ, and individually we are members one of another (Rom. 12:4–5); the Christians are the body of Christ, and individually (the body of the) Christians are (is) members of Christ (1 Cor. 6:15; 12:12–27)—with that of the antilegomena: Christ is the head, and the Church is His body (Eph. 4:15; 5:23; Col. 1:18).

II. Joye alludes to 1 Cor. 15:20, where Paul, discussing the veracity of resurrection, states that Christ is raised from the dead, the first fruits of those who have 'fallen asleep.' (E: νυνὶ δὲ Χριστὸς ἐγήγερται ἐκ νεκρῶν, ἀπαρχὴ τῶν κεκοιμημένων ἐγένετο. Vg: *nunc autem Christus resurrexit a mortuis primitiae dormientium.*)

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[495] See *supra* on p. 370.

[496] Joye, *Apologye*, sigs. C1^{v}–C2^{r}.

III. Joye exploited the vehicle of the combined Pauline metaphor (body and head), and with a 'logical' (common sense) argument he claimed that the body always has to follow the head.
IV. To prove the consistency of this last 'logical' argument with regard to the tenor, the subject of the metaphor, Joye referred to Jn. 14:1–4 and Jn. 17:24. In the former text, during His farewell discourse Jesus talks about His departure to His "Father's house" in order to prepare dwelling places for His followers. According to v. 3 Jesus will come again and will take the apostles to Himself, so that where He is, there His apostles may be also. The latter passage (Jn. 17:24), from the so-called High Priestly Prayer of Jesus (also part of the same farewell discourse), portrays Jesus praying for His disciples and for those who are going to believe in Him upon their words. In v. 24 Jesus expresses His desire that those who were given to Him may also be with Him where He is, in order to see His glory. In Joye's reading both Johannine texts speak about Jesus preparing a place for the souls of the deceased that they might be with the Father and with Christ to behold the glory of God and of Christ.
V. The next step in Joye's logical construction is to establish that Jesus' soul did not "sleap out of Heaven" (a clear allusion to Tyndale's opinion about the soul of the deceased) but was with God the Father. That Jesus' soul was not sleeping out of Heaven can be known, Joye argued, because Jesus commended His spirit into His Father's hands when He died (Lk. 23:46). In Joye's reading, soul and spirit are synonymous, and he took Jesus' words not (only) as an act of faith or pronouncement of trust but as a divine revelation about the metaphysics of afterlife, meaning that Jesus' soul actually went to the Father when it departed from Jesus' body.[497]
VI. The last step in his line of reasoning is drawing the following conclusion: from the previous five arguments it is obvious to him that the souls of the faithful Christians also will go directly to Heaven when they depart from the body at the moment of physical death.

That this argument of Joye did make a lasting impression on Tyndale is clear from the fact that he reacted to it in his second foreword.[498] Joye quoted Tyndale's words triumphantly and took them as a sign that

[497] Cf. Lefèvre's and Bullinger's similar arguments, *supra* on pp. 157 and 231.
[498] See *supra* on p. 339.

Tyndale accepted Joye's argument.[499] Nonetheless, it is very unlikely that Tyndale would have assented to Joye's words, for he clearly expressed his reservations and doubts about the immortality of the soul in the lines following this quote.[500] It is not unlikely that Tyndale thought that Jesus' human soul, too, "slept out of Heaven"—i.e. was in some kind of unconscious state awaiting the resurrection—as he held that 'sleeping' is the only biblical term describing the state of the deceased.

2. Joye readily acknowledged that the Scripture uses the word 'sleep' to describe the state of the deceased. This is, however, only meant as a metaphor, Joye asserted, and is spoken only of the body, not of the soul.[501] The metaphor of sleep, he believed, is very appropriate for speaking about the death of the body, and as such it describes "a shuttyng vp of the sencis frome their vse," but it cannot be applied to the soul.[502] "Sleap is onely app*ro*priated to the bodyes," Joye argued, which is why Paul can express his longing to be loosened from the body and be with Christ (Phil. 1:23).[503] This is also the reason why Christ can be called "the firste frutis/ & fore leader of them that sleap" (1 Cor. 15:20).[504]

3. As has been pointed out, one of Tyndale's arguments was that there was no precedent either in Jerome's works or in any other earlier translators' version for 'turning resurrection' into 'life after this life.'[505] In his *Apologye* Joye ironically remarked that he had never heard of Jerome translating the NT into English.[506] On a more serious note he argued that Jerome's choice of words is irrelevant for their discussion because Jerome translated from Greek into Latin, and the Latin word *resurrectio* and its cognates carry the same meanings as the Greek terms that these Latin

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499 "This reason did so byght Tyndale, and stoke so faste vpon hym that he coulde not shake it of, but is now at laste (thanked be god) co*n*strayned to saye with me in hys goodly godly pistle age*n*st me, 'that I thyuke (*sic*) {Tindal} (he dare not yet co*n*sta*n*tly affyrme it) the soulis departed in the faith of criste to be in no worse case then the soule of criste was fro*m* the tyme he delyuered his spirit into the ha*n*dis of his father vn tyll the resurreccion of hys bodye.' Here maye {Joye.} euery reader se, that thoughe he thinketh now other wyse then he hathe wryte*n* in so many placis, & now thynketh the very same that I euer affiremed & obiected agenste him" (Joye, *Apologye*, sig. C2^{r}).

500 See *supra* on p. 339.

501 "Sleape in scripture is properly a*n*d onely vnderstande*n* of the bodye which shal be awaked and ryse agayne" (Joye, *Apologye*, sig. B1^{r}). Cf. Zwingli's, Bullinger's, and Roye's position *supra* on pp. 193ff, 227ff, and 247.

502 Joye, *Apologye*, sig. E2^{r}.

503 Joye, *Apologye*, sig. B8^{v}.

504 Joye, *Apologye*, sig. B8^{v}.

505 See *supra* on p. 332.

506 Joye, *Apologye*, sig. D4^{r}.

words translate. These meanings in the Latin (and in the Greek), Joye argued, ultimately go back to the usage of the Hebrew verb קוּם.[507] Therefore, even if Jerome used the Latin word *resurrectio* in his translation, in those places he understood "the lyfe of soulis departed [...] and not the generall resurreccion as T. dremeth."[508]

That the Hebrew verb had more than one meaning can be seen in the fact, Joye asserted, that Jerome translated the Hebrew verb קוּם with several different Latin verbs. Sometimes, he argued, it is rendered by *maneo*,[509] and other times by *sto* or *consto*.[510] And in other places the same verb can also be translated by verbs such as *pono*, *constituo*, *excito*, *facio stare in vita*, or *servo in vita*, as is done in Ex. 9:16.[511] If the verb has several meanings, Joye argued, then the derived noun, *resurrectio* (and its original counterparts in the Greek and the Hebrew), should also have several meanings.[512]

In fact, Joye maintained, it would be an error to translate *resurgo* (or its original) everywhere with the same English word.[513] He referred to the

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[507] "S. Jerome knewe full wel that the worde in hebrew had mo significacio*n*s then the resurreccion of the flesh, & did not euery where tra*n*slate the hebrew verb into Surgo, as I haue shewed before alleged in Isaye" (Joye, *Apologye*, sig. D4^{r}).

[508] Joye, *Apologye*, sig. D4^{r}.

[509] Joye referred to Jerome's rendering of וּדְבַר־אֱלֹהֵינוּ יָקוּם לְעוֹלָם (Is. 40:8): "And if Tin. wolde loke beter vpon his booke & folow not so miche his owne witte/ he shulde fynde that the hebrew worde which comonly is tra*n*slated into this v*er*be Surgo/ the same some tyme saynt Ierome translated into Maneo/ as in Isaye. Verbu*m* d*omi*ni manet in eternu*m*/ The worde of the Lorde endureth for euer" (Joye, *Apologye*, sigs. B1^{v}–B2^{r}). For Joye's possible source, and on the difference between Joye's quotation and the common (uncritical) Vulgate reading, see *infra* on p. 401.

[510] "Some tyme into theise v*er*bis sto/ or co*n*sto/ as Isaye xlvj." (Joye, *Apologye*, sig. B2^{r}). The Hebrew עֲצָתִי תָקוּם וְכָל־חֶפְצִי אֶעֱשֶׂה (Is. 46:10) is rendered in the Vg as *consilium meum stabit et omnis voluntas mea fiet.* Zwingli (1529) has: *consilium meum constat et omne placitum meum perficio*. (*HZSW* XIV, 1959, p. 64). See *supra* on p. 206. Cf. also Westerburg's rendering *supra* on p. 185.

[511] "And some tyme into theis v*er*bis Pono/ co*n*stituo/ excito/ facio stare in vita/ vel seruo in vita as in exo. cap. ix. of Pharao. Et p*er*fecto ideo posui te/ v*el* excitaui te/ seruaui te in vita/ vel feci te stare/ superstite*m* te volui esse plagis meis: vt ostenda*m* in te fortitudine*m* mea*m* &c. that is to saye: Doutlesse or verely for this cause yet haue I set and co*n*stitute the or stered the vp/ p*re*serued the alyue to receyue my plages to declare my strength vpo*n* the a*n*d to shewe that my name myght be knowne thorowte all the worlde" (Joye, *Apologye*, sig. B2^{r}). For a possible explanation for Joye's misunderstanding (the Hebrew text of Ex. 9:16 uses the verb עָמַד and not the verb קוּם), see *infra* on p. 402.

[512] "The hebrew worde which comonly is tra*n*slated into this v*er*be Surgo [...] of the which verbe there cometh Surrectio & so Resurrectio whose rote & original sith it hath these so many dyuerse significacio*n*s, it must nedis folow that the nowne diriuyed oute therof haue as many" (Joye, *Apologye*, sigs. B1^{v}–B2^{r}).

[513] Cf. Bucer's similar remark *supra* on p. 218.

blunder of a certain preacher who translated the verse "Ideo no*n* resurge*n*t impij in iudicio &c" (Ps. 1:5) of the Vulgate into English by "wherfore the vngodly shalnot ryse agayn in the iugeme*n*t."[514] According to Joye, this led some people to believe that the "vngodly shulde not ryse agen at the generall iugeme*n*t."[515] However, Joye pointed out, the leading scholars of his time, such as Philipp Melanchthon, Martin Bucer, Conrad Pellican, Huldrych Zwingli, and Johannes Campensis, all translated the Hebrew עַל־כֵּן לֹא־יָקֻמוּ רְשָׁעִים בַּמִּשְׁפָּט by the Latin "Ideo no*n* co*n*stan*t* no*n* co*n*sistu*n*t no*n* dura*n*t, or no*n* viuu*n*t impij in iudicio &c. that is to saye the vngodlye abyde not, nor endure, nor lyue in the company of the iust at the iugeme*n*t."[516] But it is uncertain, Joye believed, whether the Psalmist

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[514] If Joye's story is correct (cf. n. 513), the preacher might have been inspired by a Wycliffite version. In the earlier Wycliffe Bible (1384), the verse was rendered as "Therfore eft rijsen not the vnpitouse in dom; ne sinful in the counseil of ri3twise." The later Wycliffe Bible (1395) translated the same verse with: "Therfor wickid men risen not a3en in doom; nethir synneres in the councel of iust men."

[515] Joye, *Apologye*, sig. B2^{v}. Joye might be referring to Bucer's remark (see *supra* on p. 218).

[516] Joye, *Apologye*, sig. B2^{v}. Melanchthon used *consistent*: "Ideo non consistent impij in iudicio" (Philipp Melanchthon, *In psalmos aliquot Dauidicos Philippi Melanchthonis Enarrationes doctißimae*, Hagenau: Iohan Sec, 1528, a3^{v}). Bucer translated the Hebrew verb with *consistent* and *stabunt* remarked that the same verb can be translated with a number of different Latin verbs (see *supra* on p. 218). The Alsatian Humanist and Hebrew grammarian Conrad Pellican OFM (Kursiner, Kuers(ch)ner, also known as Pellicanus Rubeaquensis *c.*1478–1556) gave the following translation of the verse: "Ideo non consistent impij, *non stabunt, non seruient Deo, non subsistent in conscientia*, in iudicio, *diuino & proprio, nec alios uere iudicabunt*, & peccatores in consilio iustorum, *nunquam consistent in coetu fidelium, ex communicati à Deo*" (Conrad Pellican (trans.), *PSALTERIVM DAVIDIS, AD HEBRAICAM VERITATEM interpretatum cum scholijs breuißimis, Chuonradi Pellicani, nunc primum ab autore recognitum*, TIGVRI EXCVDEBAT CHRIstophorus Froschouer, in monasterio Franciscanorum, quarta Iulij. Anno M.D.XXXII, fo. 3^{v}). Zwingli used *vivunt* in Ps. 1:5 (see *supra* on p. 205). Johannes Campensis (Jan van Kampen; 1491–1538), Dutch exegete and Hebrew grammarian, rendered the verse with "Hinc fit ut neq*ue* impij, neq*ue* scelerati uiuat in cœtu et cocilio iustorum." In the parallel column, Campensis' paraphrase reads: "Quare subsistere non poterunt impij illi, sed causa sua cadent, quando ad normam æquitatis uita illorum expendetur, neque transgressores durare poterunt in cœtu iustorum" (Johannes Campensis, *ENCHIRIDION PSALMORUM. Eorundem ex ueritate Hebraica uersionem, ac Ioannis Campensis è regione paraphrasim, sic ut uersus uersui respondeat, complectens. Concionem praeterea Salomonis Ecclesiastae, per eundem Campensem ex Hebraico παραφρασικῶς traductam*, SEB[astian]. GRYPHIUS EXCUD. LUGD. ANNO 1533, sig. A5^{v}). In his French paraphrase he gave the following rendering: "Pour co*n*clusion/ les mauluais ne pourront subsister: ains decheoirrot de leur cause/ quant leur vie sera examinee a la reigle dequite: aussy ne pourro*n*t durer les transgresseurs en la congregation des iustes." (Johannes Campensis, *¶Paraphrase/ cest a dire/ Claire translation faicte iouxte la sente[n]ce non pas iouxte la Lettre/ sur tous les Psalmes selon la Verite Hebraique. Faicte par Jehan Campensis lecteur pubiq[ue] des Lettres Hebraiques en Luniuersite de Louuain*, ¶ M.D.XXXIIII, fo. 13^{v}). Cf. also Cardinal Cajetan's 'literal' rendering of the Hebrew text (IVXTA HEBRAEUM), which used the verb *premaneo*: "Propterea non permanebunt impii

refers to the general judgement at the end of the world, or to the particular judgement at the time of death, "as Rabbi kimhy cyted of Bucere vpon that same verse taketh Iudicium in that place."[517] The list of authorities is completed with the names of Bartholmäus Westheimer and Heinrich Bullinger: "gathering out of the lerned me*n*nis workis/ in hys boke entitled Collectanea co*m*munium troporum/ the dyuerse significacions of wordis/ & the como*n* phrasis in the scripture."[518] Westheimer, Joye pointed out, "declareth in the. iij. c. leif/ in how many places th*is* worde Resurrectio is take*n* for the ferme pe*r*manen*t* lyfe of the soulis now departed."[519] Furthermore, Joye wrote, "He*n*richus Bullynger*us*/ a ma*n* of grete lerning &

in iudicio: & peccatores in congregatione iustorum" (Thomas Cajetan, *PSALMI DAVIdici ad Hebraicam veritatem castigati: & iuxta sensum quem literalem dicunt enarrati, per Reuerendissimum dominum, dominum Thomam de Vio Caietanum Cardinalem sancti Xisti: cum textu vulgatę editionis, & indicibus oppurtunis. Rursus in lucem editi*, [Paris:] Ære & accuratione Iodoci Badii, Ioannis Parui & Ioannis Roigni, 1532, fo. 2^{v}). On Cajetan, see *supra* on p. 165. Robert Estienne's 1532 annotated Vulgate edition of the Bible adds the following marginal note in Ps. 1:6: "resurgent: stabunt (consistent)" (*Biblia. Breves in eadem annotationes, ex doctiss. interpretationibus, & Hebraeorum commentariis*, Paris: Robertus Stephanus, 16 Oct. 1532, fo. 212^{r}).

517 For Kimhi as cited by Bucer, see *supra* on p. 219. Cardinal Cajetan appears to have held that the Psalmist refers to the general judgement: "PROpterea non permanebunt.) Tractatur hic consequenter beatitudo viri iusti in futura vita. Tractantur autem simul cum miseria impiorum: vt quemadmodum vtroru*m*q*ue* status in hac vita prętractatus est, illorum beatus, iustoru*m* miser (tum ex negatione bonę dispositionis arboris, tum ex affirmata similitudine ad glumam propulsam a vento) ita nunc futura miseria impiorum describitur ex negatione permanendi in iudicio & congregatione iustorum. Vbi Propheta prosequitur metaphoram inducta*m* de assimilatione impiorum ad glumam. Et intendit ad literam q*ue* sicut nec in ventilatione tritici nec in congregatio*n*e eiusdem in horreum permanet gluma, ita nec in iudicio separationis bonorum a malis, nec in co*n*gregatione iustorum quasi in diuina horrea in cęlestem patriam, permanebunt impii. Et ad hoc directe tendit propterea, ad hoc tendit iudicium consequneter introductum, ad hox te*n*dit permanere, ad hoc tenidt congregatio iustorum. Vsus siquidem est Luc. iii.[,17] Ioannes Baptista hoc loquendi modo, dicens, Cuius ve*n*tilabrum in manu eius, & mu*n*dabit aream sua*m*, & congregabit triticum in horreum suum &c. Acsi aperte propheta ex similitudine inducta induceret. propterea quia impii sunt tanq*ue* gluma quę vento exponitur, consequens est q*ue* in iudicio tanq*ue* in ventilatione non permanebunt impii: & similiter in congregatione iustorum tanq*ue* in congregatione tritici in horreum, non permanebunt impii. Vbi clare describitur simul iustorum electio & impiorum reprobatio. Spectat autem sententia hæc ad iudicium futuræ vitæm cui reseruatur separatio iustoru*m* ab impiis. interim enim permixti su*n*t: & in iudicio præsenti impii sæpe permanent indemnati & absoluti, immo & victores. Vnde ex eo etiam q*ue* negatur impios perma*n*suros in iudicio, apparet, q*ue* de iudicio futuræ vitæ (in quo solo constat impios non permanere sed damnari) sermo est. ¶Et note q*ue* propheta transit a singulari in pluralem numerum iustorum: vt intelligas q*ue* appelatione viri beati non significauit singularem aliquem virum, sed genus iustorum" (Cajetan, *PSALMI DAVIdici ad Hebraicam veritatem castigati*, fo. 4^{r}).

518 Joye, *Apologye*, sig. B3^{r}.

519 Joye, *Apologye*, sig. B3^{r}. Cf. *supra* on p. 238.

greter iugeme*n*t both in the scriptures & the to*n*gues co*n*senteth with me in the significacio*n* of this worde Resurrectio in these placis."[520]

To drive home his point, Joye pointed out how the Latin word *benedico* can have opposing meanings (to bless and to curse) in different contexts, and that the Latin word *peccatum* refers sometimes to sin and other times to the sacrificial cow or calf that is offered as atonement for sin.[521] Moreover, Joye argued, the fact that a second translator changes the translation of a word in a certain place does not necessarily mean that the second translator would deny the notion behind the choice of the first translator. In his *Apologye*, he hypothetically suggested several examples that could improve Tyndale's translations. He suggested, for example, the alliterative term "pleasau*n*t paradise" (for the Latin *paradisum voluptatis*) instead of Tyndale's 'Garden of Eden' (for the Hebrew גַּן־בְּעֵדֶן) in Gen. 2:8; the phrase "Jacob tha*n*ked Pharao" (Vg: *qui benedicens illi*) instead of Tyndale's "Jacob blessed Pharao" in Gen. 47:7 (MT: וַיְבָרֶךְ יַעֲקֹב אֶת־פַּרְעֹה); and the expressions "our owne lyues or our owne selues" (Vg: *animas nostras*) instead of Tyndale's "our own souls" (τὰς ἑαυτῶν ψυχάς) in 1 Thes. 2:8.[522] But these suggestions, Joye maintained, by no means imply that he would deny the notions of Paradise, blessing, or the soul. An *argumentum e silencio* (*a negatiuis*, as Joye calls it) is "a naughty argume*n*t" because it is the "worste & feblest" of all arguments.[523] Therefore, "if I denye the resurreccion for so englysshing it," Joye claimed, "so do you [i.e. Tyndale] denye hell for englisshing Infernus a graue."[524]

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520 Joye, *Apologye*, sig. B3^{r}. Cf. *supra* on p. 226.

521 Joye, *Apologye*, sig. B3$^{r–v}$.

522 Joye, *Apologye*, sig. E4^{v}. Interestingly, the Coverdale Bible (1535) accepted Joye's suggestion for Gen. 47:7: "And Iacob thanked Pharao" (cf. NAB: "After Jacob had paid his respects to Pharaoh"; and NJB: "Jacob paid his respects to Pharaoh") and for 1 Thes. 2:8: "but oure lyues also" (Cf. NIV, NIB: "but our lives as well"; NAS, NAU, NKJ: "but also our own lives"; DBY: "but our own lives also"; and BBE: "but even our lives"). Joye's other suggested solution for 1 Thes. 2:8 is the reading of the NRSV, "but also ourselves," and of the NJB, "but our very selves as well." Joye's suggestion for the translation of Gen. 2:8 seems to have influenced Coverdale—"a garden of pleasure in Eden"—and it concurs with the reading of the Douay-Rheims version: "Paradise of pleasure."

523 Joye, *Apologye*, sig. B6^{v}.

524 Joye, *Apologye*, sig. D3^{v}. Tyndale had translated Gen. 37:35 (Vg: descendam ad filium meum lugens in infernum) in his 1530 translation with "I will go doune in to ye grave vnto my sonne." Also, in the back matter of T_{1534}, he added the remark: "¶ Infernus and gehenna differ moche in significacion/ though we have none other interpretacion for ether of them/ then this Englyshe worde/ hell. For gehenna signifieth a place of punyshement: but infernus is taken for any maner of place beneth in ye erth/ as a grave sepulchre or cave."

Before concluding this section on Joye's theological arguments, attention should be drawn to an important pastoral aspect of the controversy, namely, to Joye's concern about the peace and unity of the followers of Christ. Joye has been frequently depicted as a quarrelsome person. And indeed, many of his writings were inspired by, were the result of, or contained elements of his various controversies. As has been observed, in that regard he is not exceptional for his time. Nonetheless (or perhaps precisely because of his involvement in many controversies), several of his writings bear witness to his earnest longing for peace and unity. In fact, this seems to be one of his foremost concerns. One the most obvious examples is the motto of his book on *The vnite and Scisme of the olde Chirche*. On the title page he quoted Jesus' words from the Sermon on the Mount: "Blessed ar the atonmakers studyinge for peace/ for thei ar the children of God." Both in the *Apologye* and in his short epilogue of J_{1535} did Joye make his desire for peace and unity explicit.[525] In the *Apologye*, he wrote that Tyndale acted "against his owne conscience," and thus was "hurte mynistred vnto the congregacio*n* of Christe."[526] This division among the brethren serves the "goudye a*n*d reioyse of our aduersaries."[527] Joye's concern about the possible negative effects of their quarrel comes across as quite genuine. It is therefore very likely that Joye genuinely believed in the possibility that his rational theological arguments presented in the *Apologye* would indeed satisfy Tyndale.

Joye's Scholarship and Sources

Having presented Joye's argumentation in his *Apologye*, the question about the quality of Joye's scholarship arises. The reader will remember the claim of the 'conservative consensus' that Joye was an ignorant person, by no means Tyndale's equal, who had an inadequate amount of learning and lacked the necessary skills for translation: a "week and foolish" person whom "the knowledge rankled."[528] But is this description correct?

Joye's biographical sketch in the introductory chapter points in a different direction. He received his academic formation at Cambridge University, an outstanding academic institution, where Erasmus was lecturing as Lady Margaret's Professor of Divinity (1511–13) around the time Joye was

525 Cf. *supra* on p. 350.
526 Joye, *Apologye*, sig. C2^{v}.
527 Joye, *Apologye*, sig. C2^{v}.
528 Cf. *supra* on p. 39.

studying.[529] Joye not only obtained three degrees there (despite the fact that he was for some reason hindered in his attendance for a number of semesters), he was also made a fellow (1521), a member of the teaching staff of the university.[530] One of the earliest extant references to Joye's presence at Cambridge is a letter by the backer of his studies, Sir John St John of Bletsoe, fellow Bedfordshire man and a half-brother to Lady Margaret. Dated 25 April 1522, the letter is addressed to Henry Gold, fellow of St John's and chaplain to the archbishop of Canterbury, on behalf of a certain Robert Smith, whose qualities are praised by comparing them to those of Joye.[531] In short, Joye received a good training, pursued an academic career, and was regarded as a talented person.

But what is the value of his scholarship as we can discern it from his works? Joye's argumentation clearly shows the sound academic training he received. He applied the scholarly terminology of his age appropriately.[532] He presented his arguments clearly and convincingly. His arguments reveal not only a thorough familiarity with the (Latin) Bible but also a desire to gain insight into the biblical world. His use of the biblical texts certainly differs from the medieval tradition of interpreting Scriptures according to the four senses. His quest for biblical support for matters of faith is not simply looking for seemingly applicable proof texts, but a scholarly exegesis of the text. His methodology, a historical-grammatical study of

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[529] The first chair at Cambridge University was founded in 1502 by Lady Margaret Beaufort (1443–1509), mother of Henry VII and grandmother of Henry VIII. The first occupant of the chair was John Fisher. As Joye received his B.A. in 1513 or 1514, it is not unlikely that he attended some of Erasmus' lectures. At any rate, he certainly must have been aware of the presence of such an illustrious, internationally celebrated guest lecturer as the occupant of the chair financed by his own benefactors.

[530] Joye's recognized absences from the university are recorded in the so-called *Grace Books* (records of Cambridge University): *Liber Gratiarum Beta* (*1488–1544*), II, ed. Mary Bateson, pp. 15, 35, 55, 99, and 122, and *Liber Gratiarum Gamma* (*1501–1542*), ed. William George Searle, Cambridge: UP, 1908, pp. 103 and 146.

[531] "I hand non theyr seth mast*er* Jorge Gee was myttyd a scholar ther [i.e. Cambridge] as knowyth you" (*L&P* III, no. 2198).

[532] His correct use of Aristotelian and Scholastic *termini technici* testifies to Joye's classical training in philosophy (e.g. Joye, *Apologye*, sigs. $A4^{v}$–$A5^{r}$ and $B5^{v}$). In his *A frutefull treatis* he explicitly refers to the empiric maxim of the Aristotelian-Scholastic epistemology: "For as the Philosopher saith. There may nothing be convayed into our vndersta*n*ding/ but it be first apprehended of some of our senses" (Joye, *A frutefull treatis*, sig. $A2^{r}$). (Cf. Aristotle, *De anima*, III,4, the axiom referred to by Joye is in fact a medieval summary of Aristotle's epistemology and not an exact citation. See: Paul F. Cranefield, *On the Origin of the Phrase 'Nihil est in intellectu quod non prius fuerit in sensu'*, in *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 25 (1970), pp. 77–80.) Besides the precise terms of logic, he also used the correct nomenclature of grammar and rhetoric.

the texts in question, is surprisingly modern.[533] He believed that the elucidation of obscure passages can be achieved by turning to more obvious passages.[534] In order to avoid circular reasoning, for the clarification of the Latin term *resurrectio* Joye used not only passages that contain this word, but also texts that do not.

However, Joye did not rely exclusively on his own judgement. He had learned in his private debates with Tyndale that when it came to the interpretation of a text, it was often his word against Tyndale's. Therefore, as has been pointed out, he appealed to a number of authorities, "men of greter knowleg/ higher lerning/ a*n*d more excelle*n*t iugeme*n*t in holy scripture/ in the hebrew/ greke & latyne then Tindal is or euer lykely to be."[535] Since the 'conservative consensus' maintains that Joye's position was an abstruse and bizarre theological standpoint, the result of "mere 'curious speculation' of a stupid and ignorant man," the question of whether Joye used his sources correctly has to be addressed here.[536]

In this regard the first and most obvious question is the reliability of Joye's scholarship in light of his lack of adequate knowledge of the biblical languages and the question of the reliability of sources of the biblical texts he used. It has been frequently claimed that Joye followed the Vulgate, and therefore his alterations were corruptions. This is, however, not entirely correct. Since the literal accuracy of the Vulgate had been discredited by the Humanists, Joye—like Luther, Tyndale, and the Reformers in general—preferred to use what he regarded as the 'original' texts in Greek and Hebrew. But as Joye was not competent in Hebrew and had probably only a very limited knowledge (if any) of Greek, he had to resort to recent translations from the original languages.[537] As the reader will remember, Joye translated the Book of Psalms at least three times—once from the Latin translation of Martin Bucer, and then using Huldrych Zwingli's Latin version and commentary.[538] He also used Zwingli's text for his other OT translations.[539] In the preface to his translation of Bucer's Psalter (1530),

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533 In a previous article I pointed out how Joye's arguments and conclusion resurface in the works of modern exegetes. See: Juhász, *Translating Resurrection. The Importance of the Sadducees' Belief in the Tyndale–Joye Controversy*, pp. 107–21.

534 Cf. *supra* on pp. 100 and 236.

535 Joye, *Apologye*, sig. B2^{v}. Cf. also sig. B3^{r}.

536 Demaus, *William Tyndale*, p. 361. See *supra* on p. 35.

537 According to Bale, Joye was "utraque lingua Latina & Graeca peritus" (Bale, *Illustrium majoris Britanniae scriptorum summarium*, fo. 239^{v}). There is, however, no corroborating evidence to prove it, and Joye acknowledged his own shortcomings.

538 See *supra* on p. 22.

539 Cf. BC, *George Joye*, pp. 70–71 and 118–19.

Joye called upon the reader not to judge his translation on the basis of the Vulgate, but on the basis of the Hebrew verity.[540] As I have pointed out, he used Erasmus' Latin translation for the NT.

Yet even when Joye used the Vulgate, he was not content to rely on the readily available, commonly used text of Jerome's translation. As has been pointed out earlier, Joye referred in his *Apologye* to Jerome's rendering of Is. 40:8: "Verbum domini manet in eternum/ The worde of the Lorde endureth for euer."[541] But the uncritical Vulgate editions employ the verb *sto* for translating the Hebrew קוּם: "verbum autem Dei nostri stabit in aeternum." Joye, however, probably used a critical edition of Jerome's translation, which used the verb *maneo*.[542]

Of course, despite Joye's thoroughness, the lack of knowledge of the biblical languages caused some misunderstandings. One of Joye's examples for the many different meanings of the Hebrew verb קוּם was Ex. 9:16.[543] Here, however, the Hebrew text contains another verb (עָמַד): וְאוּלָם בַּעֲבוּר זֹאת הֶעֱמַדְתִּיךָ בַּעֲבוּר הַרְאוֹתְךָ אֶת־כֹּחִי וּלְמַעַן סַפֵּר שְׁמִי בְּכָל־הָאָרֶץ. Joye's mistake probably originated from Zwingli's note on the use of the hiphil perfect first person singular form הֶעֱמַדְתִּיךָ of the verb עָמַד in this verse, giving synonyms that could be mistaken for the translation of the verb קוּם.[544] The confusion of the two verbs might have been reinforced by Bucer's

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[540] See *supra* on p. 21.

[541] See *supra* on p. 395.

[542] The use of "domini" instead of "dei nostri" suggests that Joye in all probability used a critical edition of the Vulgate from the Kerver press in Paris. The 1534 edition, issued by Yolande Bonhomme (d. 1557), the widow of Thielmann Kerver (d. 1522), has Is. 40:8 as follows: "verbu*m* aute*m* do*mi*ni manet in eternu*m*." (Joye, as one would expect, omits the conjunction *autem*.) As an alternative, he might have used Erasmus' edition of the LXX (1526), which included the following Latin translation of Is. 40:8: "uerbum dei nostri manet in æternum." Also, Johannes Oecolampadius refers to this verse in his commentary (1525) as: "Verbum dei nostri manet in æternum." Estienne's annotated critical edition (1532) also reads: "verbum autem dei nostri manet in æternum." Zwingli's commentary (1529) has: "verbum tamen dei nostri permanet in aeternum." It is, of course, possible that Joye remembered Zwingli's remark on the use of the Hebrew verb קוּם and quoted the verse by heart (in that case, probably under the influence of 1 Pt. 1:25, where the Vulgate reads: "verbum autem Domini manet in aeternum"). For Zwingli's remark, see *supra* on p. 205.

[543] See *supra* on p. 395.

[544] For Zwingli's commentary (1527), see *supra* on p. 203. Tyndale translated it with: "Yet in very dede for this cause haue I sterred the vpp," which was taken over by Coverdale, too. In Ex. 9:13 Tyndale used rise, for the Hebrew הַשְׁכֵּם (Vg: consurge). Remarkably (perhaps under Zwingli's influence), the Bishops' Bible uses *I kept thee* for translating Ex. 9:16 and adds a marginal variant: *Made thee stande*. The Geneva Bible, again, probably under Zwingli's influence, translated the verb with *I appointed thee*, with the marginal variant: *Or, set thee vp*. The King James Version uses *I raised thee up*.

somewhat confusing commentary on Ps. 107(106):25 and Ps. 107(106):29.[545] While Ps. 107(106):25 uses the hiphil imperfect וַיַּעֲמֵד of the verb עָמַד, v. 29 employs the hiphil imperfect יָקֵם of the verb קוּם. The Vulgate used *stetit* in v. 25 and *statuit* in v. 29, and Cajetan's 'literal' rendering of the Hebrew text translated both verbs with *facio stare*: *fecit stare ventum tempestatis* (v. 25) and *fecit stare ventum tempestatis* (v. 29).[546] It is therefore not surprising that Joye assumed that the same verb is used in all of these instances.

Joye's inadequate knowledge of the biblical languages was thus indeed a shortcoming. But he was not the only Bible translator of that era who was not fluent in Greek and Hebrew. Myles Coverdale, too, prepared the famous translation with which he made history exclusively from Latin and German *Vorlagen*. And Joye, as has been pointed out, was conscious of this shortcoming and tried to overcome it by using what he regarded as reliable sources, by consulting exegetical works, and by his translational strategy.[547]

As has been observed, Joye pointed to Jesus' words in Mt. 22:30, where Jesus used the present indicatives γαμοῦσιν and γαμίζονται.[548] Joye's attention to the fact that Jesus' answer was formulated in the present tense is not unlikely to have been directed by a text-critical remark by Erasmus on Mt. 22:30. Already in his original edition in 1516 (A) Erasmus remarked that the rendering in the Vulgate does justice to neither the tense nor the style.[549] To the second edition of his NT in 1519 (B), Erasmus, after having summed up the manuscript attestation, added a note arguing for translation of the text in the present tense, because Jesus' words indicate that the time of *resurrectio* is already present, as he calls *resurrectio* those who are destined to be risen.[550] Similarly, Joye must have taken an interest in

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545 See *supra* on p. 220.

546 Cajetan, *PSALMI DAVIdici ad Hebraicam veritatem castigati*, fo. 207^{v}.

547 For Joye's translational strategy, see *infra* on p. 414.

548 See *supra* on p. 376.

549 "Neque temporis ratio seruata est neque Latinitas" (*ASD* VI/5, p. 294).

550 "Ex quo satis, opinior, liquet in superioribus verbus tempus liberarii vitio mutatum. Offendit lectorem aliquem quod resurrectio nondum accidisset, atque ea gratia futurum tempus magis conuenire. At Christus indicat resurrectionis tempus iam adesse. Sic enim resurrectioni destianatos vocat resurrectionem, sicut euangelicam sequentes doctrinam vocat regnum cœlorum. Post apparebit in nobis resurrectio, at interim peragitur in nobis resurrectionis negocium. Quin et Origenes interpres [Origenes, *Comm. in Mt.*, XVII, 34] ita vertit homilia vigesimasecunda: *In resurrectione neque nubunt neque vxores accipiunt, sed sunt sicut angeli in cœlo*. Itaque paulo post repetit, ne quis casum esse causetur" (*ASD* VI/5, pp. 295–96).

Erasmus' annotations to Lk. 22:27—where Erasmus wrote that the Sadducees believed that there was no kind of resurrection at all—because the text is about the *resurrectio* of the body *and* of the soul.[551] Realizing, however, that Erasmus' emphasis is on the general resurrection and not the interim state of the soul, and that in Erasmus' understanding the Sadducees denied (primarily) the bodily resurrection, Joye, as any intellectually honest scholar would do, did not take Erasmus' arguments out of their context and did not refer to them explicitly.

But he did refer to Erasmus when he thought that Erasmus' argument and purpose were congruent with his own. For besides Erasmus' NT translation and his *Annotations*, Joye also used the Dutch scholar's *Explanatio symboli apostolorum* (1533) and mentioned it as one of his authorities.[552] Joye claimed that his motivation to not translate *resurrectio* with resurrection in those places was precisely the error of the Anabaptists, against whom Erasmus inserted his note in his catechism.[553] Joye's argument to prove the bodily resurrection by claiming that the Church, as the body of Christ, must follow Christ, is perhaps also taken over from Erasmus' *Explanatio*, although here, too, Joye left Erasmus' name unmentioned.[554]

Another source for Joye was Martin Bucer. As Joye used Bucer's text for his Psalm translation, he also used Bucer's exegetical works, especially Bucer's Psalm commentary.[555] As has been pointed out, Joye explicitly referred to Bucer's scattered comments on the translation of the Hebrew verb קוּם. But Joye also shows awareness of Bucer's descriptions of the

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[551] "Qui negant esse resurrectionem. Qui putant nihil immutandum in [B] sacris [A] literis, vertant hæc Lucæ ad verbum, si lubet, οἱ ἀντιλέγοντες ἀνάστασιν μὴ εἶναι, id est 'qui contradicunt' non esse resurrectionem.' Sed quorsum attinet ex innumeris vnum aut alterum proferre? Illud annotandum, quoniam ἀνάστασιν dixit absque articulo, vertendum potuisse fuisse 'qui negant vllam esse resurrectionem.' [D] Est resurrectio corporum et est animarum. Tum sunt qui fatentur Dominum resurrexisse cum paucis, negantes vniuersalem resurrectionem" (*ASD* VI/5, p. 578).

[552] Joye, *Apologye*, sig. B1^{v}.

[553] "Seco*n*daryly/ because that agenst the Anabaptistis false opinio*n*/ & agenst their errour whom Erasmus reproueth in hys exposicio*n* of the Credo which saye the resurrecio*n* of the soules to be this: that is to weet/ when thei shalbe called out of their preuey lurking places/ in whiche they had ben hyd fro*m* the tyme of their departyng vnto the resurreccion of their bodies/ because (I saye) that agenste these erroneouse opinions/ these places thus truely tra*n*slated make so myche a*n*d so planely/ that at thys worde Resurrectio the lyfe of the spirit*is* aftir this/ their false opinion falleth & is vtterly condempned" (Joye, *Apologye*, sig. B1^{v}). For Erasmus' remark, see *supra* on p. 150.

[554] See *supra* on pp. 146 and 370.

[555] See *supra* on pp. 21 and 294. On Joye's use of Bucer, see: Hobbs, *Martin Bucer and the Englishing of the Psalms*.

Hebrew synonyms for the grave (שְׁאוֹל, בּוֹר, שַׁחַת, and קֶבֶר).[556] Furthermore, Bucer constituted Joye's source for establishing Rabbi Kimhi as an authority.[557] Joye's intellectual honesty can be seen again in his open acknowledegment by referring to Kimhi as "cyted of Bucere."[558]

Without any doubt, Joye made the most extensive use of Huldrych Zwingli's biblical works. Joye's biographers rightly observed that "Joye seems to have found Zwingli's point of view congenial, for he makes use of the latter's works in several of his subsequent publications."[559] Joye certainly found Zwingli's views on the post-mortem fate of the human person congenial. He used Zwingli's comments on Ex. 21:19; Ps. 1:5; and Is 13:6, 26:14, 40:8, and 46:10, where the Swiss Reformer explains the various significations of the noun *resurrectio*.[560] This kind of familiarity Joye shows with respect to Zwingli's Isaiah commentary is not surprising, as it constituted the source text for his own translation of Isaiah. But the *Apologye* also testifies to Joye's familiarity with Zwingli's arguments in his *In catabaptistarum strophas Elenchus*.[561] Yet despite their congeniality, Joye manifestly used Zwingli's work with the necessary scholarly critique: in spite of the fact that it could have served as an additional attestation in favor of his own case, Joye rejected Zwingli's interpretation of 1 Cor. 15, which maintained that *resurrectio* in the first half of the chapter could possibly also refer to the interim state of the soul.[562] While Joye's interpretation of 1 Cor. 15:19 differentiates between an eschatological hope that is founded exclusively on the immortality of the soul, and the denial of the immortality of the soul and the resurrection of the flesh altogether (a differentiation that was almost certainly not intended by Paul at this place), Joye clearly affirmed that the resurrection of the body at the general resurrection at the end of the world is Paul's subject throughout the entire chapter. Joye's reading of the chapter is thus more in line with the present-day exegetical consensus than Zwingli's.[563]

Joye also made use of Philipp Melanchthon's works. Besides Joye's explicit reference to Melanchthon's translation of Ps. 1:5, he is most

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[556] Cf. Joye, *Apologye*, sig. D3^{v}. For Bucer's explanation of these nouns, see *supra* on p. 220.
[557] See *supra* on p. 397.
[558] Joye, *Apologye*, sig. B3^{r}.
[559] BC, *George Joye*, p. 70.
[560] See *supra* on pp. 203–206 and 394.
[561] See *supra* on pp. 193ff and 394ff.
[562] See *supra* on pp. 195f, 199f, and 384.
[563] Cf. *supra* on p. 84.

likely to have used the latter's *Annotation to the Gospel of Matthew*. Joye's exegesis of Jesus' encounter with the Sadducees in Mt. 22:23–33 shows unmistakable parallels with Melanchthon's commentary.[564] As it did for Melanchthon, for Joye, too, the question of the Sadducees concerned not the resurrection of the flesh but the immortality of the soul. It is Melanchthon who formulated for the first time that the question is about the life after this life (*vita post hanc vitam*), and Joye only rendered Melanchthon's Latin phrase with an English equivalent.[565] Similarly, Melanchthon's formulation that even if Jesus' words to the Sadducees do not prove the resurrection of the flesh in the strict sense, Christ's own resurrection is sufficient proof of the bodily resurrection, very much resembles that of Joye.[566]

It has been observed that Joye claimed that his reading of the altered passages was in agreement with the interpretation of Heinrich Bullinger.[567] His claim is indeed correct; Bullinger's reading of these texts is analogous to Joye's.[568] But there are further elements in Joye's *Apologye* that reveal similarities between Bullinger's argumentation and that of Joye. Joye's understanding of Lk. 23:43 as a divine revelation about the destination of Jesus' soul agrees with Bullinger's reading of the text.[569] And Joye's claim that 'sleep' is only a metaphor echoes Bullinger's similar assertion.[570]

Joye also explicitly identified Bartholomäus Westheimer's *Collectanea communium troporum sacrosanctae scripturae* as one of the authorities he used.[571] We have seen how Westheimer's compendium formed a practical summary and shortlist of biblical topics for Protestant preachers.[572] Joye evidently used this handy synopsis to establish "in how many places th*is* worde Resurrectio is take*n* for the ferme p*er*mane*n*t lyfe of the soulis now dep*ar*ted."[573] But again, he used Westheimer's guide critically. If we compare Westheimer's list of places were *resurrectio* is alleged to mean the interim state of the soul, we can see that while Joye agreed with Westheimer on the interpretation of Mt. 22:23–33 *et par.*; Jn 5:29 and 11:24; Heb. 11:35; and Is. 26:14, Joye rejected Westheimer's claim that the expression

564 See *supra* on pp. 189 and 377.
565 See *supra* on p. 190.
566 See *supra* on pp. 191 and 387.
567 See *supra* on p. 397.
568 See *supra* on p. 226.
569 See *supra* on pp. 231 and 393.
570 See *supra* on pp. 227 and 394.
571 See *supra* on p. 397.
572 See *supra* on p. 238.
573 Joye, *Apologye*, sig. B3^{r}.

'on the last day' would refer to 'their last day' in Jn. 6:39–44, and that 1 Thes. 4 would contain a reference to the interim state of the soul.[574]

Joye also named Conrad Pellican and Johannes Campensis as translators of the Book of Psalms, in whose versions he checked the translation of Ps. 1:5 for the Hebrew קוּם.[575] Joye made no further reference to these two scholars of Hebrew, and apparently his use of them was limited to this instance only. It should be pointed out that his eagerness to check so many different versions contradicts the argument of the 'conservative consensus' about Joye's supposedly easy acceptance of the corrupted text of the Vulgate.[576]

Besides the references to works by his own contemporaries, Joye also referred to authorities from the past. Flavius Josephus' *Jewish Antiquities* is the first such work in his *Apologye*.[577] Although Joye's reference could have originated from Bullinger's similar note, his straightforward and exact reference (instead of 'as cited of') and his other references to Josephus' works in his other books leave little doubt about Joye's direct access to the writings of the Jewish-Roman historian.[578]

Among Joye's other sources we find Jerome, Augustine, Aristotle, and possibly Otto Brunfels. In a passing remark Joye explicitly alluded to St Jerome's treatise *De optimo genere interpretandi*.[579] Further, Joye provided the exact reference to the text where Augustine discussed the advantages of having different translations of the same text in his *De doctrina christiana* (II,12).[580] Finally, it is quite probable that Joye made use of Otto Brunfels'

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574 Cf. *supra* on p. 238.

575 See *supra* on p. 396.

576 The fact that he checked the translation of this single verse in so many works of leading Hebrew scholars of his time can suggest that he had hoped to find more elucidation on the exact meaning of the verb and that to find some confirmation that the verb can refer to the interim state of the soul.

577 See *supra* on p. 374.

578 For Bullinger's remark, see *supra* on p. 227. Erasmus' similar annotation to Mt. 22:16—"Huius autem dogmatis autor fuit Iudas quidam Gaulonites, qui Essenis, Sadducæis et Pharisæis quartam sectam adiunxit; vide Iosephum libro Antiquitatum 18., cap. 2."—was added only in the last edition of Erasmus' NT (E), which appeared in March 1535, a month after the publication of Joye's *Apologye*. For Joye's further references to Josephus in his *The vnite and Scisme*, see *supra* n. 409 on p. 374. As a source of information on the various factions in Jewish society, in addition to Josephus Joye also points to Pliny in his later work. There Joye also refers to the Essenes, "whom Plinye paynteth very lyuely in his fyrste boke of the natural storyes ca. xvij." (Joye, *The vnite and Scisme*, fo. vi^{r}).

579 See *infra* on p. 417.

580 See *infra* on p. 417. Augustine, the ancient author most respected by Protestants, was also quoted in Joye's other works. E.g. "Ryght well therfore did Austen wryte in his .c.xviij. pistle vnto Januarium . . ." (Joye, *A frutefull treatis*, sig. A3^{v}).

Pandectarum Veteris et Noui Testamenti.[581] It has been demonstrated that Brunfels' collection of biblical prayers was serviceable to Joye when he compiled his *Primers*.[582] Although Joye did not refer to every item on Brunfels' list of proof texts for the immortality of the soul, and although those passages that Joye did refer to from the list were also used by others, I believe that there is reason to assume that Joye made use of the other bestseller by the ex-Carthusian monk, too. Certainly Joye's refusal of comments and glosses echoes Brunfels' depreciation of commentaries.[583]

Before drawing a conclusion about Joye's scholarship, Joye's presentation of Tyndale's position likewise has to be addressed. I have pointed out how Tyndale's second foreword gave an inadequate picture of Joye's views and how it has misled generations of readers. But was Joye's presentation of Tyndale's position correct? With regard to Tyndale's views on the post-mortem fate of the human person, the dogmatic and theological issues at hand, and the interpretation of the texts presented, the answer is unequivocally affirmative. Joye adequately presented Tyndale's point of view. He used exact quotations from three works by Tyndale to argue against them (the infamous second foreword, Tyndale's *An answere vnto Sir Thomas More*, and Tyndale's *The exposition of the fyrste Epistle of seynt Ihon*). Joye did not take Tyndale's words out of their context, and he presented Tyndale's arguments faithfully. The theological standpoints of Tyndale's own works do confirm the picture Joye drew of him.[584] With regard to their personal relationship and with regard to Tyndale's character, the answer is not so unambiguous. Joye's critics rightly remarked that Joye's heated words should be read in the context of their controversy. In matters of personal subjects, objectivity was not Joye's strongest suit.

To conclude the study on Joye's scholarship and sources, a few observations can be pointed out. Joye's treatment of his sources and his presentation of Tyndale's arguments reflect the practices of a good scholar and

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[581] See *supra* on p. 241.

[582] Otto Brunfels, *Precationes Biblicae sanctorum patrum illustriumque virorum & mulierum utriusque testamenti*, Argentorati: Schott, 1528. See: BC, *George Joye*, p. 53. Cf. also pp. 65, 99, and 134. Brunfels's work was very popular in the Low Countries also and saw several Antwerp editions before 1536: by Merten de Keyser (1529, 1531, 1533, three times in 1535; by Michiel Hillen van Hoochstraten (1530) and by Johannes Grapheus (1533). There was a French edition published in Antwerp: *Les oraisons de la Bible faictes par les preres et femmes fideles*, Marten De Kesyer, 1530; and two Dutch editions, too: *Dat gulden ghebedenboecxken uut den ouden ende nieuwen Testementen vergadert*, Merten De Keyser voor Govaert van der Haegegen, 1531; Adriaen van Berghen: 1535.

[583] Cf. *supra* on p. 241 and *infra* on p. 418.

[584] Cf. *supra* on pp. 301.

certainly surpass the scholarly standards of his own time. His quotations are surprisingly precise. He repeatedly provided accurate page numbers ("lief" and "syde") and sometimes even pointed to the exact line.[585] Characteristic of his meticulous scholarship is the case of a quotation from Augustine that John Frith used in his treatise against the bodily presence of Christ in the Eucharist.[586] During the Middle Ages, the sentence was often cited in a corrupted version—*Corpus domini in quo resurrexit uno loco esse oportet*[587]—and Frith, relying on a secondary source, quoted it in this form.[588] While both Frith and Tyndale engaged in debate with Sir Thomas More on the meaning of *oportet*, Joye pointed out that some of the copies read "Corpus enim Domini in quo resurrexit/ uno loco esse *potest* [italics mine]," which is precisely the formulation as it is found originally in Augustine—"Corpus enim Domini in quo resurrexit, uno loco esse potest; ueritas euis ubique diffusa est."[589] Moreover, Joye's biographical descriptions of the various editions of Tyndale's testaments are very detailed and precise, and they constitute an important source of information on the history of the various editions of Tyndale's NT translation.

Detecting such a wealth of (possible) sources behind the arguments of Joye's *Apologye* should not be taken to mean that Joye was unoriginal or entirely dependent on his sources. As has been observed, he presented original arguments, arranged the borrowed arguments in an original way, and used his sources critically and responsibly.[590] By concentrating on the question of how Joye used his sources, the unsustainability of the

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585 E.g. pointing to a passage in Tyndale's *The exposition of the fyrste Epistle of seynt Ihon*, Joye used the following precise description: "read the .xvj. lyne the fyrst syde of the .xij. lief of the exposicyon of that text. And he is the satisfaccio*n* &c." (Joye, *Apologye*, sig. B7^{r}).

586 John Frith, *A Christian sentence and true iudgment of the most honorable Sacrament of Christes body and bloud declared both by auctorite of the holy Scriptures and the auncient Doctores*, Richard Wyer, s.l. n.d.

587 Cf. William M. Gordon, *A Needle in a Meadow. A Missing Reference in the More-Frith Controversy*, in *Moreana* 13 (1976), pp. 19 and 22. n. 5.

588 "Corpus in quo resurrexit in uno loco esse oporteth" (Frith, *A Christian sentence*, sig. A4^{v}).

589 Joye, *The souper of the Lorde*, fo. 8^{v}. Augustine, *In Ioannis Evangelium tractatus CXXIV*, XXX,1, in A. Augustine, *In Ioannis Evangelium Tractatus CXXIV*, ed. R.Willems, (CC SL 36), Turnhout: Brepols, 1954, p. 289.

590 Among Joye's original arguments are e.g. his contention about *resurrectio* standing in apposition to spirits and angels in Acts 23:8 (see *supra* on p. 375), his statement that the separated souls in the interim state are more aptly compared with angels than the resurrected humans with their bodies in Mt. 22:30 *et par.* (see *supra* on p. 376) and his interpretation of the last clause of Lk. 20:38 as a revelation that the patriarchs are alive (see *supra* on p. 379).

assertion by the 'conservative consensus' that Joye's position was unparalleled and unscholarly became apparent. In fact, Joye's standpoint regarding the translation of the Latin term 'resurectio' in those twenty-two places, his interpretation of these passages, and his exegetical arguments were not unique among his contemporaries to any extent.

Joye's Style

The reader will remember that the authors of the conservative consensus characterized Joye's style as "idiosyncratic," "parochial," "poor," and "flimsy," with "little literary value," and the *Apologye* as "long-winded," "rambling," "incorrect," "unsatisfactory," "unjustifiable," and "abusive."[591] While the exemplary studies of Orlaith O'Sullivan, Clair Cross, Gordon Jackson, Helen Parish, and Vivienne Westbrook have sufficiently countered these arguments in general, the question arises as to whether they can be applied to Joye's *Apologye*.[592]

What one means by "idiosyncratic literary style" and "parochial vocabulary," is, of course, very much subject to interpretation. In Tyndale's case, expressions that look strange to the modern reader, like "noosell" (for 'nurture' in the *Prologue to Romans*), "ixion" (for the Hebrew עָזְנִיָּה—some kind of bird of prey—in Dt. 14:12), or the peculiar "a fellowship" (as in 1 Sam. 26:8—"Now therfore let me smyte him a felowshippe with my speare to the earth"—for the Hebrew emphatic particle נָא, usually translated as 'now' or 'I pray'), are condoned easily.[593] Admittedly, perhaps some of Joye's translations exhibit more of these expressions, but to argue that Tyndale's language influenced today's English to a larger degree than that of Shakespeare, and then to claim that Tyndale's vocabulary contains fewer strange elements than that of Joye, and therefore Tyndale is less "parochial" or "idiosyncratic," seems to be circular reasoning. At any rate, it is baffling that if the styles of these two authors are so distinct, if Tyndale's style is so much more eloquent and so much more exquisite compared with that of Joye, how it could be that Joye's *The Souper of the Lorde*

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591 Cf. *supra* on pp. 36ff.

592 I think it is not by accident that we find so many women scholars among those who appreciate Joye's style. With their often more balanced approach and greater sense of aesthetics, they are more likely to give an impartial judgement than their male colleagues. For the references of their works, see *supra* on pp. 63f.

593 Cf. David Daniell, *Ivory, Apes and Peacocks*, in John Terhune Day, Eric Lund & Anne M. O'Donnell (eds.), *Word, Church, and State. Tyndale Quincentenary Essays*, Washington (DC): Catholic UP of America, 1998, pp. 10–11.

(a large enough corpus with its more than 15,**000** words) was ascribed to Tyndale for centuries. Even in the 20th century, Mozley, Butterworth, and Chester, people who were thoroughly familiar with the genuine writings of Tyndale and/or Joye, all made the same attribution.

In fact, Joye's style is quite agreeable and exhibits clear literary qualities. To serve as an illustration from another work, we can consider a hymn on the *Nunc dimittis* in his *Primer*:

> The hymne.
> Worshipe we the spirit pureli.
> Whiche moued Simeon the sage.
> In his armes to take reuerently
> Ower sauiour yet tender of age.
> When his father and his mother
> Presented theyr yonge chylde Iesus.
> Simeon emonge all wother
> Praysed the lorde sayinge thus.
> Nowe letest thou thy seruant departe/ o lorde/
> accordi*n*ge to thy promyse/ in peace.
> For myn eyes haue sene the saviour: sente from the.
> Whom thou hast set forthe in the presens of all people.
> To be a lyght/ lyghteninge y*e* ge*n*tils
> & to be y*e* glory of thy people Israel.[594]

Although this hymn would not satisfy David Daniell, whose main measure for the literary qualities of a translation seems to be the number of monosyllabic words, Joye's hymn does have literary merits.[595] The tonic-syllabotonic hymn's rhythm is very expressive, and the alliterations ("worshipe we . . . which," "spirit . . . Simeon the sage") in combination with masculine, feminine, and imperfect cross rhymes (sage-age, pureli-reuerentli, mother-wother, Jesus-thus) form an efficient mnemotechnical device for those who want to learn their prayers by heart. In that regard, it is interesting to note that even the pseudonyms of his fictitious printers in the colophons of his early works are alliterative: Adam Anonymous, Balthassar Beckenth, and Francis Foxe.[596]

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[594] Joye, *Ortulus anime*, sig. Q2^{r}.

[595] Cf. Daniell, *William Tyndale*, pp. 133–42.

[596] In his other works, alliterations also are frequently employed: e.g. "adding their own dead dreams & deuilish deuicies" (Joye, *The defence of the Mariage of Preistes*, sig. A7^{v}); "scholasticall sophisters" (Joye, *The Souper of the Lorde*, sig. D5^{r}); "so sliper a serpent of so variable colors of contradictions, corrections" (Joye, *A contrarye*, sig. A4^{r}). Joye's fondness for alliteration is probably founded in the long tradition of alliteration in late medieval

With regard to Joye's *Apologye*, its vocabulary and literary style were greatly determined in the first place by the topic of his pamphlet. It was a defence of his orthodoxy to show that his belief in the bodily resurrection was above any question, and to explain why he altered Tyndale's translation. As such, he used systematic, logical, argumentative language, and a vocabulary that is correct from a scholarly perspective. One finds no "idiosyncratic," "peculiar," or "parochial" words (the shibboleth of his style, according to the common consensus), but rather straightforward, common English. Joye's *Apologye*, too, testifies to his concern about the careful formulation of his message. There, as in his other writings, he uses poetic devices, such as alliteration ("many mennis handis"; "defamed & defiled"; "grete greif"; "nether he nor no man els shall neuer proue"), rhyme ("fame & name"), and hendiadys ("pourge & clere"; "defamed & defiled"; "concorde & peace"; "greif & sorowe"; "fame & name"; "dere & leif") in order to keep his readers' attention captivated.[597] He uses graphic and simple similes ("I haue talked wyth some of them [i.e. people misled by Tyndale's teachings] my selfe so doted in that folye that it were as good to perswade a poste as to plucke that madnes oute of their braynes") and lively metaphors ("I wyll not be his Phisicion & decerne his water at this tyme").[598] The *Apologye* also displays elements of the spoken language, even dialogues, when they are applicable.[599]

Yet the question remains: is Joye's work long-winded, rambling, and repetitious, as it is described by his critics? Again, the answer to this question depends on how these adjectives are understood. Joye does reiterate some of his arguments twice or even three times. Yet this repetition is a direct consequence of the genre and the methodology of the work. According to the customary methodology of polemical writings, refutations, and counter-attacks of his age, Joye cites smaller or larger portions of his opponent's arguments verbatim and then proves them false. Such a

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English poetry, as exhibited also in Lollard works. See: John SCATTERGOOD, *The Lost Tradition. Essays on Middle English Alliterative Poetry*, Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2000.

597 All examples are taken from Joye, *Apologye*, sig. A2r.

598 Joye, *Apologye*, sigs. E2r–v and C6r–v. See *supra* in n. 30 on p. 358.

599 "The Saduces [...] myght haue well obiected saying: Syr what is this answere to our question? we aske the whose wyfe shall she be at the general resurreccion of their bodyes? and thou answerest vs nothyng els nor prouest vs any thing els with this scripture but that there is a lyf after this wheryn the soulis departed nowe lyue" (Joye, *Apologye*, sigs. A7v–A8r). "Ye must beware (syr) how ye argew a negatiuis/ for siche kynde of arguments be the worste & feblest that ye can make" (sig. B6v). "But at laste I remember that I made hym thys reason/ saynge. Syr ye knowe that christe is our head/ & we his members/ & altogither hys bodye [...]" (sig. C1v).

method inevitably entails him to sometimes reuse an argument in order to refute different positions, or develop an argument in several stages, making a strong case only when these parts are seen together (e.g. his arguments concerning the faith of the Sadducees). According to modern scholarly norms, therefore, his work can indeed be tedious to follow and can create the impression that it is repetitious. But judged on the basis of the standards of his own era, Joye's *Apologye* is not verbose at all. His "repetitiousness" is certainly a far cry from Thomas More's magisterial writings against Tyndale.

But was Joye abusive? Joye's genuine concern for the unity of the Protestant community is unquestionable. As has been demonstrated, he did his utmost to avoid public debate with Tyndale and clearly exhibited his detestation of any schism in the ranks of the 'brethren.' On account of Tyndale's anonymous attack in *The exposition of the fyrste Epistle of seynt Ihon*, Joye remarks that "at which I winked, yet taking yt not as ment of me because I loued quyetnes not wylling that any man shuld know what hatred he did euer beare me sence I came ouer."[600] Nonetheless, as has been observed, his cynical comments about Tyndale's character and learning do alienate the modern reader with their disparaging tone. While Tyndale, at least according to Joye, called Joye "fole," "vnlerned," and "other obprobriouse names, " Joye described Tyndale as "shrewed," "corrupt," and having "the venomouse tethe of vepers."[601] These stinging discords do make Joye appear to his later readers as peevish, vengeful, and puerile. While with these remarks, as also has been pointed out, Joye was completely in line with the kind of remarks made by his contemporaries (in fact, these were the characteristics of the genre), and for that matter, in line with remarks by Tyndale himself, they also testify to Joye's ambiguous relationship to Tyndale.[602] On the one hand, he genuinely admires Tyndale and recognizes Tyndale's outstanding qualities. On the other hand, Joye resents Tyndale precisely because he felt betrayed by such an

[600] Joye, *Apologye*, sig. D8^{v}.

[601] Joye, *Apologye*, sigs. C8^{v} and D8^{v}. See Joye's remark quoted *supra* in n. 347 on p. 362.

[602] Cf. Erasmus' words about Standish (*supra* p. 141), Luther's description of Erasmus (*supra* n. 96 on p. 144), Zwingli's opinion on the Anabaptists (*supra* nn. 382 and 386 on pp. 198 and 199, respectively), the criticism of Capito, Bugenhagen, and Luther about Bucer (*supra* pp. 211–212), the harsh words of Clemens and Jacob about Bucer (*supra* p. 214), or Tyndale's abuse of Fisher (*supra* n. 666 on p. 253), More (*supra* n. 199, p. 331), Roye (*supra* p. 247), and Joye (*supra* p. 330ff).

intimate friend, a person whom he considered close to himself and whom he admired.[603]

Thus the vocabulary and the literary style in Joye's *Apologye* were greatly determined by the topic, the genre, the methodology and the occasion of the pamphlet. Yet there is another important element that has played just as important a role in the formation of Joye's works as all of the above. It was his translational strategy.

Joye's Translational Strategy

Joye's translational strategy is perhaps the most ambiguously assessed aspect of the *Apologye* and Joye's biblical translation in general.[604] Even authors of the conservative consensus sometimes recognize that Joye formulated in very clear terms what later became the Protestant ideal of Bible translation: the pure text without any notes. On the other hand, not only is Joye's change of "resurreccion" into "the lyfe after this" condemned, but his many other modifications of Tyndale's text are denounced as pieces of evidence attesting to Joye's ignorance or bad taste. However, as will be apparent, these were not necessarily faults, but the results of Joye's translational strategy, which differed from Tyndale's.

One of the main differences between the two translators was the way they approached the translatability of the Sacred Text and the question of whether God's Word has only one meaning. As opposed to Tyndale, whom we chiefly know to have reworked his earlier translations,[605] Joye

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603 "And yf my hater had thus oppressed me/ I coude haue had avoyded hym. But yt was thou my nowne felowe/ my companion in lyke perel and persecucion/ my familiare/ so well knowne/ vnto who*m* I co*m*mitted so louingly my secretis/ with who*m* gladly I went into the house of god" (Joye, *Apologye*, sig. G4^{r}). Of course, the source of Tyndale's strong resentment vis-à-vis Joye is the same feeling of being betrayed by someone from his own ranks.

604 Some of this section is published in Gergely Juhász, *'That the reder might once swimme without a corke.' George Joye's Translation Strategy in his Biblical Translations*, in *'Wading Lambs and Swimming Elephants.' The Bible for the Laity and Theologians in the Medieval and Early Modern Era*, eds. Wim François and August Den Hollander, (BETL), Leuven: UP-Peeters, 2010.

605 The sole exception is The First Letter of Saint John. In *The exposition of the fyrste Epistle of seynt Ihon*, Tyndale did not make any use of his earlier translation published in the 1526 Worms edition, but gave a fresh rendering of those biblical verses which he cited from the letter, based on Erasmus' 1522 NT. In 1534 and 1535, however, when Tyndale revised his entire NT, he opted twice for a revision of his first, original, but in many instances markedly poorer, translation of the Johannine letter. According to Millus it was an unfortunate choice because in this way many of the lucky findings of his commentary on the epistle got lost (Donald J. Millus, *An Edition of William Tyndale's Exposition of the*

often retranslated the same scriptural passage completely anew whenever he deemed it useful for a better or fuller understanding of the Word of God. Joye's choice for a new translation of the same passages (instead of revising his earlier work) was sometimes necessitated—to a certain degree—by his preference for a different *Vorlage*.[606] The choice of a new source text did not mean, however, that he would have regarded the previously used source as erroneous or misleading. Rather, it testifies to Joye's preference for a multiplicity of possible translations of the Scripture. The greatest variation can be observed in his publications of the psalms, some of which exist in three different translations with the possibility of a fourth, different but no longer existing translation.[607] He also published two distinct versions of the prayer of Isaiah (Is. 64:1–4), by which he apparently caused some disturbance among his readers and instigated questions about *the* meaning of the Scriptures. On the other hand, we see—much less frequently—examples when Joye reworked his earlier translations. In his second edition of the NT, he includes a revised translation of Prov. 31 among the OT epistles.[608]

Joye's tendency to have variation in the translation can also be observed on the textual level within one translation. In Prov. 30:15, for example, he writes: "These horse leches haue two doughters cryeng/ haue done/ haue done/ bring it hider/ a waye/ a waye." This pleonastic cry of the daughters of "horse leches" originates from his double *Vorlage*: he used Melanchthon's text alongside the Vulgate.[609] The Hebrew text has הַב הַב, twice the qal imperative masculine singular form of the verb יָהַב (give, ascribe, come), which was translated into Latin by Melanchthon as "Age, age" (Do something! or Drive (away)!). The Vulgate renders the same words by "Affer,

Fyrste Epistle of Seynt Ihon, (Yale University Doctoral Dissertation, 1973), 1997, pp. 169–70). Cf. JUHÁSZ, Cat. 97 in *TT*, pp. 153–54.

606 Cf. his translations of the Book of Psalms, for which Joye made use of Martin Bucer's Latin translation of the book twice (1529 and 1530), while in 1534 he used Zwingli's translation.

607 On Joye's first, no longer extant *Primer*, see *supra* on p. 20.

608 Butterworth and Chester argue convincingly that Joye's first publication of Proverbs (along with that of Ecclesiastes) was probably published in Antwerp about 1533. This most likely anonymous edition was taken over by the London printer Thomas Godfray, who put it out—likewise anonymously—on the English market in late 1534 or early 1535. Joye's version of Proverbs is identified in the only known copy of Godfray's undated print. BUTTERWORTH, *The Godfray Edition of Proverbs and Ecclesiastes*, in *University of Pennsylvania Library Chronicle* XV (1949), p. 25; BC, *George Joye*, pp. 135–45.

609 See: BC, *George Joye*, p. 140.

affer" (Bring it here/there!).[610] In order to convey the fullest possible meaning of the original text, Joye includes all possible meanings in his translation.

Joye's book, published in 1541 during the course of his controversy with John Foxe on the punishment of adultery, will quote 1 Cor. 6:9b–10 as a motto on its last leaf. There, he renders it with the following wording:

> Be not deceyued, for neyther fornicators, nor ymage worshippers, nor whormongers, neither softelings, nor buggerers, nor theues nor gredy couetuose insaciable deceytfull gatherers, nor dronckerds, nor euyll speakers, nor pyllers, and pollers shal inherit the kengedom of God.[611]

Besides his amusing colloquial terms (whormongers, softelings, buggerers), it is noticeable in this long list that Joye renders (perhaps for the sake of filling up the available space on the page) the word πλεονέκται (Vg: *avari*) with the pleonastic expression "gredy couetuose insaciable deceytfull gatherers," and ἅρπαγες (Vg: *rapaces*) with "pyllers and pollers."[612] Again, his reason for this is to present his readers with all of the possible meanings of the original text in order to preserve the largest possible range of interpretations.

This fondness for diversity is thus emblematic of Joye. Indubitably, Tyndale also used variations for the same word in his translations. One gets the impression, however, that Tyndale varies for stylistic rather than for philological reasons. Joye, on the other hand, regards it as an aid to the reader for the fuller comprehension of God's message. In several of his works Joye explicitly argues for the benefit of diversity in the translations. As has already been observed, Joye mentions in his letter to Latimer a previous—now no longer extant—letter. This earlier letter was occasioned precisely by a question concerning the diversity of translations (more specifically Joye's two translations of the prayer of Isaiah). From his words to Latimer

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[610] The LXX translator obviously misunderstood the Hebrew original deriving הַב הַב from the verb אָהַב (love), and translated it with ἀγαπήσει ἀγαπώμεναι.

[611] Joye, *A contrarye*, sig. B6ʳ.

[612] To 'pill' is to 'pillage,' 'plunder,' 'extort'; to 'poll' means to 'fleece,' 'despoil by excessive taxation.' The same expression was used by Sir John Harington in his *England men say of late is bankerupt growne* at the end of his *Tract on the Succession of the Crown* dated 18 December 1602: "England (Men say) of late is banckrupt grown: | Th'effect is manifest, the Cause unknown. | Rich Treasurers it hath had, and wary Keepers, | Fat Judges, Counsellors in Gain no-sleepers, | Auditors, & Surveyors, Receivers many, | Pillers, & pollers too, All for the penny. | As for the Church, that must both pray, & pay: | For Solvat Ecclesia, the Courtiers say. | Can Any tell, how to help this Disorder? | Faith, one good STEWARD would putt All in Order." (IS *Early Stuart Libels*, A14.)

it is obvious that these distinct versions are not regarded as contradictory but as complementary to each other. This can be true, according to Joye, because having several versions of the same biblical text should not necessarily mean that one of them is incorrect. Even Augustine showed in his *De doctrina christiana*, Joye argued, how the exact sense of the original text and the precise intention of the author can be discovered when two different but legitimate translations of the same text are compared.[613]

This is why he argued that neither his nor Tyndale's version represented the final say in the history of Bible translations: there will be followers who will come after them and will correct their translations in many places and make them "miche more perfayt & better for the reader to vnderstande."[614] Tyndale should not "brawll & wryte agenst them," Joye argued, "but rather thanke them a*n*d geue place as Paule teacheth.j.Corinth.xiiij."[615] And if a version contains mistakes, it can be amended, and therefore he called upon the authorities: "Burne nomore goddis worde: but me*n*de it where it is not truly translated."[616]

Joye's inclination to vary the translations is thus part and parcel of his universal translational strategy, according to which he tries to render the original text in such a way that it does not necessitate any further explanations, remarks, marginal notes, or other reading aids. He expresses this (in his view) ideal methodology of translation in a reaction to an altercation with one of Tyndale's disciples. This unidentified disciple of Tyndale's wanted to teach Joye the practice of translation based on St Jerome's work *De optimo genere interpretandi* (Ep. 57). Notably, Joye explains, "how I shuld tra*n*slat the scriptur*is*, where I shuld geue worde for worde, & whe*n* I shulde make scholias, not*is*, & gloses i*n* the merge*n*t as hi*m*self & hys master doith."[617] In his reaction Joye declares that he prefers to include everything necessary for the understanding of the text in the text itself, and not to put it in the margins. If they are absolutely necessary, the glosses

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[613] "What profit & goodnes cometh of the diuersite of tra*n*slacio*n*s, rede S. Austen in his seco*n*de boke de doctrina christiana cap.xij. In the chirch of god as there be many & dyuerse me*m*bres, so haue they many & sondry giftes, & one may se in a nother manis workis that he saw not himselfe" (Joye, *Apologye*, sig. D5^{v}). For Augustine's position on the advantages of the diversity of translations as presented in his *De doctrina christiana* II,12, see *supra* on p. 100.

[614] Joye, *Apologye*, sig. D5^{v}. See *supra* on p. 363.

[615] Joye, *Apologye*, sig. D5^{v}.

[616] Joye, *The Prophete Isaye*, sig. A7^{v}.

[617] Joye, *Apologye*, sig. C6^{v}.

should only give further elucidation for an already understandable text.[618] But he is convinced that the text of the Scripture is self-explanatory, and therefore the translation should also be self-evident. An ideal translation of the Bible needs no glosses or marginal notes, in Joye's opinion: "I wolde the scripture were so puerly & plyanly [*sic*] tra*n*slated that it neded nether note, glose nor scholia, so that the reder might once swimme without a corke."[619] In other words, he wanted to produce a text that enables the reader to perceive the meaning of the original without any additional matter.

This tendency toward producing a self-explanatory and self-evident Bible text can be observed in many of the changes Joye brought about in his revision of Tyndale's NT translation. Most of these involve the problems of translating the culturally determined *realia*. In Mt. 16:18, Tyndale's translation read: "And I saye unto the, that thou arte Peter. And upon this roocke [*sic*] I wyll bylde my congregacion." (T_{1526}).[620] While Joye agreed with Tyndale that the official Roman Catholic Church could not be the church Christ founded or wanted, he was clearly dissatisfied with Tyndale's "congregacion," a term that did not carry the same theological connotations as *ecclesia* had in this passage, according to Joye. Therefore, he rendered *ecclesia* with "chirche" but dissociated the *true* Church founded by Christ from that of Peter (and the Pope, as Peter's successor) by rendering the pun on Πέτρος and πέτρα in the Greek (Vg: *Petrus* and *petra*) twice with S/stone in English. At the same time, he also added the adjective qualifier "same" so as to make the text unambiguous for those of his readers who do not know the original text: "And I saye also vnto the, that thou arte Stonne. And apon this same stonne, I wyll bylde my chirche." He thus changed Tyndale's "congregacion" into "chirche" to ensure that the reader understands that the text is not referring to any congregation but to the true Church of Christ. This explicitness and avoidance of glosses can also be seen as carried even further in Joye's translation of the *Creed*, as cited above.[621] In a similar way, Joye changed Peter's words to Jesus in Lk. 9:20. While Tyndale's first translation reads "thou arte the Christ off

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618 "But in good faithe as for me I had as lief put the trwthe in the text as in the marge*n*t a*n*d expecte the glose expowne the text (as many of theirs do not) or where the text is playn ynough. I had as lief leue siche fryuole gloses cleue out" (Joye, *Apologye*, sigs. $C6^{v}$–$C7^{r}$).

619 Joye, *Apologye*, sig. $C7^{r}$.

620 Luther's version had: vnnd ich sage auch dyr, du bist Petrus, vnnd auff disen felß will ich bawen meyne gemeyne.

621 See *supra* on p. 368.

God," Joye changed it into "thou arte the anoynted of God" so that those readers who do not know the meaning of the Greek χριστός would not miss the theological importance of Peter's profession. Similarly, in Acts 6:9 he modified Tyndale's "Sinagoge" to "scole or college" in order to avoid the use of a word which would need to be explained to at least some of his English-speaking readers.[622]

Another good example to illustrate Joye's translational strategy is his translation of Acts 6:1. Joye is frequently faulted for changing Tyndale's rendering of this verse, which according to the 1526 version read: "In those dayes, the nombre of the disciples grewe, there arose a grodge amonge the grekes agaynst the ebrues, because theyr widdowes were despysed in the dayly ministration." Here, Joye replaced "those" with "these," "widows" with "pore nedy," "despise" with "neglege," and "ministration" with "almose dealinge." Thus, the corrected verse in Joye's rendering reads: "In these dayes, the nombre of the disciples grewe, there arose a grudge amonge the grekes agaynst the ebrues, because theyr pore nedy were neglege in the dayly almose dealinge." According to the representatives of the common consensus, not only are these changes etymologically incorrect, but Joye's pride in them in the *Apologye* exemplifies both his arrogance and his ignorance.[623] Admittedly, αἱ χῆραι means "the[ir] widows," and the Latinite "ministration" (in the sense of service) is correct for rendering διακονία in Tyndale's translation. Nonetheless, the feminine plural ταύταις of the demonstrative pronoun is more correctly rendered by Joye's "these," pointing to what is recently or last mentioned, than Tyndale's "those," which would be the translation of ἐκείναις, denoting what is remote.[624] And "were neglege" (i.e. neglected) is unquestionably a better translation of παρεθεωροῦντο, the indicative imperfect passive 3Pl of the verb παραθεωρέω that generally means *overlook* or *neglect*, rather than Tyndale's "were despysed." So even if one puts the emphasis on the literal or formal equivalency of the terms in the source and target languages, two of Joye's modifications did bring improvement to Tyndale's text. But what

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[622] T_{1526} reads: "Then there arose certayne off the Sinagoge, which are called lebertines…" In J_{1534} the actual text reads: "Then there arose certayne the scole or college, which are called libertines…" The misprint was corrected in J_{1535}: "The*n* there arose certayne of the scole or college, which are called libertines…"

[623] Cf. Eadie, *The English Bible*, vol. I, p. 220.

[624] Cf. James Allen Hewett, *New Testament Greek. A Beginning and Intermediate Grammar*, Peabody: Hendrickson, 1986, p. 44; Archibald Thomas Robertson, *A Grammar of the Greek New Testament in the Light of Historical Research*, London: Hodder and Stoughton, ^{3}1919, pp. 693–709, esp. 702–03.

really happened here is that Joye thought that Tyndale's translation did not do justice to the translation of the *realia* as determined by the cultural context. In particular, the words "widows" and "ministration" could not convey the same connotations to an English-speaking reader in the 16th century, Joye believed, as their originals did in the source language to the targeted readers living in the original cultural context of the 1st century ad. A widow in the patriarchal biblical times was indeed "poor" and "needy," i.e. helpless and in need of financial support from others for her very survival. In 16th-century England, although it was still a male-oriented society, widows were in a less precarious financial position.[625] Therefore, Joye chose to make the point of the biblical writer explicit (which he indeed understood correctly) by opting for a hyperonym. He took a similar approach for translating ἐν τῇ διακονίᾳ (Vg: *in ministerio*). In his own translation he substituted Tyndale's Latinate "ministration" by the 'service' these poor and needy widows received, viz. "alms," applying a hyponymy, a perfectly justifiable translational strategy for translating *realia* for a culturally significantly different readership. Joye's modification of Acts 6:1 is therefore not only defensible, but can justly be seen as an improvement to achieve a more target language–oriented translation.

Joye's conviction about the self-explanatory and self-evident character of the biblical text is ultimately rooted in his idea of *sola scriptura*. In his treatise on *The Souper of the Lorde*, in which he "accidentily" (i.e. obliquely) refuted More's book against John Frith, Joye argued against the "vayne vanites" of "moris unwryten verites."[626] According to him, Christ's church is founded and supported solely by the "sufficient scryptures."[627] The Bible, God's Word, alone is the true authority for the Christian believer, as God's Incarnated Word is enough for the justification of the faithful.

By way of summary it can be said that there is a significant difference between Joye and Tyndale with regard to their respective translational strategies. Although Tyndale's works can be characterized as an unbalanced compromise between source language- and target language-oriented translations in favour of the target language and target culture while containing unmistakable elements of exoticizing and historicizing,

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625 Cf. Youings, *Sixteenth-Century England*, *passim*, esp. pp. 90, 117–28, 322–32, 368, and 373–77. Joye's own publisher, the widow Catherine van Ruremund, an entrepreneur herself, ran the business of her belated husband for more than two decades after his death.

626 Joye, *The Subuersion of Moris false foundacion*, sig. B6^{r}. Cf. Joye, *The Souper of the Lorde*, sigs. A7^{v}, B3^{v}.

627 Joye, *The Souper of the Lorde*, sig. A4^{r}. Cf. Joye, *The Subuersion of Moris false foundacion*, sig. E7^{v}.

Joye's were unmistakably intended as target language- and target culture-oriented translations with more modernizations and naturalizations.[628] In that sense, Joye's alterations meant walking the entire way along the path Tyndale had taken before him.

Aftermath

A few months after the publication of Joye's *Apologye*, Tyndale was arrested.[629] George Collins, one of the merchant adventurers, is the first to report on what at that time still seemed to him to be only a plan. In a letter dated 1 May 1535, he notified a fellow mercer in London that the Procurator General of Brabant had commissioned the arrest of three English fugitives.[630] His information came from another Antwerp merchant adventurer, a certain Mr Flegge, who in his turn had heard it in the church from the 'stadholder' of Barrow. Unfortunately, when he learned that one of men arrested was Robert Barnes, Collins forgot to ask the names of the other two, but he promised to make further inquiries and supply the other two names at a later date.[631]

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[628] The terms exoticizing, naturalizing, historicizing, and modernizing are applied here as they are used by Holmes in his theory of literary translations: "Each translator of poetry, then, consciously or unconsciously works continually in various dimensions, making choices on each of three planes, the linguistic, the literary, and the socio-cultural, and on the x axis of exoticizing versus naturalizing and the Y axis of historicizing versus modernizing of translation are used" (James S. Holmes, *Translated! Papers on Literary Translation and Translation Studies*, (Approaches to Translation Studies 7), Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1988, p. 48). According to Holmes, there is a diachronic axis (the historical distance between the source text and the metatext), and there is a synchronic axis (the cultural differences regardless of their historical settings). Along the diachronic axis, the translator can opt for preserving the historical element (historicizing) or for adapting it to the times of the metatext (modernizing). Along the synchronic axis, the translator can opt for preserving the foreign element (exoticizing) or for adapting it to the target culture (naturalizing or, better, familiarizing, domesticating). These options are made on a case by case basis.

[629] The traditional date for Tyndale's arrest is 21 May 1535. Although this date is included in a number of works (e.g. BC, *George Joye*, p. 104, Daniell, *William Tyndale*, p. 364), nowhere is the source of information indicated. Paul Arblaster has convincingly argued for 15 May being the *terminus ad quem* for Tyndale's arrest and has proposed 24 April as a possible date (Arblaster, Cat. 119 in *TT*, p. 177). This date is seemingly in contradiction with George Collins' letter (cf. *infra* n. 629).

[630] *L&P* VIII, no. 862.

[631] We can reasonably presuppose that the conversation between the stadholder and Flegge took place on Sunday 25 April at the end of the fair. It is unlikely that Flegge, if he knew at the time of his encounter with Collins that Tyndale had been arrested, would not have told Collins that Tyndale was one of the targeted persons. And again it is unlikely that if Collins knew at the time of writing that Tyndale had been arrested, the merchant

Collins wrote to his colleague to ask him to warn Barnes, who was back in England at that time. While Tyndale was unfortunate and was not warned of the threatening peril, Joye, like Barnes, must have been notified, if not earlier, by the news about Tyndale's arrest. He fled to Calais, where he stayed with Edward Foxe, a friend from his Cambridge days. Foxe, a clergyman favoured by Henry, was on a mission for the Government to improve the King's relations with Francis I.[632] In his letter to Cromwell dated 4 June 1535, Foxe sent a few lines of mediation on Joye's behalf along with his official report. He interceded for leave for Joye to return to England and guaranteed Joye's orthodoxy, or at least his silence on established religious matters.[633] Foxe's concern for Joye seems to be genuine and is certainly more than an obligatory good word given for the sake of the common *alma mater*.[634] Undoubtedly remembering that Joye had been serviceable to him, Cromwell acted upon Edward Foxe's recommendation, and Joye returned to England.[635] He kept his part of the bargain, for no new book appeared during his stay in his home country except for a small octavo volume of barely twelve leaves, published in

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would not have mentioned it in his letter. Of course, it is possible that George Collins was not yet aware of Tyndale's arrest at the time of writing, as he wrote only a week after the suggested date, and much of the week was probably spent with the Antwerp merchants moving back from Bergen-op-Zoom.

632 Foxe was Prolocutor of Convocation when it decided the annulment of Henry's marriage with Catherine in April 1533. A year later he published his *Opus eximium de vera differentia Regiae potestatis et Ecclesiae et quae sit ipsa veritas ac virtus vtrivsque* (Londini: In aedibus Thomae Bertheleti regii impressoris excus., Anno. M.D. XXXVIIII). After his return from Calais in 1535, Foxe was soon to be appointed bishop of Hereford. See Francis Oakley, *Edward Foxe, Matthew Paris, and the Royal Potestas Ordinis*, in *SCJ* 18 (1987), pp. 347–54.

633 "It may like you also further to understande that George Joye ever sithe his com*m*yng to Calais hathe been lodged w*ith* me in my howse whom I have so enduced that I trust hereafter he woll never say any thing whiche may be contrary to any article of out faithe or unto that faithe whiche is already receaved concerning the sacrame*n*t of the Altare" (Edward Foxe to Cromwell, PRO, SP 1/93, fo. 20; *L&P* VIII, no. 823). It is clear from Foxe's formulation that Joye had spent a considerable amount of time (perhaps weeks) by the time of writing. This would suggest that he must have fled around the time when Collins wrote his letter.

634 "And surely sith to be playne with youe I fynde hym veray co*n*formable in all poyntes whiche in my opynion requisit for a christen man to beleve. Upon whiche his good conformyte I have promysed hym to be a meane for hy*m* unto the Kinges highnes that it may please the same to be good and graciouse Lorde unto hy*m* and not to cast hy*m* away whiche I beseche youe to set forthe unto his highnes if youe shall thinke it so requisite. And of your pleasour therin to advertise me at your convenyent leasour" (Edward Foxe to Cromwell, PRO, SP 1/93, fo. 20).

635 On Joye's earlier service to Cromwell, see: *supra* n. 87 on p. 23.

September 1535, which no doubt had been prepared on the Continent.[636] This little book was the sole recorded publication by Joye between the summer of 1535 and 1540.

But Joye's reputation was seriously damaged. His debate with Tyndale, the 'Apostle of England,' had already alienated him from Tyndale's circle, and when Tyndale was captured and Joye disappeared from Antwerp, Tyndale's friends and some of the merchant adventurers thought that Joye was party to Henry Phillips' plot against Tyndale. In July 1535, Thomas Theobald, a godson of Cromwell whose task on the Continent was to keep an eye on the activities of Henry Phillips, reported to Archbishop Thomas Cranmer that "George Joye is greatly blamed and abused among merchants and many others, that were his friends, falsely and wrongfully."[637] The accusations against Joye were false and wrong, Theobald reported, because they were flatly denied by Phillips himself. Theobald had acquainted himself with Phillips in Leuven, and the latter boasted that he had left no stone unturned to achieve Tyndale's arrest and condemnation. Phillips also intimated that it was he who convinced the Procurator General to issue warrants against Barnes and Joye also. When Theobald informed Phillips about the rumours that Joye was an accomplice in Tyndale's arrest, Phillips claimed that he had never seen Joye, let alone made Joye part of his conspiracy. Joye was, Phillips stipulated, one of his intended victims. "It is hoped," Joye's biographers write, "that the testimony of Phillips and Theobald somehow came to the ears of Joye's countrymen to allay their unfounded suspicions."[638] Yet "the suspicions themselves serve to demonstrate how deep was the anger felt by many in the circle of English Reformers against Joye for what they regarded as his disloyalty to Tyndale."[639] Joye's later falling-out with John Foxe, the celebrated martyrologist, reinforced the growing hostility against his person among Protestants and damaged his reputation for centuries.

The debate between Joye and Tyndale thus ended with the imprisonment and eventual execution of Tyndale, and the defamation and flight of Joye. While in prison in Vilvoorde, Tyndale is believed to have worked on his OT translation.[640] After four years in England, Joye had to flee once

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[636] Joye, *A compendyouse Somme of the very Christen relygyon*. See: BC, *George Joye*, pp. 199–201.

[637] *L&P* VIII, no. 1151. Cf. BC, *George Joye*, p. 195.

[638] BC, *George Joye*, p. 195.

[639] BC, *George Joye*, p. 195.

[640] In his prison letter (see *supra* n. 270 on p. 347), Tyndale asks his addressee to intercede with the lord commissioner to return some of his confiscated goods, *inter alia* his

again to Antwerp, where he was again active at the printing press of the widow van Ruremund, but his later books did not touch upon the topic.

Nonetheless the debate among Protestants on the eschatological hope and fate of the human person after death did not come to an end. Calvin's decisive work on the subject of soul sleep had already been written but not yet published by the time of the Tyndale–Joye debate.[641] The book of the French theologian, which comprised arguments quite comparable to Joye's, was influential for centuries. A letter by Bonifacius Wolfhart to Martin Frecht dated 2 October 1537 also contained exegetical arguments very similar to those in Joye's *Apologye*.[642] On the other hand, a position on soul sleep similar to that of Tyndale and Luther was defended by the Hungarian Reformer Mátyás Dévai Bíró (*c.*1500–*c.*1545), whose *Disputatio de Statu in quo sint Beatorum Animae post hanc vitam* was published only a year or so after the Tyndale–Joye debate.[643] In the spring of 1536 Henry

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Hebrew Bible, grammar, and dictionary. There is a tradition that Tyndale's request was granted and that he translated (at least some parts of) the historical books of the Bible from Joshua to Nehemiah in prison. This is quite plausible. Daniell convincingly shows that the historical books of the Matthew Bible (1537) are in Tyndale's translation, and none of this material was published during Tyndale's lifetime (Daniell, *William Tyndale*, pp. 333–57). Among Tyndale's contemporaries the bibliographer John Bale and the chronicler Edward Hall both list translations of Joshua, Judges, Ruth, Kings, Chronicles, Esdras, and Nehemiah among his works (John Bale, *Scriptorum Illustrium Maioris Brytanniae Catalogus*, vol. 1, Basel, 1557, fols. 658–59; Edward Hall, *The union of the two noble and illustrate famelies of Lancastre & Yorke*, London: Rychard Grafton, 1550, fol. CCxxvii). This tratition, however, discredits the common claim that Tyndale was arrested, kept in prison, and executed for translating the Bible.

641 See *supra* on p. 279.

642 J.V. Pollet, *Martin Bucer. Études sur la correspondance avec nombreux textes inédits*, vol. II, Paris: PUF, 1962.

643 Mátyás Dévai Bíró, *Disputatio De Statu in quo sint Beatorum Animae post hanc vitam, ante ultimi iudicij diem. Item de praecipuis Articvlis Christianae Doctrinae. Per Matthiam Dévay Hungarum. His addita est expositio examinis, quomodo a Fabro in carcere sit examinatus*, Nürnberg, 1536 and/or Basel, 1537. (IS Sándor Payr, *A dunántúli evangélikus egyházkerület története*, vol. I, Sopron: Székely és Társa, 1924, p. 535; Miklós Sinay, *A magyar- és erdélyországi reformáció története 1564-ig*, ed. & trans. Gábor Herpay, Debrecen: Hegedüs és Sándor, 1911, p. 195; Imre Révész, *Dévay Bíró Mátyás életrajza és irodalmi művei*, Pest, 1863, pp. 69–99.) The Hungarian *National Széchényi Library* has a copy listed as published in Nürnberg by Johann Petreius from 1537. Dévai had composed an earlier work in 1531 with the title *De sanctorum dormitione* (in Hungarian: *A szentek aluvása*). This work, a series of theses on soul sleep, was never published in print and was lost to the author by 1534. (György Antal, *A hit példaképei*, Budapest: Magyarországi Református Egyház Kálvin János Kiadója, 1999, p. 130; IS Sándor Payr, *A dunántúli evangélikus egyházkerület története*, vol. I, p. 452.) Pál Ács has argued that the Hungarian Reformer's work was highly influential and that Dévai Bíró mitigated his earlier radical position on soul sleep in his second book. (Pál Ács, *A szentek aluvása. Dévai Mátyás és a Patrona Hungariae-eszme protestáns bírálata*, in István Bitskey & Szabolcs Oláh (eds.), *Religió, retorika, nemzettudat régi irodalmunkban*, Debrecen: Kossuth Egyetemi Kiadó-Debreceni Egyetem, 2004, pp. 99–100 and 102. Cf. IS

VIII assembled the bishops and some leading theologians to draw up an outline of the key dogmatic issues involved in the Henrician Reformation. The discussions led to the *Ten Articles* and the *Injunctions to the Clergy of 1536*. The *Ten Articles* contained a statement on Purgatory, rejecting its 'popish' understanding but asserting the beneficial and pious character of the supplications for the dead.[644] Later, in 1553, a *Fortieth Article* was attached to the *Thirty-Nine Articles* of the Church of England rejecting the Anabaptist ideas of millenarism, universal salvation, and 'realized resurrection' (as something that has already taken place, referring only to the soul), as well as that of both kinds of psychopannychism.[645] Seven years later, however, Archbishop Matthew Parker (1504–75) abolished this article, and the final list, adopted in 1662, did not contain any doctrinal teaching on what happens to the human soul after death.

Needless to say, the Reformation debate on the fate of the human person after death had important pastoral and ecclesiastical consequences.[646] Liturgy and sacred music were altered: without Purgatory, there was no longer a pastoral need for a personalized supplicatory ritual, since private prayer and congregational participation were sufficient.[647] For the town of Bristol, Clive Burgess summarized the effects of the Anglican Reforms in the following way:

Payr, *A dunántúli evangélikus egyházkerület története*, vol. I, pp. 452 and 535). The later book was also translated into German and published in Strasbourg in 1572 in the second volume of the *Historien der Märtyrer* by the German Lutheran theologian Ludovicus Rabus (1523–92) (Lajos Thallóczy, *Adalékok a magyarországi protestáns egyházi irodalom bibliographiájához*, in *Magyar Könyv-szemle* 3 (1878), p. 100).

[644] For a discussion, see: G.W. Bernard, *The King's Reformation. Henry VIII and the Remaking of the English Church*, New Haven & London: Yale UP, 2005, pp. 285–88.

[645] "*Resurrectio mortuorum nondum est facta.* Resurrectio mortuorum non adhuc facta est, quasi tantum ad animum pertineat qui per Christi gratiam a mote peccatorum excitetur, sed extremo die quod omnes qui obierunt, expectanda est; tunc enim vita defunctis (ut Scripturae manifestissime testantur) propria corpora, carnes & ossa restituentur, ut homo integer, prout vel recte vel perdite vixerit, juxta sua opera, sive praemia sive poenas reportet. *Defunctorum animae neque cum corporibus intereunt, neque otiose dormiunt.* Qui animas defunctorum praedicant usque ad diem judicii absque omni sensu dormire, aut illas asserunt una cum corporibus mori, & extrema die cum illis excitandas, ab orthodoxa fide, quae nobis in sacris literas traditur, prorsus dissentiunt. *Millenarii.* Qui Millenariorum fabulam revocare conantur, sacris literis ad versantur, & in Judaica deliramenta sese praecipitant. *Non omnes tandem servandi sunt.* Hi quoque damnatione digni sunt, qui conantur hodie perniciosam opinionem instaurare, quod omnes, quantumvis impii, servandi sunt tandem, cum definito tempore a justitia divina poenas de admissis flagitiis luerunt" (IS *The Thirty-nine Articles of Religion*).

[646] Barbara Haggh, *Foundations or Institutions? On Bringing the Middle Ages into the History of Medieval Music*, in *Acta Musicologica* 68 (1996), pp. 87–128 (esp. p. 93).

[647] Haggh, *Foundations or Institutions?*, p. 93.

> Parish worship was profoundly altered, and not simply as a result of the changes in rite. With belief in and provision for Purgatory prohibited, the financial foundation for auxiliary services, ancillary priests, elaborate music, sumptuous equipment and decoration disappeared; and perhaps most strikingly, throughout England church building ceased. Where, before 1550, many of the laity were intimately involved with financing, regulating and improving the spiritual armoury of their parish church, such participation was now severely reduced. After 1550 the laity were obliged to assume a much more passive role. They might listen to sermons or reform their own behaviour, but with the passing of Purgatory and its works the scope for their contribution was small. As a result, many became increasingly disengaged from their parishes—to the despair of their pastor.[648]

Burgess also rightly pointed out that the new theologies claiming that salvation depended either on sufficient faith or predestination rather than on good moral conduct and charity caused insecurity, disengagement, and sourness, which, according to Burgess, can explain the widespread antipathy towards the late 16th-century English religious establishment.[649]

On a more positive note, the debate between William Tyndale and George Joye helped lay the foundations for a new Protestant eschatology. The Christian message was rethought and reformulated for the men and women of the Early Modern era. The debate placed an emphasis on the need for solid scriptural arguments for matters of faith. A new methodology of exegesis emerged in which the historical-grammatical analyses of the text in its context rather than the symbolic-aesthetic and associative character of the sacred text predominated.

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[648] Clive Burgess, *'By Quick and by Dead': Wills and Pious Provisions in Late Medieval Bristol*, in *EHR* 102 (1987), pp. 837–58, here p. 858. Cf. Alan Kreidere, *English Chantries. The Road to Dissolution*, (HHS 97), Cambridge (MA) & London: Harvard UP, 1979, and S.E. Lehmberg, *The Reformation of Cathedrals. Cathedrals in English Society, 1485–1603*, Princeton, 1989.

[649] Burgess, *'By Quick and by Dead'*, p. 858.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

The Inappropriateness of the Conservative Consensus

Some of the most intriguing questions of humankind have always been those that concerned the end of earthly human life and the fate of the dead. From common experience we know that all people die. But what will happen to me when I die? Is there a life after this life? And if so, what is it going to be like? Over the centuries differing answers have been given to this question in different cultures. In the history of Christianity, people have turned to the Bible and to the repository of faith for finding answers to these questions. This is only appropriate, for the core message of the Christian Bible is the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ. As such, the Bible is ultimately a promise to every believer about his or her fate beyond this earthly life. And since according to biblical teaching death is intimately connected with sin, His death and resurrection not only promised that death has been defeated, but they also contained a claim about the human condition. Through His death Christ attained salvation for all humankind, but the call to salvation has to be met with a human response. During the Reformation the initial debate was on the nature and content of this human response, whether it only involved faith and trust, or whether human cooperation was needed as well.

As Reformers from various denominations began to ponder this question and to search for an answer in the Scripture, soon other related questions surfaced. Some of these concerned anthropology: whether time and space are inherent constituents of the human person, or whether these are earthly dimensions that have no meaning once one has passed 'beyond' death. Martin Luther, followed by William Tyndale and John Frith, seems to have opted for the second position, while other Reformers, like Huldrych Zwingli, Philipp Melanchthon, Martin Bucer, and Heinrich Bullinger, apparently upheld the traditional view and claimed that body and soul are subject to time (if not necessarily to space, in the case of the latter). The question of soul sleep versus the intermediate state of the soul was thus ultimately not on an eschatological timetable of the human person, but on the nature of the human person.

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The Tyndale–Joye debate on 'translating resurrection' has to be positioned in the context of this broader debate on the fate and nature of the human person. When authors of the 'conservative consensus' reduce the debate to an etymological question, whether the Greek ἀνάστασις can rightly be translated as "the life after this," they, besides revealing considerable *naïveté* concerning how translations and translators work, do injustice not only to the subject matter of the debate but also to the parties involved, and thus to Tyndale, too, whom they want to defend or exonerate in the first place.

In the course of this study it became evident that no element of the conservative consensus can be retained. Although the approach taken by the authors in the conservative consensus is fully understandable, from a scholarly point of view it is wholly untenable. In this study I have proven that the evaluation of the debate in traditional works is (if present at all) utterly mistaken. I have pointed out how authors of the conservative consensus neglected or misinterpreted the available historical evidence. I have demonstrated that their (implicit or explicit) judgement on Joye's character, scholarship, knowledge, intelligence, style, translational strategy, and legacy does not hold water. Finally, I have shown how Joye's *Apologye* cannot be properly studied without its appropriate historical-theological context.

An Exegetical Debate in Its Context

The appropriate historical-theological context is the quest of the Reformers for a new, Bible-based theology. Disappointed in the seemingly meaningless or inapplicable interpretations of the Bible, and in the dogmatic teachings that in their eyes were not based on the Scripture, Reformers argued for the foundation of a new theology that is based exclusively on the Bible. This required a new interpretative methodology, a breakaway from the T/tradition. Accordingly, dogmatic questions were primarily seen as exegetical questions, and vice versa, exegetical findings and interpretative methodology played a decisive role in defining the content of faith.

On the question of the eschatological hope of the human person, the key biblical texts that served as the basis for the new Reformed theology were the passage about Jesus' encounter with the Sadducees (Mt. 22:23–32 *et par.*), Jesus' words on the cross to the repentant thief (Lk. 23:43), and the Pauline texts 1 Cor. 15, 1 Thes. 4, and 2 Cor. 5. Zwingli, Melanchthon, Bucer, and Bullinger understood these texts as divine revelations about

the immortality of the soul. These authors argued that underneath the Latin *resurrectio* and other forms of the verb (*re*)*surgo*, as well as the corresponding Greek verbs (ἀνίστημι and ἐγείρω) together with their cognates, a Semitic way of thinking is hidden. Accordingly, these words translating various forms of the Hebrew verb קוּם (and other terms derived from it) carry the same connotations as the 'original' in the Hebrew, namely, they, too, can refer to the immortality of the soul.

When Joye thus corrected Tyndale's English NT in these places, he genuinely thought that he was giving the true meaning of these biblical passages. It was Joye's pastoral concern, his translational strategy, that moved him to remove the ambiguity and put the exegetical results of the greatest theologians of his age into practice. He wanted to provide the readers of and listeners to 'his' NT with a text that needed no further explanation, was plain, and was understandable. The threatening historical context of the Münsterite Anabaptist revolt probably made him extra cautious about leaving anything in the text that could support one of the characteristic tenets of the Anabaptists.

The Legacy of the Tyndale–Joye Debate

When on that cold winter Saturday of the Lenten Season in the year of Our Lord 1535 Catherine van Ruremund published the book entitled *An Apologye made by George Ioye to satisfye (if it maye be) w. Tindale: to pourge & defende himself ageinst so many sclaunderouse lyes fayned vpon him in Tindals vncheritable a[n]d vnsober Pystle so well worthye to be prefixed for the Reader to induce him into the vnderstaning of hys new Testamen*t *diligently corrected & printed in the yeare of oure lorde .M. CCCCC. and xxxiiij. in Nouember*, she probably knew that this was not going to be her best-selling publication. And justifiably so, for this lengthy title, loaded with emotionally heavily charged words and sarcasm, correctly describes that high level of emotionality and subjectivity that is prevalent throughout the entire book. These characteristics have been a warning sign to readers past and present not to take the book seriously. While in this present work, I showed that the work is indeed highly subjective and emotional, this does not necessarily mean that the work must be without any scholarly merit.

Although in his own age George Joye, the author of the pamphlet, was a well-known leader of the Reformation, his reputation diminished rapidly, and soon he became neglected by most scholars. In later scholarly

works—in which Joye earned a footnote or two, or sometimes even a couple of pages—he has always been treated with a kind of repugnance and was never taken seriously. If his name is ever mentioned in works on the history of the English Bible or on the early Reformation period, he and his works have until recently always been dismissed with dismay and aversion. Since apologies are seldom as appealing as accusations, his *Apologye* has often been neglected.[1] Nonetheless, Joye has exercised a profound impact on the shaping of Protestant Britain's new religious liturgy by compiling the first English printed *Primer* and the first English Psalter. In the field of Bible translation, he was less influential than Tyndale, but his versions of Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Solomon, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Lamentations were the first printed English translations of these biblical books. His pioneering work was used in and to some degree incorporated into the complete Bibles issued by Myles Coverdale (1535) and John Rogers (1537). Some of his renderings were justified by modern versions like the NIV and the NRSV. He has even enriched the English language with a few memorable expressions, even if his influence is not comparable to that of Tyndale.[2]

Yet the Tyndale–Joye debate left the mark of its legacy primarily in a different area. Joye's *Apologye* has been used even by the authors of the conservative consensus as a unique treasury of information on the early history of Tyndale's English NT. Furthermore, Joye's alterations to Tyndale's text, whether justified or not, resulted in the fact that we now have a fairly good picture of both Tyndale's and Joye's views on the human person, salvation, and the post-mortem fate of the human person. Joye's anthropology corresponds to that of most of his contemporaries. According to this he regarded the human being as a compound of an immaterial soul and a physical body, which separate from each other at the moment of death, providing for an interim state of the soul between death and bodily resurrection at the end of the world. Tyndale, in contrast, while

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[1] "This was elegantly and wittily written, but did not take so much as the other—, for such is the ill nature of Mankind, that Satyres are always better received than Apologies, and no Satyres are more acceptable than those against Church-men" (Burnet, The *Abridgement of the History of the Reformation of the Church of England*, p. 128). Burnet's comment is about More's *Supplication of the Souls* written against Simon Fish's *Supplication of the Beggars*.

[2] Appropriately, Joye's biography in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* uses one of the terms that were coined by Joye: "In his *Refutation* of 1546 Joye would have hard words for Gardiner on his *backsliding* in the intervening years." Emphasis on the word 'backsliding' added. (art. *George Joye* in IS ODNB).

claiming ignorance on the subject of the post-mortem fate of the soul, regarded the human being most likely as an inseparable unity or indivisible entity. For him, body and soul are in all probability not two different components but two different aspects of the same human person—a position that most modern exegetes believe to be the most ancient and authentic biblical view on the human being. The difference in their opinions can be thus explained by the difference in their methodology, anthropology, theology, and translational strategy. Because of his theological interest, Joye took an active part in the quest for the foundations of a new Protestant biblical theology. As theologians have always done, he tried to reformulate the original Christian message in terms relevant to his own time. Their debate showed the importance of turning to the Bible in matters of faith. Joye's *Apologye* reflects much of the achievement of his contemporaries and applied historical-grammatical exegesis. In that sense, his methodology was surprisingly modern.

One final question remains unavoidable. Was Joye in the right to change "resurreccion" to "lyfe after this" in those places? Did he correct or corrupt Tyndale's text? If Joye had been my student, I would have underlined his "lyfe after this" in red and would have put a big red question mark in the margin. I would also have asked him to explain his choice of words for the translation. We can be grateful that Tyndale's second foreword in the November 1534 revision put this question mark alongside Joye's translation and that it provoked Joye's *Apologye*. Although the available historical evidence suggests otherwise, I would like to believe that Joye's *Apologye* might have satisfied Tyndale.

APPENDICES

1. George Joye to Hugh Latimer (29 April 1533)[1]

M*r* L. I hartely com*m*end me unto youe/ desiring allmighty god to be p*re*sent wythe youe w*ith* his spirytt of trewythe to <~~h~~> lede youe in to him that said/ I am the <~~te~~>trewythe and is all trewythe. S*ir*, Will*ia*m Tindall receyvyd a lett*er* frome John ffrythe wherin John ffryth is somewhat offendyd for that I wrote secretly a letter to one that askyd me a questione as concernyng why I translatyd the prayer of Esaie not all alyke in the hortul*us* and in the p*ro*phete wherin incidently I shew by the diu*er*sitie of translac*i*ons what p*ro*fytt may come therof/ that the sowles dep*ar*tyd slepe not nor lye ydle tyll domes daye as Martyn luther and the Anabaptyst*es* saye and as me thinkythe ffrythe and Will*ia*m tyndall wolde/ this lett*er* of myne I desyre youe to see/ for it is so paynefull to me to wryte y*t* I coulde not leve any copye w*ith* me/ ye shall haue yt among the bretherne/ I cannot tell his name that askyd me the questione and vnto whome I sent the lett*er*. but I sent itt by one Will*ia*m hill M*r* Cosens s*er*vau*n*t. I beseche youe gett <~~y~~> gett [*sic*] itt and rede ytt and send me yo*ur* Iudge= ment and mynd in the matt*er*/ for ffrythe wrytythe y*t* <~~is~~> it is lyke to gendre dissensione. but I thynke that o*ur* sowles departyd lyve and doubt not but the scriptures so sowne/ bothe in chryst*es* answer to the saduceys .Marc. 12. et c. 2 cor. 5. philipp. 1. Jo. 23. et c. this berer shall gett yt youe callyd henry smythe. I wolde wryte vnto youe more but this berer goethe hastely hense and may not <~~tay~~> tarye me/ god p*reser*ve youe and praye for me/ I forgett youe not neyther yo*ur* good mynde toward me/ I was full sory when I hard of that fyer that ye sufferyd wherof Paule spekythe 1 cor. 3. to see yo*ur* worke burnyd befor yo*ur* face/ but be of good chere M*r* latymer. Paule sufferyd as gret a burnyng as that when he sawe his dull galathans bewychyd and borne backe/ god is myghty ynoughe to bryng them agayne and to gyve youe great glorye and Joye upone yo*ur* childerne borne and trauelyd/ so for <~~agi~~> agayne/ suche is the

1 "George Joye to Hugh Latimer" and "John Coke to Brother William" were preserved among the *State Papers* in the Public Record Office (SP 1/75, fo. 210, no. 183). They were originally transcribed by Sylvia L. England. Her transcription was later checked by J.F. Mozley for the publication of Joye's biography. (BC, *George Joye*, pp. 95–96.) The transcription in its published form, however, contains a few mistakes, which I corrected here. Excerpts from both letters were published by James Gairdner in the *Letters and Papers*, vol. VI, nn. 402 and 402. ii. My transcription preserves the original line breaks. Letters inserted between <> and crossed out with a horizontal stroke (ll. 2, 13, 14, 18, 25, 28, 29, and 31) are struck out in the original manuscript.

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chaunce and fortune of them that must play the pastures and leaders of
chryst*es* unrewlye flock*es*. What sufferyd Moyses of his owne flocke? and yet
god brought all to a good ende/ and was glorified in <~~his~~> him and his flocke
to/ Wryte to my lorde of Cant*er*bury and animate <~~him~~> him to his offyce.
he is in a p*er*ellose place/ but yet in a gloriose place to plant the
gospell. god p*reser*ue youe/ the <~~9~~> 29 daye of apryll
Yo*ur*s as he was wont george Joye.

2. John Coke to Brother William (29 April 1533)

Brother Will*ia*m I hartely co*m*mend me unto youe/ I was not content that ye breake
so sodenly awaye and tooke not wythe youe my lett*er*s as ye p*ro*misid me. Syr I sent
a lett*er* as co*n*cerning the answer to him that wolde know why the prayer of Esaie
so varyed in the p*ri*mer and the p*ro*phete and left my self no copye of whiche letter
it is thought that dissensions among the wyse bretherne begy*n*ne to growe. I
pray youe in any wyse monyshe him unto whom ye delyv*er*yd ytt of this folye/ and
byd him in any wyse to send me the lett*er* agayne or els a copie therof/ and
byd him as ev*er* I shall do for him to take hede whowe [*sic*] they expounde and
descant upon so playne a matt*er*. and byd him send M*r* latymer a copye
therof. Remember my woode and my chese &c. god p*re*serue youe. the 29 daye
of Apryll.

Yo*ur* John Coke.

3. The 'Attached Paper'[2]

George Joye to m*r* Latym*er*
affiriminge that soules lye
not ydle/ vntill domes daye.

[2] The paper is no longer attached to the letters but is bound in the volume as a separate item (PRO, SP 1/75, fo. 211, no. 184).

4. Joye's Address 'Unto the Reader' in His Second New Testament

[C.vii^{r}].Unto the Reader.
¶ Thus endeth the new
Testame*n*t prynted after the copye cor-
rected by George Ioye: wherin for en-
glisshyng thys worde Resurrectio/ the
lyfe after this. W.Tindale was so sore
offended that he wrote hys vncharita-
ble pistle agenst me prefixed his newe
corrected testament/ prynted. 1534. in
Noue*m*ber/ entytled. W.T. yet once mo-
re to the Christen redere. Which pistle
W.T. hath promysed before certayne
men & me (orels I wolde my selfe haue
defended my name & clered myselfe of
those lyes a*n*d so sclaunders there write*n* of
me) that he wolde calle agene his Py-
stle a*n*d so correcte yt/ redresse yt/ a*n*d re-
forme yt accordinge to my mynde that
I shulde be there wyth co*n*tented/ a*n*d vs
bothe (as agreed) to salute the readers
withe one salutacion in the same refor-
med pistle to bet set before this testame*n*t
now in printing. And that I/ for my par
te/ shulde (a rekeninge and reson firste
geuen of my translacion of the worde)
permyt yt vnto the iudgement of the
lerned in christis chirche. Which thyn-
ge/ verely I do not onely gladly co*n*sent
there to/ vpon the co*n*dicion on his par-
te/but desyer them all to iuge/ expende
and trye all that euer I haue or shall
wryte/ by the scriptures.
[C.vii^{v}] Let yt not therfore in the mean ceason
offende the (good indiffere*n*t reder) nor
yet auerte thy mynde nether from W.
Tindale nor fro me: nor yet fro*m* redyng
out bokis whiche teche a*n*d declare the

very doctryne a*n*d Gospel of Christe/ be-
cause yt thus chaunceth vs to varye
a*n*d co*n*tende for the trewe englisshing of
this one worde Resurrectio in certay-
ne places of the newe Testame*n*t. For I
doubt not but that God hathe so prouy
ded yt/ that our stryfe a*n*d dyssent shal-
be vnto hys chirhce the cause of a per-
fayter co*n*corde & co*n*sent in thys mater/
Nomanto thinke hence forth that the
soulis departed slepe with out heauen
feling nether payne nor ioye vntill do-
mes daye as the Anabaptistis dreame
but to be a lyue in that lyfe after thys
whithe/ a*n*d in Christe in blysse a*n*d ioye
in heue*n*/ as the scriptures clerely testi-
fye. Whych verite a*n*d true doctrine off
Christe & his apostles/ as yt is a swete
a*n*d present co*n*solacion vnto the pore af-
flicte persecuted and trowbled in thys
worlde for Christis sake when they sh-
all dye/ so doeth the tother false opini-
on and erroneouse doctryne/ that is to
weit/ that they sleap out of heauen ne-
ther feling payn nor ioye/ minyster a*n*d
geue perellous audacite a*n*d bolde suer-
nes to the vngodly here to lyue styl a*n*d
[C.viii^{r}]continew in their wickednes/ sith they
se & be so taught that aftir their depar-
ting there is no punysshment but sleap
a*n*d reste as wel as do the soulis of the
good and ryghteous tyll domes daye.
Which daye as some of the*m* beleue it to
be very longe ere yt come/ so do many
of them beleue that yt shal neuer come.
Also to stryue for the knowlege of the
trowth with a meke ād godly cōtenci-
on hathe happened vnto farre perfay-
ter me*n* then we bothe/ Nether haue
there bene euer any felowship to fewe

and smal/ but some tyme syche breache
and imperfeccion hath hapened emon
ge them for a lytle ceason (as I trust in
god this shal not co*n*tinew longe betwe
ne vs two) ye a*n*d that euen emonge the
apostles as betwene Paule & Peter/ Gala.ij.
and Paule and Bernabas. This thing Acto.xv.
(I saye) may fall vpon vs also to lerne
men that all men be but lyers a*n*d maye
erre/ and to warne vs that we depende
not wholl vpon any mannis tra*n*slacion
nor hys doctryne nether to be sworne
nor addicte to any ma*n*nis lerning/ ma-
ke he neuer so holye and deuoute pro-
testacions and prologs/ but to mesure
all mennis wrytingis/ workis a*n*d wor-
dis wyth the infallible worde off God
to whom be prayse and glory for euer.
Amen.

5. Biblical Texts where Joye Changed 'resurreccion' into 'lyfe after this'

Matthew 22:23–32

Erasmus' Greek (1516 [1522])	Erasmus' Latin (1516 [1522])	Vulgate (1534)	Tyndale (1526 [1534])	Joye (1534=1535)
23 Εν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ προσῆλθον αὐτῷ σαδδουκαῖοι, οἱ λέγοντες, μὴ εἶναι ἀνάστασιν, καὶ ⌜ἐπῖρώτησαν [ἐπηρώτησαν] αὐτὸν	23 In illo die accesserunt ad eum sadducæi, qui dicunt non esse resurrectionem, & interrogauerunt eum,	23 In illo die accesser*un*t ad eum saducei qui dicunt non esse resurrectionem: & interrogaveru*nt* eu*m*	23 The same daye the saduces cam ⌜unto [to] hym (which saye that there is no resurreccion) and axed hym	23 The same daye the saduces cam vnto him (which saye that there is no lyf after this) and they asked him
24 λέγοντες: διδάσκαλε, μωσῆς ἐιπεν. ἐάν τις ἀποθάνῃ μὴ ἔχων τέκνα, ἐπιγαμβρεύσει ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἀναστήσει σπέρμα τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ.	24 dicentes. Magister, Moses dixit, si quis mortuus fuerit, non habens filium, ut ducat frater eius uxorem illius, & suscitet semen fratri suo.	24 dicentes. Magister/ moyses dixit. Si quis mortuus fuerit non habens filiu*m*/ vt ducat frater ei*us* vxore*m* illi*us*: et suscitet seme*n* fratri suo.	24 sayinge: Master/ Moses bade/ if a man dye havinge no chyldren/ that the brother Mary his wyfe/ and reyse uppe seed unto his brother.	24 saynge Master/ Moses bade/ yf a man dye hauynge no chyldre*n*/ that the brother mary his wyfe/ and reyse vppe seed vnto his brother.

[3] Words and punctions marked with the sign ⌜ are replaced in the later editons (Erasmus' 1522 edition, T_{1534} or J_{1535}, respectively) by the words and punctions that follow them between square brackets. Words in square brackets following unmarked words are insertions in the later editions. Words marked with the sign ⌜ and not followed by words in square brackets are omitted in the later editions. Groups of words inserted between the signs ⌜ and ⌝ are replaced by the expression in square brackets following immediately after the marked words. Verse numbers are supplied according to modern conventions. Differences in spelling of the same word, capitalization of letters, and punctuation are not marked. Marginal notes and cross-references are omitted. Abbreviations in the Greek text are resolved silently, and the letter ς has been replaced everywhere by the letters στ, but inconsistencies with regard to spelling, punctuation, diacritical marks (accents), and iota subscripts are kept as in the original. The Vulgate text follows the 1534 critical edition published by Yolande Bonhomme, widow of Thielmann Kerver (d. 1522) (see PS under Vulgate). (For a possible indication that Joye used this edition of the Vulgate, see *supra* n. 542 on p. 402.) The text of T_{1526} follows the edition of the BL, in which abbreviations are resolved silently.

Matthew 22:23–32 (*cont.*)

Erasmus' Greek (1516 [1522])	Erasmus' Latin (1516 [1522])	Vulgate (1534)	Tyndale (1526 [1534])	Joye (1534=1535)
25 ἦσαν δὲ παρ᾽ ἡμῖν ἑπτὰ ἀδελφοί. καὶ ὁ πρῶτος γαμήσας ἐτελεύτησεν. καὶ μὴ ἔχων σπέρμα, ἀφῆκεν τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ.	25 Erant autem apud nos septem fratres, & primus uxore ducta defunctus est, ⌜& [ac] non habens semen, reliquit uxorem suam fratri suo.	25 Erant autem apud nos septem fratres: & primus vxore ducta defunctus est. Et non habens semen reliquit vxorem suam fratri suo.	25 There were with us seven brethren/ the fyrste maried and ⌜dyed [deceased] without ysshewe/ and lefte hys wyfe unto hys brother.	25 There were wyth vs seven brethren/ the fyrst after he maryed dyed with out yssewe/ & lefte his wyfe vnto his brother.
26 ὁμοίως καὶ ὁ δεύτερος, καὶ ὁ τρίτος, ἕως τῶν ἑπτά.	26 Similiter secundus & tertius, usque ad septimum.	26 Similiter secundus & tertius vsque ad septimum.	26 Lykewise the seconde and the thryd/ unto the seventhe	26 Lykewise the seconde and the thryd/ vnto the seventhe
27 ὕστερον δὲ πάντων, ἀπέθανεν [καὶ] ἡ γυνή.	27 Nouissime autem omnium defuncta est & mulier.	27 Nouissime autem omnium/ & mulier defuncta est.	27 Laste of all the woman dyed also.	27 Laste of all the woman dyed also.
28 ἐν τῇ οὖν ἀναστάσει, τίνος τῶν ἑπτὰ ἔσται γυνή; πάντες γὰρ ἔσχον αὐτήν.	28 In resurrectione ergo cuius e septem erit uxor? Omnes enim habuerunt eam.	28 In resurrectione ergo cuius erit de septem uxor? omnes enim habuerunt eam.	28 Nowe in the resurreccion whose wyfe shall she be of the ⌜vij [seven]? for all had her.	28 Nowe in the lyfe after this/ whose wyfe shal she be of the .vij? for all had her.
29 ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ ὁ ΙΗΣΟΥΣ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς. πλανᾶσθε μὴ εἰδότες τὰς γραφὰς, μὴ δὲ τὴν δύναμῖν τοῦ θεοῦ.	29 Respondens autem Iesus, ait illis. Erratis, nescientes scripturas neque uirtutem dei.	29 Respondens autem iesus ait illis. Erratis nescientes scripturas: neque virtutem dei.	29 Iesus answered and sayde unto them: ye are deceaved/ & ⌜knowe [vnderstonde] not ⌜what the ⌜scripture [scriptures] ⌜meaneth/ nor yett the ⌜vertue [power] of God.	29 Iesus answered and sayde vnto them: ye are deceaued/ and knowe not what the scripture meaneth/ nor yet the vertue of god:

Matthew 22:23–32 (*cont.*)

Erasmus' Greek (1516 [1522])	Erasmus' Latin (1516 [1522])	Vulgate (1534)	Tyndale (1526 [1534])	Joye (1534=1535)
30 ἐν γὰρ τῇ ἀναστάσει, οὔτε γαμοῦσιν οὔτε ⸀γαμίζονται [ἐκγαμίζονται], ἀλλ᾽ ὡς ἄγγελοι τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν οὐρανῷ εἰσιν.	30 In resurrectione enim, neq*ue* matrimonium contrahunt, neq*ue* elocantur, sed sunt sicut angeli dei in cælo.	30 In resurrectione enim neq*ue* nubent/ neq*ue* nubent*ur*: sed erunt sicut angeli dei in celo.	30 For in the resurreccion they nether Mary nor are Maryed: but are as the angels of god in heven.	30 For in the lyfe after thys/ they nether mary/ nor are maryed: but are as the angels of god in heauen.
31 περὶ δὲ τῆς ἀναστάσεως τῶν νεκρῶν. οὐκ ἀνέγνωτε τὸ ῥηθὲν ὑμῖν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ λέγοντος.	31 De resurrectione uero mortuorum non legistis quod uobis dictum est a deo, qui ait.	31 De resurrectione aute*m* mortuo*rum* non legistis q*uo*d dictu*m* est a deo dice*n*te vobis.	31 As touchynge the resurreccion off the deed: have ye nott redde what ys sayde unto you off god/ which sayeth	31 As touchynge the lyfe of them that be the deed: haue ye not redde what is sayde vnto you of god/ which sayeth
32 ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ θεὸς ἀβραὰμ, καὶ ὁ θεὸς ἰσαὰκ, καὶ ὁ θεὸς ἰακώβ. οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ θεὸς, θεὸς νεκρῶν, ἀλλὰ ζώντων	32 Ego sum deus Abraham, & deus Isaac, & deus Iacob. Deus non est Deus mortuorum, sed uiuentium.	32 Ego sum de*us* abraham & de*us* isaac: & de*us* iacob. No*n* est de*us* mortuorum: sed viuentiu*m*.	32 I am Abrahams God/ and Ysaaks God/ and the God of Jacob? God ys nott the god of the deed: but of the lyvinge.	32 I am Abrahams God/ and Isaaks God/ and the God of Iacob? God ys not the god of the deed: but of the lyvynge.
33 καὶ ἀκούσαντες οἱ ὄχλοι ἐξεπλήσσοντο ἐπὶ τῇ διδαχῇ αὐτοῦ,	33 Et cum audissent turbæ stupuerunt de doctrina eius.	33 Et audie*n*tes turbe mirabant*ur* de doctrina eius.	33 And when the people hearde that/ they were astonyed at hys doctrine.	33 And when the people herde that/ they were astonyed at hys doctryne.

Mark 12:18–27

Erasmus' Greek (1516 [1522])	Erasmus' Latin (1516 [1522])	Vulgate (1534)	Tyndale (1526 [1534])	Joye (1534=1535)
18 καὶ ἔρχονται σαδδουκαῖοι πρὸς αὐτόν, ὅι τινες λέγουσιν ἀνάστασιν μὴ εἶναι, καὶ ἐπηρώτησαν αὐτὸν λέγοντες.	18 & uenia*n*t sadducæi ad illu*m* qui dicunt non esse resurrectionem, ⸀& ⸀interrogauerunt [interrogauerunt*que*] eum, dicentes	18 Et venerunt ad eu*m* saducei q*ui* dicu*n*t resurrectione*m* no*n* esse: et interrogaba*n*t eu*m* dice*n*tes.	18 ⸀And the saduces cam⸁ [Then came the Saduces] unto hym/ which saye/ ther is no resurrection. And they axed hym/ sayinge:	18 And the saduces ca*m* vnto him which saye/ there is no lyfe after thys. And they asked him/ sayinge:

Mark 12:18–27 (*cont.*)

Erasmus' Greek (1516 [1522])	Erasmus' Latin (1516 [1522])	Vulgate (1534)	Tyndale (1526 [1534])	Joye (1534=1535)
19 Διδάσκαλε, μωσῆς ἔγραψεν ἡμῖν, ὅτι ἐάν τινος ἀδελφὸς [ἀδελφὸς] ἀποθάνῃ, καὶ καταλίπῃ γυναῖκα, καὶ τέκνα μὴ ἀφῇ, ἵνα λάβῃ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐξαναστήσῃ σπέρμα τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ.	19 Præceptor, Moses scripsit nobis, si cuius frater moriatur, ⌜& [ac] relinquat uxore*m*, & liberos no*n* relinquat, ut accipiat frater eius uxore*m* illius & suscitet semen ⌜fratris sui⌝ [fratri suo].	19 Magister/ moyses nob*is* scripsit vt si cui*us* frater mortuus fuerit & dimiserit vxorem/ et filios no*n* reliquerit: accipiat frat*er* ei*us* vxore*m* ipsius: & resuscitet semen fratri suo.	19 Master/ Moses wroote unto us/ yff eny mans brother dye/ and leve his wyf/ behynde him/ and leve no chyldren: that then his brother shulde take his wyfe/ and reyse uppe seed unto his brother.	19 Master/ Moses wrote vnto vs/ yf eny ma*n*s brother dye/ and leue hys wyfe/ behynde hym/ and leue no chyldren/ that then his brother shulde take his wyfe/ a*n*d reyse vppe seed vnto his brother.
20 ἑπτὰ ἀδελφοὶ ἦσαν, καὶ ὁ πρῶτος ἔλαβεν [ἔλαβε] γυναῖκα, καὶ ἀποθνῄσκων οὐκ ἀφῆκεν [ἀφῆκε] σπέρμα.	20 Septe*m* fra*t*res fueru*n*t, ac prim*us* accepit uxorem, ⌜& [isque] morie*n*s no*n* reliquit seme*n*.	20 Septem ergo fratres era*n*t: et primus accepit vxore*m*/ et mortu*us* est no*n* relicto semine.	20 There were seven brethren and the fyrst toke a wyfe/ and when he dyed leefte no seed behinde hym.	20 There were seuen brethre*n* and the fyrst toke a wyfe/ and when he dyed leefte no seade behynde hym.
21 καὶ ὁ δεύτερος ἔλαβεν αὐτὴν, καὶ ἀπέθανεν [ἀπέθανε], καὶ οὐ δὲ αὐτὸς ἀφῆκεν [ἀφῆκε] σπέρμα. καὶ ὁ τρίτος ὡσαύτως.	21 Et secu*n*dus accepit illa*m*, ac mortu*us* e*st*, & nec ipse reliquit seme*n*., [*sic* in 1516] & tertius similiter.	21 Et s*ecund*u*s* accepit ea*m* et mortuus est: & nec iste reliquit semen. Et tertius si*mi*liter.	21 And the seconde toke her/ and dyed: nether leeft eny seede/ and the thyrde lykewyse.	21 And the seconde toke her/ and dyed/ nether left eny seade/ and the thyrde lyke wyse.
22 καὶ ἔλαβον αὐτὴν οἱ ἑπτὰ καὶ οὐκ ἀφῆκαν σπέρμα. ἐσχάτη δὲ πάντων ἀπέθανεν [ἀπέθανε] καὶ ἡ γυνὴ.	22 Et acceperu*n*t ea*m* septe*m*, nec reliq*ue*ru*n*t seme*n*. Postrema uero o*mn*ium mortua e*st* & uxor.	22 Et acceperu*n*t ea*m* similiter septe*m*: & no*n* reliqueru*n*t semen. Novissima o*mniu*m defuncta est & mulier.	22 And seven had her/ and leeft no seed behynde them. Last of all the wyfe dyed also.	22 And seuen had her/ a*n*d left no sead behynde them. Last of all the wyfe dyed also.

Mark 12:18–27 (*cont.*)

Erasmus' Greek (1516 [1522])	Erasmus' Latin (1516 [1522])	Vulgate (1534)	Tyndale (1526 [1534])	Joye (1534=1535)
23 Εν τῇ οὐν ἀναστάσει ὅτ᾽ἂν ἀναστῶσιν, τίνος αὐτῶν ἔσται γυνὴ; οἱ γὰρ ἑπτὰ ἔσχον αὐτὴν γυναῖκα.	23 In resurrectione igit*ur* cu*m* resurrexerint, cui*us* illo*rum* erit uxor? Nam septe*m* habuerunt eam uxorem.	23 In resurrectione ergo cu*m* resurrexerint/ cui*us* de his erit vxor? septe*m* e*ni*m habueru*n*t ea*m* vxore*m*.	23 In the resurrecion then/ when they shall ryse agayne: whose wyfe shall she be of them? For seuen had her to wyfe.	23 In the lyf aftyr thys/ when they are a lyue/ whose wyfe shall she be of them? For seuen had her to wyfe.
24 καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς ὁ ΙΗΣΟΥΣ, ἔιπεν αὐτοῖς. οὐ διὰ τοῦτο πλανᾶσθε, μὴ ἐιδότες τὰς γραφὰς, μηδὲ τὴν δύναμῖν τοῦ θεοῦ;	24 Et respondens Iesus, dixit eis. An no*n* propterea erratis, quod nesciatis scripturas, neq*ue* uirtute*m* dei?	24 Et *respo*nde*n*s iesus/ ait illis. Nonne ideo erratis/ non scientes scripturas neq*ue* virtute*m* dei?	24 Jesus answered/ and sayde unto them: Are ye not therfore deceaved ⌜because [and] ⌜ye ⌜knowe [vnderstonde] not the scryptures? Nether the power of God?	24 Iesus answered/ and sayde vnto them. Are ye not therfore deceaued/ be cause ye knowe not the scriptures/ Nether the power of God?
25 ὅταν γὰρ ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστῶσιν, ὄυτε γαμοῦσιν, ὄυτε γαμίσκονται, ἀλλ᾽ ἐισὶν ὡς ἄγγελοι ὁι ἐν τοῖς ὀυρανοῖς,	25 Cu*m* e*ni*m a mortuis resurrexerint, neq*ue* co*n*trahunt matrimoniu*m*, neq*ue* nuptu*m* dantur, sed sunt uelut angeli qui in cœlis sunt.	25 Cu*m* e*ni*m a mortuis resurrexerint neq*ue* nubent neq*ue* nubent*ur*: sed sunt sicut a*n*geli dei i*n* celis.	25 For when they shall ryse agayne from deeth/ they nether mary/ nor are maryed: butt are as the angels which are in heven.	25 For when they be a lyue aftir thys dethe/ they nether mary/ nor are maried/ but are as the aungels whych are in heaue*n*.
26 περὶ δὲ τῶν νεκρῶν, ὅτι ἐγείρονται, ὀυκ ἀνέγνωτε ἐν τῇ βίβλῳ μωσέως ἐπὶ τοῦ βάτου, ὡς εἶπεν αὐτῷ ὁ θεὸς λέγων; ἐγὼ ὁ θεὸς ἀβραὰμ καὶ ὁ θεὸς ἰσαὰκ καὶ ὁ θεὸς ἰακώβ,	26 Cæte*rum* de mortuis autem q*uo*d resuscitantur non legistis in libro Mosi ⌜de rubo, quomodo⌝ [quomodo in rubo] locutus sit illi deus, dicens. Ego ille deus Abraha*m*, & deus Isaac, & deus Iacob.	26 De mortuis autem q*uo*d resurga*n*t: non legistis in libro moysi/ sup*er* rubu*m* qu*omodo* dixerit illi de*us* inquiens. Ego sum de*us* abraha*m*/ et de*us* isaac/ & de*us* iacob?	26 As touchynge the deed/ that they shall ryse agayne: have ye nott redde in the boke off Moses/ howe in the busshe God spake unto him sayinge: I am the God of Abraham/ and God of Ysaac/ and the God of Jacob?	26 But as touchynge the dead/ that they are a lyue/ haue ye not redde in the boke off Moses/ how in the busshe God spake vnto hym/ sayinge: I am the God of Abraham/ and the God off Isaac/ and the God of Iacob?

Mark 12:18–27 (*cont.*)

Erasmus' Greek (1516 [1522])	Erasmus' Latin (1516 [1522])	Vulgate (1534)	Tyndale (1526 [1534])	Joye (1534=1535)
27 οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ θεὸς νεκρῶν, ἀλλὰ ζώντων. ὑμεῖς οὖν πολὺ πλανᾶσθε.	27 Non est de*us* mortuo*rum*, sed deus uiuentiu*m*. Vos ⌜aut*em* [igitur] mult*um* erratis.	27 No*n* est deus mortuo*rum* sed viuo*rum*. Uos ergo multum erratis.	27 He is not the god of the deed/ butt the god of the livynge/ ye are therfore greatly deceaved.	27 He ys not the God of the dead/ but the God of the lyvynge/ ye are therfore greatly deceaued.

Luke 14:13–14

Erasmus' Greek (1516 [1522])	Erasmus' Latin (1516 [1522])	Vulgate (1534)	Tyndale (1526 [1534])	Joye (1534=1535)
13 ἀλλ' ὅτ'ἂν ποιῇς δοχὴν, κάλει πτωχοὺς, ἀναπήρους, χωλούς, τυφλοὺς.	13 ⌜Sed [Imò] cum facis conuiuium, uoca pauperes, debiles, claudos, caecos,	13 sed cu*m* facis co*n*uiuiu*m*/ voca pauperes/ debiles/ claudos/ & cecos:	13 Butt when thou makest a feast, call the povre, the maymed, the lame, and the blinde,	13 But when thou makest a feast/ call the poore, the maymed, the lame, and the blinde,
14 καὶ μακάριος ⌜ἔσῃ [ἔσῃ], ὅτι οὐκ ἔχουσιν ἀνταποδοῦναί σοι. ἀνταποδοθήσεται γάρ σοι ἐν τῇ ἀναστάσει τῶν δἵκαίων.	14 & beatus eris, quia non possunt ⌜retribuere [rependere] tibi. ⌜Retribuetur [rependetur] enim tibi in resurrectione iustorum.	14 & beat*us* eris q*uia* no*n* habent retribuere tibi: retribuet*ur* e*ni*m tibi in resurrectione iusto*rum*.	14 and thou shalt be happy: For they cannot recompence the. Butt thou shalt be recompensed at the resurreccion of the iuste men.	14 and thou shalt be happy: For they can not recompence the But thou shalt be recompensed at the lyfe of the iuste men.

Luke 20:27–38

Erasmus' Greek (1516 [1522])	Erasmus' Latin (1516 [1522])	Vulgate (1534)	Tyndale (1526 [1534])	Joye (1534=1535)
27 προσελθόντες ⌜δέ [τέ] τινες τῶν σαδδουκαίων, ὀι ἀντιλέγοντες ἀνάστασιν μὴ εἶναι, ἐπηρώτησαν ἀυτὸν	27 Accesseru*nt* aut*em* qu*i*da*m* sadducæo*rum*, qu*i* negan*t* esse resurrectione*m*, & interrogauerun*t* eu*m*	27 Accesseru*nt* aut*em* quida*m* sadduceoru*m* qui negan*t* esse resurrectione*m*/ et interrogauerun*t* eu*m*	27 Then cam to hym certayne off the Saduces which denye that there is eny resurreccion. And they axed hym	27 The*n* cam to hym certayne of the Saduces which denye that there ys eny lyfe after this. And they asked hym

Luke 20:27–38 (*cont.*)

Erasmus' Greek (1516 [1522])	Erasmus' Latin (1516 [1522])	Vulgate (1534)	Tyndale (1526 [1534])	Joye (1534=1535)
28 λέγοντες. διδάσκαλε. μωσῆς ἔγραψεν ἡμῖν. ἐάν τινος ἀδελφὸς ⌜ἀποθάνη [ἀποθάνῃ] ἔχων γυναῖκα, καὶ οὗτος ἄτεκνος ⌜ἀποθάνη [ἀποθάνῃ], ἵνα λάβῃ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ τὴν γυναῖκα, καὶ ἐξαναστήσῃ σπέρμα τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ.	28 dicentes. Magister, Moses scripsit nobis, si ⌜frater alicui*us*⌝ [cuius frater] mortu*us* fuerit h*abe*ns uxore*m*, ⌜& hic⌝ [isque] sine liberis mortu*us* fuerit, ut accipiat frater eius uxorem, & suscitet semen fratri suo.	28 dicentes. Magister moyses scripsit nobis. Si frater alicui*us* mortuus fuerit habe*n*s vxore*m*/ et hic sine liberis fuerit/ vt accipiat ea*m* frater ei*us* vxore*m*: & suscitet semen fratri suo.	28 sayinge: Master Moses wrote unto us/ if eny mannes brother dye havinge a wyfe/ And the same dye wythout issue: that then hys brother shulde take his wyfe/ and rayse up seede unto hys brother.	28 sayinge Master Moses wrote vnto vs/ yf eny mannes brother dye hauinge a wyfe. And the same dye with out issue/ that then hys brother shulde take hys wyfe/ and rayse vp seade vnto hys brother.
29 ἑπτὰ οὖν ἀδελφοὶ ἦσαν, καὶ ὁ πρῶτος λαβὼν γυναῖκα, ἀπέθανεν ἄτεκνος.	29 Septe*m* ergo fr*atr*es era*n*t, & primus accepit uxore*m* ⌜& [ac] mortuus est sine liberis.	29 Septe*m* ergo fratres erant: et prim*us* accepit vxore*m*/ & mortuus est sine filijs.	29 There were seven brethren/ and the fyrst toke a wyfe/ and died without children.	29 There were seuen brethren/ and the fyrst toke a wyfe/ a*n*d died with out chyldren.
30 καὶ ἔλαβεν ὁ δεύτερος τὴν γυναῖκα, καὶ οὗτος ἀπέθανεν ἄτεκνος,	30 Et accepit secu*nd*us illa*m*, & ipse mortu*us* est sine liberis.	30 Et sequens accepit illa*m*: et ipse mortu*us* est sine filio.	30 And the seconde toke the wyfe/ and he dyed chyldlesse.	30 And the seconde toke the wyfe/ a*n*d he died chyldlesse.
31 καὶ ὁ τρίτος ἔλαβεν αὐτήν, ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ οἱ ἑπτὰ καὶ οὐ κατέλϊπον τέκνα, καὶ ἀπέθανον.	31 Et tertius accepit illam, similiter & cœteri septe*m*, ⌜& no*n*⌝ [nec] reliquerunt liberos, & mortui sunt.	31 Et tertius accepit illa*m*/ si*mi*l*i*te*r* & o*mn*es septe*m*: & no*n* reli*que*ru*n*t semen/ & mortui sunt.	31 And the thyrde toke her/ and in lykewyse the resydue off the seven/ And leeft noo chyldren behynde them/ and dyed.	31 And the thyrde toke her/ a*n*d in lyke wyse the residue of the seuen/ And left no chyldren behynde them/ and dyed.
32 ὕστερον πάντων ἀπέθανεν καὶ ἡ γυνὴ.	32 Nouissime omniu*m* mortua est & mulier.	32 Novissima o*mniu*m mortua est & mulier.	32 Last of all the woman dyed also.	32 Last off all the woman dyed also.

Luke 20:27–38 (*cont.*)

Erasmus' Greek (1516 [1522])	Erasmus' Latin (1516 [1522])	Vulgate (1534)	Tyndale (1526 [1534])	Joye (1534=1535)
33 ἐν τῇ οὖν ἀναστάσει τίνος αὐτῶν γίνεται γυνή; οἱ γὰρ ἑπτὰ ἔσχον αὐτὴν γυναῖκα.	33 In resurrectione ergo cuius eorum erit uxor? Siquidem septem habuerunt eam uxorem.	33 In resurrectione ergo cuius eorum erit vxor? siquidem septem habuerunt eam vxorem.	33 Now at the resurreccion whose wyfe of them shall she be? For vij had her to wyfe.	33 Nowe at the lyfe after this whose wyfe of them shall she be? for .vij. had her to wyfe.
34 καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς ὁ ΙΗΣΟΥΣ. οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου ⸀γαμοῦσιν [γαμοῦσι] καὶ ἐκγαμίσκονται.	34 Et [respondens] ait illis Iesus. Filij huius saeculi ducunt uxores & ⸀nubunt [nuptum dant],	34 Et ait illis iesus. Filij huius sæculi nubunt et traduntur ad nuptias:	34 Jesus answered and sayde unto them: The chyldren off this worlde mary wyves/ and are maryed/	34 Iesus answered and sayd vnto them The chyldren off thys worlde mary wyues/ and are maried/
35 οἱ δὲ καταξιωθέντες τοῦ αἰῶνος ἐκείνου τυχεῖν, καὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως τῆς ἐκ νεκρῶν, οὔτε γαμοῦσιν, οὔτε ἐκγαμίσκονται,	35 illi uero qui digni habebuntur sæculo illo, & resurrectione ex mortuis, neque ducunt uxores, neque ⸀nubunt [nuptum dant],	35 illi vero qui digni habebuntur sæculo illo & resurrectione ex mortuis/ neque nubent/ neque ducent vxores:	35 but they which shalbe [made] worthy ⸀of [to enioye] that worlde/ and ⸀of the resurreccion from deeth/ nether mary wyves/ nether are maryed/	35 but they whych shalbe worthy of that worlde/ and of the lyfe after this dethe/ nether mary wyues/ nor are maried/
36 οὔτε γὰρ ἀποθανεῖν ἔτι δύνανται, ἰσάγγελοι γάρ ⸀εἰσιν [εἰσι] καὶ υἱοί ⸀εἰσιν [εἰσι] τοῦ θεοῦ, τῆς ἀναστάσεως υἱοὶ ὄντες.	36 neque [enim] ultra mori possunt. Equales enim angelis sunt, & filij sunt dei, cum sint filij resurrectionis.	36 neque vltra mori poterunt. Equales enim angelis sunt: & filij sunt dei/ cum sint filij resurrectionis.	36 nor yet can dye eny moare. For they are equall unto the angels: and are the sonnes of God/ inasmoche as they are the chyldren off the resurreccion.	36 nor yet can dye eny moare. For they are equall vnto the angels/ and are the sonnes of god/ in as moche as they are the chyldren of that lyfe.

Luke 20:27–38 (*cont.*)

Erasmus' Greek (1516 [1522])	Erasmus' Latin (1516 [1522])	Vulgate (1534)	Tyndale (1526 [1534])	Joye (1534=1535)
37 ὅτϊ δὲ ἐγείρονται οἱ νεκροί καὶ μωσῆς ἐμήνυσεν ἐπὶ τῆς βάτου, ὡς λέγει κύρϊον τὸν θεὸν ἀβραὰμ καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἰσαὰκ καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἰακὼβ.	37 Quod uero resurga*n*t mortui, & Moses oste*n*dit ⌜secus [iuxta] rubum, ⌜sicut [cum] dicit do*mi*nu*m* deu*m* Abraha*m* & deum Isaac & deum Iacob.	37 Q*ui*a vero resurga*n*t mortui/ & moyses ostendit secus rubu*m*/ sicut dicit do*mi*num deu*m* abraham/ & deu*m* isaac/ & deum iacob.	37 And that the deed shall ryse agayne/ even Moses signified besydes the busshe/ when he sayde: the lorde god of Adraham/ and the God off Isaac/ and the god of Jacob.	37 And that the dead be aliue/ euen Moses signifyed at the busshe/ when he sayde/ the lorde god of Adraham/ a*n*d the God of Isaac/ and the god of Iacob
38 Θεὸς δὲ οὐκ ⌜ἔστϊν [ἔστι] νεκρῶν, ἀλλὰ ζώντων, πάντες γὰρ αὐτῷ ζῶσιν.	38 Deus aut*em* non est mortuo*rum*, sed uiuo*rum* Omnes e*ni*m illi uiuunt.	38 Deus aut*em*: no*n* est mortuoru*m*/ sed viuo*rum*. o*mn*es e*ni*m viuu*n*t ei.	38 For he is not the god off the deed/ but off them whych live. For all live in hym.	38 For he ys not the god of the dead/ but of them whych lyue. For all men lyue in hym.

John 5:24–29

Erasmus' Greek (1516=1522)	Erasmus' Latin (1516 [1522])	Vulgate (1534)	Tyndale (1526 [1534])	Joye (1534=1535)
24 ἀμὴν ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, ὁ τὸν λόγον μου ἀκούων καὶ πιστεύων τῷ πέμψαντί με, ἔχει ζωὴν αἰώνϊον, καὶ ἐις κρίσϊν οὐκ ἔρχεται, ἀλλὰ μεταβέβηκεν ἐκ τοῦ θανάτου ἐις τὴν ζωήν.	24 Amen amen dico uobis, qui ⌜uerbu*m* [sermonem] meu*m* audit & credit ei qui misit me, habet uitam æternam, & in ⌜iudicium [co*n*demnatio-nem] non ueniet, sed transiuit a morte in uitam.	24 Amen amen dico vobis q*uia* qui verbu*m* meu*m* audit & credit ei q*ui* misit me habet vita*m* eterna*m*. & in iudicium no*n* venit: sed transiet a morte in vitam.	24 Verely verely I saye vnto you: He that heareth my wordes/ And beleveth on hym that sent me/ hathe everlastynge lyfe/ and shall not come into damnacion: but is scaped from deth unto lyfe.	24 Uerely verely I saye vnto you: He that heareth my wordes/ and beleueth on him that sent me/ hath euerlastynge lyfe/ and shall not come into damnacion: but ys scaped from deth vnto lyfe.

John 5:24–29 (*cont.*)

Erasmus' Greek (1516=1522)	Erasmus' Latin (1516 [1522])	Vulgate (1534)	Tyndale (1526 [1534])	Joye (1534=1535)
25 Αμὴν ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, ὅτι ἔρχεται ὥρα καὶ νῦν ἐστιν, ὅτε οἱ νεκροὶ ἀκούσονται τῆς φωνῆς τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ οἱ ἀκούσαντες ζήσονται.	25 Amen amen dico uobis quod uenit hora & nunc est, quando mortui audient uocem filij dei, & qui audierint uiuent.	25 Amen amen dico vobis quia venit hora & nunc est quando mortui audient vocem filij dei: & qui audierint viuent.	25 Verely/ verely I saye unto you: the tyme shall come/ and now ys/ when the deed shall heare the voyce off the sonne of god. And they that heare/ shall live.	25 Uerely/ verely I saye vnto you/ the tyme shall come/ and nowe ys/ when the deed shall heare the voyce off the sonne off god. And they that heare/ shall live.
26 ὥσπερ γὰρ ὁ πατὴρ ἔχει ζωὴν ἐν ἑαυτῷ, οὕτως ἔδωκεν καὶ τῷ υἱῷ ζωὴν ἔχειν ἐν ἑαυτῷ,	26 Sicut enim pater habet uitam in semetipso, sic dedit & filio habere uitam in semetipso,	26 Sicut enim pater habet vitam in semetipso: sic dedit et filio habere vitam in semetipso:	26 For as the father hath life in hymsilfe: soo lykewyse hath he geven to the sonne to have lyfe in hymsilfe.	26 For as the father hath life in hym sylfe: so lyke wyse hath he geuen to the sonne to haue lyfe in hym sylfe.
27 καὶ ἐξουσίαν ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ καὶ κρίσιν ποιεῖν, ὅτι υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου ἐστίν.	27 & potestatem dedit ei ⌜iudicium faciendi⌝ [iudicandi quoque], quia filius hominis est.	27 & potestatem dedit ei iudicium facere. Quia filius hominis est/	27And hath geven hym power alsoo to iudge in that he is the sonne off man.	27 And hath geuen him power also to iudge although he be the sonne of man.
28 μὴ θαυμάζετε τοῦτο, ὅτι ἔρχεται ὥρα, ἐν ᾗ πάντες οἱ ἐν τοῖς μνημείοις ἀκούσονται τῆς φωνῆς αὐτοῦ,	28 Nolite mirari hoc, quia ueniet hora in qua omnes qui in monumentis sunt audient uocem eius,	28 nolite mirari hoc: quia venit hora in qua omnes qui in monumentis sunt/ audient vocem filij dei.	28 Marvayle not at this/ that the houre shall come/ in the whych all that are in the graves/ shall heare his voice/ and shall come forthe/	28 Maruayle not at thys/ that the houre shall come in the whych all that are in the graues/ shall heare hys voice/ and shall come forthe/
29 καὶ ἐκπορεύσονται οἱ τὰ ἀγαθὰ ποιήσαντες, εἰς ἀνάστασιν ζωῆς, οἱ δὲ τὰ φαῦλα πράξαντες, εἰς ἀνάστασιν κρίσεως.	29 & ⌜procedent [prodibunt] qui bona fecerunt, in resurrectionem uitae, qui uero mala egerunt, in resurrectionem ⌜iudicij [condemnationis].	29 & procedent qui bona fecerunt in resurrectionem vite: qui vero mala egerunt/ in resurrectionem iudicij.	29 they that have done goode unto the resurreccion off life. And they that have done evyll/ vnto the resurreccion of dampnacion.	29 they that haue done goode into the very life. And they that haue done euyll/ in to the lyfe off dampnacion.

Acts 23: 6–9

Erasmus' Greek (1516 [1522])	Erasmus' Latin (1516 [1522])	Vulgate (1534)	Tyndale (1526 [1534])	Joye (1534=1535)
6 γνοὺς δὲ ὁ παῦλος ὅτι τὸ ἓν μέρος ἐστὶ σαδδουκαίων, τὸ δὲ ἕτερον φαρισαίων, ἔκραξεν ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ. Ανδρες ἀδελφοί, ἐγὼ φαρισαῖός εἰμι, ὑιὸς φαρισαίου, περὶ ἐλπίδος καὶ ἀναστάσεως νεκρῶν ἐγὼ κρίνομαι.	6 Sciens autem Paulus q*uo*d una pars esset Sadducæo*rum*, & altera pharisæo*rum* exclamauit in concilio. Viri fr*at*res, ego pharisæus sum, fili*us* pharisæi. De spe & resurrectione mortuoru*m* ego iudicor.	6 Sciens aute*m* paulus q*uia* vna pars esset saduceorum & altera phariseo*rum*/ exclamauit in co*n*cilio. Uiri fratres ego phariseus sum fili*us* pharisaeo*rum*. de spe & resurrectione mortuorum ego iudicor.	6 When Paul perceaved that the one parte were Saduces/ & the other Pharises: He cryed oute in the counsell. Men & brethren/ I am a pharisaye/ the sonne off a pharisaye. Of [the] hope/ & [of] resurreccion from deeth I am iudged.	6 When Paul perceaued that the one parte were Saduces/ and the other pharises: He cryed oute in the counsell: Men and brethren I am a pharisaye/ the sonne of a pharisaye. Of hope/ & of the lyf of the dead I am accused.
7 τοῦτο δὲ αὐτοῦ λαλήσαντος, ἐγένετο στάσις τῶν φαρισαίων, καὶ τῶν σαδδουκαίων, καὶ ἐσχίσθη τὸ πλῆθος.	7 Et cu*m* ⌜hæc [hoc] dixisset facta est dissensio inter pharisæos & [ac] sadduceos, & dissecta est multitudo.	7 Et cu*m* hec dixisset facta est dissensio inter pharisaeos et saducaeos et dissoluta est multitudo.	7 And when he had soo sayde/ there arose a debate bitwene the pharisayes & ye saduces/ & the multitude was devided.	7 And when he had so sayde/ there a rose a debate bytwene the pharisayes & the Saduces/ and the multitude was deuided.
8 σαδδουκαῖοι μὲν γὰρ λέγουσι, μὴ εἶναι ἀνάστασιν, μηδὲ ἄγγελον, μήτε πνεῦμα. φαρισαῖοι δὲ ὁμολογοῦσι τὰ ἀμφότερα.	8 Nam sadducæi quidem dicunt no*n* esse resurrectionem, neq*ue* angelum neq*ue* spiritu*m*, pharisaei aute*m* utraq*ue* co*n*fitentur.	8 Saducei autem dicunt no*n* esse resurrectione*m* mortuorum/ neq*ue* angelu*m*/ neq*ue* spiritu*m*/ pharisei aute*m* utraq*ue* confitentur.	8 For ye saduces saye that there is no resurreccion/ nether angell/ nor sprete But the phariseies graunt bothe.	8 For the saduces saye that there is no lyf after this/ nether angel/ nor spirit. But the pharisayes graunt bothe.

Acts 23: 6–9 (*cont.*)

Erasmus' Greek (1516 [1522])	Erasmus' Latin (1516 [1522])	Vulgate (1534)	Tyndale (1526 [1534])	Joye (1534=1535)
9 ἐγένετο δὲ κραυγὴ μεγάλη, καὶ ἀναστάντες γραμματεῖς τοῦ μέρους τῶν φαρισαίων, διεμάχοντο, λέγοντες. οὐδὲν κακὸν εὑρίσκομεν ἐν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τούτῳ. εἰ δὲ πνεῦμα ἐλάλησεν αὐτῷ ἢ ἄγγελος μὴ θεομαχῶμεν⸢; [.]	9 Factus est aut*em* clamor magnus, & cum surrexissent scribæ de factionem pharisæoru*m*, depugnaba*n*t dice*n*tes. Nihil mali inuenimus in homine isto. Quod si spirit*us* locutus est ei aut angelus, ⸢nu*m* [ne] repugnemus deo ⸣? [.]	9 Factus est aute*m* clamor magnus/ & exurgentes quida*m* phariseoru*m* pugnabant dicentes. Nihil mali invenim*us* in ho*min*e isto. quid si spiritus locut*us* est ei/ aut angelus?	9 And there arose a grett crye/ and the scribes which wer ⸢on [of] the pharisais parte [/ arose &] strove saynge: We fynde none evyll in this man. Though a sprete/ or an angell hath apered to hym/ lett vs not stryve agaynst God.	9 And there arose a gret crye/ and the scribes which wher on the pharisais parte stroue sayinge: We fynde none euyll in this man. Though a spirete/ or an angel hath apered to him/ let vs not stryue agaynst god.

Hebrews 11:35

Erasmus' Greek (1516=1522)	Erasmus' Latin (1516=1522)	Vulgate (1534)	Tyndale (1526 [1534])	Joye (1534 [1535])
35 ἔλαβον γυναῖκες ἐξ ἀναστάσεως τοὺς νεκροὺς αὐτῶν, ἄλλοι δὲ ἐτυμπανίσθησαν, οὐ προσδεξάμενοι τὴν ἀπολύτρωσιν, ἵνα κρείττονος ἀναστάσεως τύχωσιν.	35 Mulieres acceperunt ex resurrectione mortuos suos. Alij uero distenti sunt, aspernati redemptionem, ut potiorem sortirentur resurrectionem.	35 acceperunt mulieres de resurrectione mortuos suos. alij aut*em* distenti sunt/ non suscipientes redemption*em*: vt meliorem inueniren*t* resurrectionem.	35 The wemen receaved their deed [raysed] to lyfe agayne. Wother were racked/ & wolde nott be delivered/ thatt they myght receave a better resurreccion.	35 The wemen receaued their deed ⸢to [from] lyfe agayne. Some were racked/ and wolde not be delyuered/ that they myght receave rather the better lyfe.

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——, *Novum testamentum omne, multo quam antehac diligentius ab Erasmo Roterodamo recognitum, emendatum ac translatum, non solum ad Graecam veritatem, verum etiam ad multorum utriusque linguae codicum, eorumque veterum simul & emendatorum fidem, postremo ad probatissimorum autorum citationem, emendationem & interpretationem, praecipue Origenis, Athanasij, Nazianzeni, Chrysostomi, Cyrilli, Theophylacti, Hieronymi, Cypriani, Ambrosij, Hilarij, Augustini, una cum Annotationibus recognitis, ac magna accessione locupletatis, quae lectorem doceant, quid qua ratione mutatum sit. Des. Erasmi Roterodami in Novum Testamentum ab eodem denuo recognitum, Annotationes, ingenti nuper accessione per autorem locupletatae. Addita sunt in singulas Apostolorum epistolas Argumenta per Erasmum Rot.*, Basel: Johannes Froben, March 1519.

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ΤΗΣ ΚΑΙΝΗΣ ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗΣ ΑΠΑΝΤΑ. ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ Κατὰ Ματθαῖον. Κατὰ Μάρκον. Κατὰ Λουκᾶν. Κατὰ Ιωάννην. ΠΡΑΞΕΙΣ ΤΩΝ ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΩΝ. IESV Christi D.N. Testamentum. Ex bibliotheca regia, Lutetiae: Ex officina Roberti Stephani typographi Regii, 1550.

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